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Socialisation and power in language:
Normalising discourse and the (re)production of collective
identities in educational institutions

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1   Introduction

> What is an educational system after all, if not a ritualisation of the word; if not a qualification of some fixing of roles for speakers; if not the constitution of a (diffuse) doctrinal group; if not a distribution and an appropriation of discourse, with all its learning and its powers? (Foucault in *Orders of discourse*, 1971: 19)

Institutions and educational settings are governed by a ubiquitous power that subtly influences people and rules the functioning of the system. Michel Foucault considers this power not to be top-down, but rather both vertical and horizontal, invading all kinds of spaces. One of the fundamental means by which power manifests in social life is via discourse, i.e., a series of social *actions* involving linguistic, semiotic, and communicative practices. The different forms and nuances of power in discourse can be expressed through different entities, by people or systems, and can be revealed in everyday situations such as a conversation with friends, and up to a level that includes governments and institutions. In the quote above, Foucault aligns discourse and language, mentioning the "word" and "speech": He anticipates the centrality of discursive practices in institutional settings by attributing to an educational system the force of *ritualising* speech, the establishing of specific roles of speakers, the diffusion of doctrines (the belonging to certain social groups and ideologies), and the act of taking possession over discourses by rendering them appropriate in a specific *société de discours* (Foucault, 1971, 2009 [1970]).

The concept of discourse with regard to the context of investigation of this work can sum up different forms of discourse emerging in schools, universities and other places of learning and teaching. First, discourse influences how reality is, and thus contributes to the images we create of ourselves, the world, and the nuances of how we and others are or should be. Second, discourse in institutions can mold individuals for a community and a functioning society with its ideals and normative values: Schools as part of the public sphere ruled by the state or regional institutions, imply the learning and studying of topics and programmes which ideally correspond to the individual and collective well-being in a modern liberal-democratic reality. The aim of a state's education system is to prepare the next generation of citizens and workers. In order to do so, the content of the curriculum is presented as objectively (and automatically) acceptable so that social reproduction is successfully achieved. Schools and the idealised content taught therein aim at creating governable subjects with a specific knowledge given at a historically and socially determined moment of time. So it is here assumed that in all these public spaces, what we have to learn and know is created through the power of language in discourse, through the "word", whether oral, mediatic, written or drawn. This occurs even via microsocial and

heterogeneous practices such as face-to-face interactions in a classroom, where the social actors' discourse co-constructs reality in ways the institution (e.g., school, ministry, state) cannot possibly control.

This work creates a connection between how Michel Foucault discursively perceives the institutionalised education system, its figures and its language, and how language contributes to the power of discourse. The study draws on early Foucault and relies on the critical assumption that a specific institution in a specific spatiotemporal context is highly influenced by contextualised, macrosocial discourses that exercise their power on individuals by shaping their way of thinking, of being, and of relating to others. Foucault proposes that it is the constant influences of structures and external mechanisms on the individual that make it become a subject. An addition to this paradigm of discourse lies in the presupposition that provides the (re)production of macrosocial discourses situating them intrinsically in the interaction of human agents by revealing a powerful and highly actor-related characteristic in the production of ideas and knowledge in education. The power exercised by discursive actors is implemented by authorised speech and ritualised circumstances. Thus, a strong interrelation will be shown between the changing discourses constituted by power and those constituting power and knowledge in Foucault's sense, and the performative and symbolically valuable concept of the actor enacting those discourses in specific spatiotemporal settings. Given these premises, the question I pose is:

> How and through what content do teachers as authorised speakers and students/children as ratified participants discursively and collaboratively (re)create collective identities through knowledge via linguistic interaction, aligning or distancing themselves from school as institution?

I will seek answers to this question via a critical-analytical approach based on ethnographically collected samples of discourse in contexts of education and learning. These contexts are considered spaces where the structural creation of identities and discourses on society and religion can circulate, are reproduced or refuted, and expand or neglect different understandings of the world.

1.1   Structure

This work is structured as follows:

The theoretical and contextual framework is outlined in Chapter 2. The focus lies on reflections on the concept of ideas and world views in a general perspective, and a delineation of relevant principles of poststructuralism with a constant view on the functioning of language and its interrelation with reality. The chapter introduces the concept of discourse starting from a Foucauldian perspective and

interpretations of the term with regard to the context of investigation. In order to get a broader understanding of the dimension of discourse as a *macro*social entity, and *micro*social dimensions of discourse, i.e., interactions created ad hoc, section 2.2.3 emphasizes an additional distinction between the two. Narrowing down to the investigated setting which permits the circulation of discourses, section 2.2.4 introduces the spatiotemporal circumstances as space for the influential power of discourses and its reproduction (Bakhtin, 1981). It follows a more context-inherent part of theoretical framework, beginning with subchapter 2.3, that deals with the interpretation of how discourses work in an educational system, majorly based on notions outlined in *Orders of discourse* (Foucault, 1971). The focussing on the speaking instance in sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.2.1 completes the theoretical and conceptual framework for the analysis (Bourdieu, 1982, 2009).

Chapter 3 outlines the methods both in data collection and data analysis. This work is based on approaches from linguistic ethnography (Pérez-Milans, 2016) and a critical view on discourse (Jäger, 2015; Wodak, 2020). The first subchapter on data collection (3.1) primarily presents the context of the two projects in which fieldwork took place. Also, the research paradigm of linguistic ethnography and the author's personal approach and involvement in data collection are outlined, especially through the intersection of (social) theory and empirical observation. The second subchapter 3.2 on data analysis focuses on the methods and processes of analysis of the collected material. It primarily introduces a word-and proposition-oriented examination of discursive material that merges into a discourse-oriented analysis and patterns related to the discursive actors (e.g., Warnke & Spitzmüller, 2008; Wengeler, 2017). Chapter 4 introduces the analysis and gives a brief insight into the setting in which ethnographic material was collected. Three analysis chapters then examine this ethnographic material, exploring how and who enacts institutionalised discourse and how forms and types of identities are thereby created. The data chapters set forth the developed theories on discourses in spatiotemporal encounters between different social agents. They analyse discourse fragments (Jäger, 2015) of monologically and dialogically conveyed discourses in the thematic area, namely the construction of collective identities. This happens through four thematic examples of discourse out of a collection of the audio and video recordings of classroom situations and teacher meetings stemming from two ethnographic projects. The three data chapters treat the construction of identities through the lens of 1) national belonging and identities (Chapter 5), 2) social roles (Chapter 6), and 3) the creation of groups through religious and traditional values (Chapter 7). Every analysis chapter terminates with a short summary. The conclusions (Chapter 8) will record and take up the points that emerged in the analysis and link them to the research question and to the theory. It exposes some reflections on the significance of the role of critique in the context of education. Also, some final considerations on the research outcomes and their implications for a possible improvement of the conscious transmission of discourse will be presented.

2 Theoretical and conceptual framework

2.1 Language and reality

This study follows a post-structuralist perspective. As far as language is concerned, poststructuralism deals with a complex world and aims at deciphering its rules, deconstructing the world's principles and its structures. Poststructuralism is sometimes considered as a response to, and other times as a development of structuralist theories. Within discourse analysis, but also within ethnography and other branches of sociological, linguistic, anthropological or psychological disciplines, poststructuralism has led to a reconceptualisation of language, culture, and identity, considering them discursive and cultural products with an impossible detachment from their social and local conditions (e.g., Pérez-Milans, 2016). This post-structuralist perspective brings along a socio-critical view in research and affects several disciplines within linguistics and discourse analysis in general.[1]

The understanding and examining of discursive practices and how they shape society is a matter that we face every day through the creation of different opinions by arguing how ideological or not and how right or wrong people's ideas are or can be. Ideas and world views expressed through language imply the presence of antagonists, sometimes outlined in oppositions such as right vs. left, progressive vs. conservative, climate activists vs. climate deniers, and all the nuances these oppositions bring with them. What all these binary relationships of counterpoles and the values they are implying have in common, is that they consider the ideas of the respectively other part as opposed to a truth-valuable position, in the context of specific topics that everyone talks about and that circulate, for instance, in media discourse or in everyday communication. Beside these diametrically opposed ideas, circulating discourses do not only convey what is considered right or wrong (for respectively the opposite part), but they produce those ideas and thus create reality. A political election, one of the hottest summers in history, the outbreak of a new conflict in the Middle East in 2023, or simply the celebration of a music or a sports event, are only three examples of discursive events (Jäger, 2015; Jäger & Maier, 2016) influencing and creating discourses in these contexts: At least two parts argue about a presumable "false consciousness" in the transmission of what can be known about the events.

However, as stated above, the instances involved in discourse are not just arguing about ideas, but they are producing them *and* realities sui generis. Antonio Gramsci would probably conceptualise ideology

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[1] A broader insight to the reception of (post)structuralism in the analysis of discourses, the interrelation between pragmatics and hermeneutics, as well as the major influential theorists, is given in Angermüller (2011) as well as in writings by Judith Butler (e.g., 2021).

as ideas and false consciousness generally as *Weltanschauungen* (e.g., Gramsci, 2014; Maesse & Nicoletta, 2021) that can subtly penetrate texts, books, conversations, newspaper articles, and TV shows. The concept of ideology with an interpretable connection to world views also recurs in Louis Althusser, who develops the thesis of ideology as the "representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (Althusser, 1984: 38). This imaginary relationship is connected to a material existence (*ibid.*). Therefore, world views are here considered not just as ideas and beliefs, but as reality-shaping content linked to action, that can easily circulate and affect institutional spaces in a very heterogeneous way by simply affirming, legitimating, changing, or deconstructing.

Educational institutions are subjected to decisions which regulate curricula and contents, and which decide what type of content goes through to the individuals (students/children) who are part of the system by forming them. Decisions on a macrosocial sphere influence educational practice and microsocial interactions, even if there are no specific physical or individual powers as the only acting instances involved. In 2021, for instance, the Hungarian government banned people from the LGBTQIA+ community from appearing in material such as books and writings, as *The Guardian* states, and in 2023, the country's largest book seller began to wrap books with contested characters preventing them from being sold (Garamvolgyi, 2023). In the same year, the Italian Ministry of Education and Merit decided not to renew the agreement with the National Association of Italian Partisans (ANPI), which had collaborated with the ministry in the context of lessons in schools on the anti-fascist resistance. The minister added to this choice that the transmission of values related to the resistance to fascism is not a monopoly of the ANPI and that resistance was not exclusively conducted by communists (*"L'Anpi non avrà più il monopolio a scuola"*, 2023; Sangermano, 2023). To mention examples specifically related to study programmes, after the invasion of Ukraine led by Russia, it was announced that the teaching of Russian would be banned from Kyiv's schools (Time Current & RFE/RL's Ukrainian, 2022). On the other hand, in recent versions of textbooks used in Russian schools, several historical references to Kyiv and Ukraine seem to have been removed: In December 2022, the Russian Minister of Education had announced "unified textbooks on the history of Russia and on world history" which would consider the historical events of that year, first and foremost the war in Ukraine (Camba, 2023).

All these decisions have an important impact on what happens in practice, namely during lectures and classes in formal education. However, different world views can also be just *there*, in each of the persons involved in a system and without direct impositions beside a public body: The (re)production of discourse, world views in terms of knowledge, is thus to be considered a natural process and can evoke several pertinent elements that can undergo analysis. As previously suggested, what are institutions if not the mechanism for the reproduction of speech and the control of socially acceptable and non-

acceptable actions or statements in specific contexts? Can the rebuilding of discourse be willingly controlled only by a system or also by single actors taking part in active, microsocial communication? What is crucial is the critical reasoning on the circulation of discourses that constitute reality through education as their stage, whatever world view the researcher may represent, and on the significance of the term itself, which will be developed in the following sections.

2.2   Discourse(s)

2.2.1   Analysing social reality of the linguistic and the discursive

Research on discourse(s) has to be understood as a combination out of discourse theories and discourse analysis. The understanding of *power, knowledge* and *subjectivity* is complementary to the analysis of *context, language,* and *praxis* (see Figure 1). Dependent on disciplinary orientation or positioning, discourse may be understood and examined out of a linguistic or a more sociological approach. Some academics focusing on discourse highlight boundaries between sociological and linguistic discourse analysis, sometimes differentiating language in verbal and non-verbal practices and emphasizing the difficulties that can be encountered in research due to an opposition between linguistic or non-linguistic approaches, or textual and non-textual analysis (e.g., Herzog, 2013, 2016).
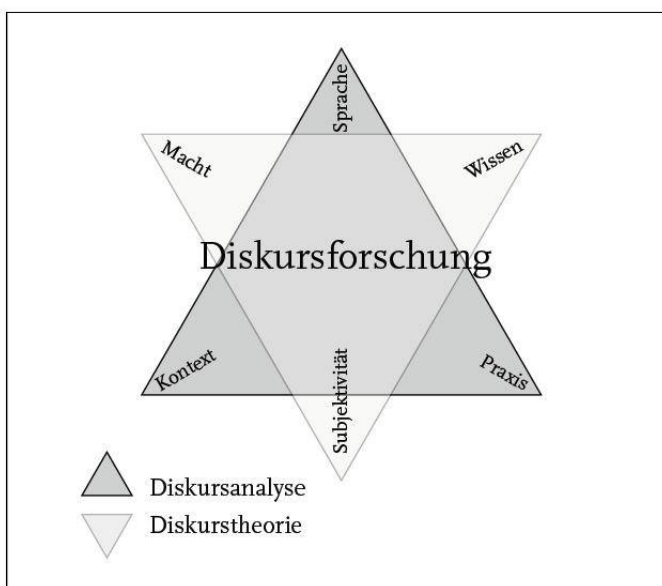
Abbildung 1: Diskursforschung als Theorie und Analyse

Figure I: Research in discourse as theory and analysis (Angermuller, 2014: 26).

Johannes Angermuller (2014) shows graphically how discourse theory and analysis interact by overlaying two triangles, each of them showing three important concepts in discourse research. For the part of discourse theory, the triangle shows the interrelation between power (Macht), knowledge (Wissen), and subjectivity (Subjektivität). The analysis applies the theory in context (Kontext), language

(Sprache), and praxis (Praxis). Language and praxis constitute two separate parts in the analysis-triangle. Within a more sociological approach this might suggest that verbal actions can be clearly separated from non-verbal actions, or language from potentially non-language. Herzog (2016), for instance, states that any approach, whether more linguistic or sociological, has to be adapted to the research context, and considers in a more sociological view that "the more that a group is excluded from linguistic practices, the more that research must focus on non-verbal practices" (*ibid.*: 289). Assuming, however, that language 1) constantly shapes our world, and society is able to shape it, and that 2) language is both expressed textually and non, or verbally and non, we can build on a broader term of discourse analysis, analysing language and "more" (Foucault, 1972 [1969]). This means to investigate the circulation of discourses and the process of naturalising images of the real world through context-specific knowledge *complementarily and indispensably* in relation to utterances, statements, lectures, speeches. Such as the theory-analysis pair above, the notions of language and practice are here seen as inseparable. Rather than sociological or linguistic, discourse analysis is here critical and sociolinguistic, where the term *sociolinguistic* does not represent a school or an approach but is reasoned as a meeting point between social practices, structures and actors that fuse with the force of language, by determining it and being determined through the latter.

2.2.2   Foucault and discourse

Michel Foucault has notably influenced the concept of discourse with his understanding of the term, especially developed in the early stage of his writings, among others through *The Order of Things* (Foucault, 1994 [1966]) and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault, 1972 [1969]). The term discourse and several key concepts linked to it are the core ideas within this work. The following includes the development of Foucault's early reasoning on discourse (the *archaeological* phase), as well as the mutation of the term from the linguistic act per se to a connection between discursive and external, non-discursive practices (the *genealogical* phase), with the *Orders of discourse* (1971) as turning point and main reference for this study. The aim of the following sections is to apply and reflect on some of the different nuances of the Foucauldian meaning of discourse by introducing a helpful distinction between language in use and discourse "as a whole", as well as the concepts related to it (power/knowledge and subjectivation). The concepts are then developed within the context of investigation in view of the sociolinguistic discourse analysis that follows.

2.2.2.1   From language to "more": discursive and non-discursive practices

When Foucault views discourse in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (henceforth AoK) (Foucault, 1972 [1969]) initially "[...] as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (*ibid.*: 49), he refers to an intersection of systems of thought and language that together have the function of

establishing truths (Ruoff, 2018), i.e., a perspective that connects the linguistic sign with a possible notion of "I think". The early perception of discourse also establishes its persisting autonomy that makes us interpret it as an abstract entity reigning over reality by shaping and constructing it, with the individual being rather passive in action. As to the connection between discourse and archaeology in Foucault's sense, the latter is an approach that examines different systems of knowledge as field of study which lead to new ideas, opinions, and practices. In terms of discourse, "archaeology - and this is one of its principal themes - may thus constitute the tree of derivation of a discourse" (Foucault, 1972 [1969]: 147). The archaeologist moves in their own rules of this tree to describe and decompose discourse (Foucault, 1972 [1969]; Ruoff, 2018), explores their nature and examines them in their entire structure. As mentioned, thinking and speaking are activities both linked to an agency which in Foucault remains less obvious. Not only: The act of speaking implies an incapacitation of the subject and establishes discourse as a super-entity (Foucault, 1972 [1969]; Mills, 2004; Ruoff, 2018: 110). Indeed, within Foucault's archaeological phase of reflecting on discourse, we perceive discourse as something *supra-individual* (Jäger & Maier, 2016), i.e., that no single individual controls it or selects discourse, which in turn stands over individuals by creating the reality they live in:

> Our perception of objects is formed within the limits of discursive constraints: discourse is characterised by a "delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts or theories". (Foucault, 1977b: 199 cited in Mills, 2004: 46)

In this view, there exists a presumed legitimacy in the speaker/agent, but it remains discourse in the end that does not only reflect reality, but forms and enables it, and thus creates objects for us: discourse is a "societal means of production" (Jäger & Maier, 2016). Building partly on Jürgen Link's (1982, 1983) understanding of the term, discourse is here defined as

> institutionalised, linguistic and social actions, able to create consciousnesses through knowledge, and thus regulate and enable individual or collective doings.

Discourse defined as societal means of production (*supra*) is highly relevant in observing mechanisms in an education system. The latter counts as a machinery for social reproduction where discourses are brought into human beings, subjects to-be, through different meanings assigned to them. This view represents a concept of subjectivation:

Discourses are able to attribute to the speaker/hearer different positions in order to let them undergo a subjectivation process led by discourse itself. This means that through the influence of discourse, individuals become subjects, a Foucauldian view shared with the aforementioned Louis Althusser

(1971). Foucault clearly states his philosophical intents with regard to the subject: "My objective [...] has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, 1982: 777). *Subjects* are here socially constructed individuals who have to fit in a system called society where they take on specific roles (Jäger & Maier, 2016). Briefly, we could define subjects as *individuals* constituted through discourses circulating in instruction and education.

The negation of a discourse-constituting subject which actually counts as object accompanies also Foucault's work after the AoK and the beginning of his *genealogical* phase, where he shifts his interest to outlined non-discursive, social practices alongside discourse (see Ruoff, 2018: 39). Foucault himself acknowledges that discursive practices in form of language are related to mechanisms of power and the places such as institutions who define the sayable and the unsayable. Generally outlined, he passes from a purely linguistic analysis of rules and statements to the "[...] mechanics whereby one becomes produced as the dominant discourse, which is supported by institutional funding" (Mills, 2004: 17). This position is reinforced in his subsequent writings. Developments for the concepts of the interrelation between discourse as linguistic action and discourse interwoven with its space-time anchorage and non-discursive practices can already be noticed in Foucault's *Orders of discourse* as inaugural lecture at the Collège de France in 1970 and at the latest in *Discipline and punish* (Foucault, 1977a). The concept of power, which is also central to this study, is inserted into a crossroads of the said, the unsaid, discourse and institutions (see Ruoff, 2018). Foucault defines this crossroad a *dispositive*:

> What I'm trying to pick out with this term is, firstly, *a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions,* architectural forms, *regulatory decisions,* laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions – *in short, the said as much as the unsaid.* Such are the elements of the apparatus [dispositive]. The apparatus itself is the *system of relations* that can be established between these elements. Secondly, what I am trying to identify in this apparatus is precisely the nature of the connection that can exist between these heterogenous elements. Thus, *a particular discourse can figure at one time as the programme of an institution,* and at another it can function as a means of justifying or masking a practice which itself remains silent, or as a secondary re-interpretation of this practice, opening out for it a new field of rationality. In short, between these elements, whether discursive or non-discursive, there is a sort of interplay of shifts of position and modifications of function which can also vary very widely. [2] (Foucault, 1980: 194)

In synthesis, these statements by Foucault fuse discursive practices in the sense of language, and non-discursive practices such as institutions and decisions, that is, all the "unsaid" and the "said" *(ibid.)*. This

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[2] All emphasis mine.

suggests a useful position in the context of analysing institutionalised contexts such as an education system. Study programmes and their discursively conveyed content collaborate with non-discursive aspects, namely the space in which they are "put into action". A lecture or a school as setting can be a concept able to merge discursive (e.g., the teacher talks and the students interact) and non-discursive practices (e.g., arranging chairs or reading a book). Compared to the archaeological approach to language, the dispositive is able to consider a broader selection of elements: discourses and the production of knowledge, the institution, and power relations (Ruoff, 2018). These are, in short, all the relevant elements for analysing how discourse is employed and generated. More specifically applied to a lecture such as a history class, for instance, these elements could constitute the contents conveyed through speech (the "said", e.g., the illustration of events in the Second World War), the school as institution (e.g., in a specific country and with a specific system), the power relations between subjects in the interaction (e.g., teachers and students) and those behind the organisation of what is said and what is not (e.g., the regulatory framework for study programmes provided by the ministry or any other public body).

2.2.2.2 Discourse, power and knowledge

Discourse is inserted in a relationship of power and knowledge. Drawing on and extending the description given by Jäger (2001: 33), knowledge is here

> all absorbed contents, thoughts, interiorised images, symbols and contents of experiences able to make up new consciousness, which, in turn, defines and constitutes reality through discourse.

Produced and reiterated in, but also producing and constituting discourse, knowledge is "valid at a certain place at a certain time" (*ibid.*), subjected to *and* acting with power, forming the complex power/knowledge. Power for Foucault is not a top-down mechanism, but a subtle and ubiquitous force, "a whole series of particular mechanisms, definable and defined, that seem capable of inducing behaviours *or discourses*"[3] (Foucault, 1996: 394). Enabled discourses have power because they legitimate and delegitimate ways of thinking, acting and speaking, and form subjects. Power and knowledge include each other, whereby power relations are realised only through their force of constituting knowledge that, in turn, presupposes and constitutes power relations (Foucault, 1977a). An educational setting, with its power relations in institutions, between people and actions, and the system as it constitutes knowledge and is reproduced by it, "survives" thanks to the ongoing interrelation between that power/knowledge. But what role do people have in those spaces? Jäger (e.g., 2001, 2015)

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[3] Emphasis mine.

suggests that in Foucault there is actually power over discourses, but with individuals only partially influencing them without being able to defy their circulation (*ibid.*). This assumption of the incapacitation of subjects in reproducing discourses will further be modified by an evident actor-related view on the production of language. To delineate the power of discourse as macrosocial entity in relation to a microsocial sphere with language in use, the following section introduces a useful distinction between *d*iscourse and *D*iscourse.

2.2.3 Discourse as influence and discourse as language in use

So far, we can limit the view on discourse to two different perspectives. One defines discourse as the linguistic act per se with its contents, uttered by a speaker, written or oral. Other definitions of discourse may refer to it as something that is circulating, influencing people, shaping reality and forming identities. As previously suggested in <u>2.2.1,</u> these two views are not regarded as distinct but considered to be complementary and collaborative. It is therefore important to shortly conceptualise what these two views on discourse may endeavour, and how they can converge in each other and create one discourse as a collaborating mechanism. James Paul Gee introduced two tools of inquiry, namely Discourse with a "big D" and discourse with a "small d". "Small d discourse", according to Gee, is any stretch of language in use, utterances and the different ways of speaking, always related to the act of language. However, states Gee, "activities and identities are rarely ever enacted through language alone" (Gee, 2005: 7), and this is why he adds Discourse with a "big D", a concept that includes historically and socially significant identities and activities put in place through action and interaction, values and beliefs (Gee, 2005). So, when language in use (*d*iscourse) is enacted, macrosocially expressed patterns (*D*iscourse) are conveyed:

> We are all members of many, a great many, different Discourses, Discourses which often influence each other in positive and negative ways, and which sometimes breed with each other to create new hybrids. (*ibid.: 7*)

Gee uses the term "hybrids" to consider that there is not just one Discourse that shapes our being, values, and beliefs and creates social reality. Initially, we all acquire a first Discourse, which he reads and interprets as primary Discourse (Gee, 2015). This primary Discourse can give people a sense of their self, of where they should belong, briefly, for a consciousness on their cultural-specific and social environment that forms them to "everyday", "nonspecialised" people (*ibid.*).

There persists a life-long acquisition of Discourses. The initial primary Discourses can fuse and hybridise with other Discourses which shape a more public sphere (Gee, 2015), so-called secondary Discourses:

They are acquired within institutions that are part and parcel of wider communities, whether these are religious groups, community organizations, schools, businesses, or governments. Secondary Discourses include the ways with words, things, and deeds used in school, at church, in dealing with governmental institutions and courts of law, and in playing video games or engaging with citizen science. (*ibid.*: 3-4)

The working of the intersection of d/Discourses can be examined in the substance of socialisation processes human beings undergo. People can internalise secondary Discourses and incorporate them with their primary Discourses, thus creating a hybrid construction of identity and values: A faithful Catholic, for instance, will incorporate aspects of the Catholic Church, namely its values and beliefs, as secondary Discourse (Gee, 2015). One space where this hybridisation of Discourses happens is school, in which secondary Discourses, i.e., notions of identities, values and ideas, are constantly mixed and added to the subject as an initial frame.

When it comes to D/discourse analysis, the idea is to consider "big D Discourses" which frame the context of the analysis of small "d" discourses in conceived *spatiotemporal situations*, e.g., a history class. The melding of the two d and D is the starting point of a discourse analysis, treating the term discourse (henceforth again only with lowercase "d") and its fluctuating nature as means of social (re)production, such as Foucault would represent it (*supra*), but considering the contextual frame in a highly specific space-time constellation, in which social agents meet and act.

2.2.4   A crossroad between time, space and voices

A specific place and a specific moment of time form together an intersection of time and space, of *chronos* and *topos*, in which language is deployed and interpreted. The role of language in a written (e.g., in a book) or an oral (e.g., a conversation among friends) space enables the analytical extraction of different dimensions within language itself at that moment of time, and in that specific circumstance; not just the fact that something is said, but also what is being said and the possible indexical references to the things uttered count as relevant instances in the intersection of *chronos* and *topos*. The space-time dimension was broadly studied by Mikhail Bakhtin and his work (Bakhtin, 1981; Blommaert, 2015). In relation to that, sociologist Michael Bell and cultural theorist Michael Gardiner state that the Russian scholar

[...] early identified communicative and symbolic practices as the locus classicus of human life. All sociocultural phenomena, according to Bakhtin, are constituted through the ongoing, *dialogical*

relationship between individuals and groups, involving *a multiplicity of different languages, discourses and symbolizing practices.*[4] (Bell & Gardiner, 1998: 4; cited in Kroon & Swanenberg, 2019)

For Bakhtin, *chronotopes* are fundamental in literary analysis. He sees narratives, characters and symbols in books and novels as the result of spatiotemporal creations, defining, among others, "the image of man [as] always intrinsically chronotopic" (Bakhtin, 1981: 85). In a novel, characters and narratives can evoke different meanings and develop in the reader/receiver/observer a semiotic understanding of the chronotopically created dimension. What happens in a novel, i.e. the attribution of particular characteristics to the literary work through spatiotemporal intersections, also happens in school or a classroom as generic chronotopes built on social action: The events relevant to this study are classroom situations and teacher meetings that present characteristically significant spatiotemporal crossroads within themselves. In events such as a history class or the conversation between two teachers (or an official meeting), socially or ideologically positioned voices emerge. Within these, the concept of spatiotemporal dimension is relative, and so is the production of discourse: If we consider the classroom or a conference hall as a space-time constellation where people come together, we acknowledge that there is a "physical setting" (Goffman, 1964) that is connected to individually created and characteristically different occasions. These different types of situations have different potentials in producing values and therefore observable patterns (Karrebæk & Spindler Møller, 2019). It follows that the singularly produced chronotope is "an optic for reading texts [and interactions, E.T.] as x-rays of the forces at work in the culture system from which they spring" (Holquist & Emerson, 1981: 425). What is crucial is the individual structure of these spatiotemporal encounters, in which people with different roles, identities and beliefs come together. A history class at school, for instance, is not a randomly constructed moment. This featured situation is able to produce specific effects of social action, determined on where and when the setting occurs: It is expected to be an encounter between students who have a specific social role, namely listening and contributing to the class, and a teacher who is explaining, asking questions, examining, or admonishing. Communicative action happens within the physical setting and a "social occasion", the specific environment in which it occurs, which Goffman, for instance, links under the concept of *social situation* (Blommaert, 2019; Goffman, 1964). What is argued here is that the chronotope "history class" as framework for the deployment and reiteration of discourse cannot be universally understood as one valid space-time constellation. A history class in school A with a teacher X and their students, in a given time period and a given place, is not the same chronotopic dimension as a history class in school B with a teacher Y and their students, both of them

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[4] All emphasis mine.

producing different cultural patterns and values. This is completed by the assumption that a history class as frame for narrations constitutes a chronotope and can evoke other chronotopes as narrated content through spatiotemporal, and thus inevitably cultural and social references, for instance narrated events of the past (e.g., World War II). To connect these two assumptions, it can be said that the chronotope history class in school A and in country C produces the chronotope World War II that will have different connotations and values as produced in a history class B in country D. The same can be valid for an Italian class, a meeting or a conversation between two teachers. Creating a link between Bakhtin's space-time concept and Goffman's interrelation between physical setting and social occasion, what can be observed are semiotic meanings and significant values in one space-time constellation, and other outcomes in other social situations through their polyphonic organisation.

2.2.4.1 How polyphony affects social situations and language

In an ethnographically observable manner, in a chronotope different characters come together co-constituting each other. A specific conference or a history class has its teachers, its students, a desk, a board and books, and eventually researchers sitting in the back of the class. This means that without teachers, there would be no students and vice-versa. All forms of active, dialogic interaction happen within this designed situation through norms and acceptable behaviours. It is here assumed that the specific history class chronotope in school A at a determined moment of time, is constituted out of all the parameters we have discussed so far. What was also argued in the previous section is that the resulting encounter is itself creating the image of a new constellation of *that* specific history class. In explaining this individuality of chronotopes, this work connects the idea of space-time with another Bakhtinian concept, namely *polyphony.* The term derives from ancient Greek and literally means a *plurality of sounds,* finding application, for instance, in musical works where different human voices, instruments or melodies coexist (DeVoto, n.d.). In his *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (Bakhtin, 1984), the Russian semiotician underlines the composition of a novel, in this case with Dostoyevsky as the creator of the *polyphonic novel,* out of different characters and their voices which have to be considered individually and singularly valid, as "not only objects of authorial discourse but also subjects of their own directly signifying discourse" (*ibid.:* 7) with their ideas and views. Bakhtin states that within Dostoevsky's novels there persists a dialogism between voices which merge in a constellation of personalities and their thoughts not in terms of truth-values (in a homophonic way), but of ideas and perspectives (Bakhtin, 1984). Polyphony used by Bakhtin is transposed to this work from studies on literature and novels to the creation of speech and linguistic practices in a *dialogic* environment such as the given examples in educational settings (e.g., Niemi et al., 2010). The juxtaposition of the concepts of chronotopes and polyphony as relevant conceptualisations of the mechanisms observed and analysed

in a classroom situation is inasmuch interesting as the different characters and roles converge in one of these situations. Single attitudes, consciousnesses and ideas create a polyphonic environment of the specific chronotope. The polyphonic nature of interaction due to different voices within the observed space is for now to be understood as the presence of different unities of ideas and identities, able to express and represent other voices even in a hypothetical polyphonic structure behind one singular voice. Thus, polyphony applied as a mosaic of voices in dialogic interaction (such as the example of the history class) can 1) be referred to the social agents who make their voice valid in the event taken under examination and 2) can also include other voices not physically present in that space, namely discourse stemming from others, books, and documents – shortly, the elements which contribute to school as a machinery of social reproduction.

2.3   Institutionalised discourse and social reproduction

The indissoluble and interdependent connection between educational settings and the discourses circulating in them through the power/knowledge complex has already been introduced. A deeper perspective on how institutionalised discourse operates and how education systems are ruled by being themselves part of a broader ideological state apparatus (Althusser, 1971) will now help to concentrate on the context inherent to the later analysis of discursive fragments.

As already anticipated in the introduction to this work, institutions have the force to socialise and form people to fit into a preconstructed world where things are expected to happen in a specific way. This seems to be confirmed through the view on education as (legitimately) debated environment:

> The field of education is unquestionably politicised, with the mildest of policy changes scrutinised and endlessly debated. This reflects the importance of education in people's lives, its impact on social mobility and life opportunities, alongside the political repercussions of unpopular policies. (Murphy & Allan, 2022: 4)

Especially in the analysed context, namely in preschools and middle schools as the respectively beginning and the end of the pre-divisional school system in Italy, the aim is to create and maintain a reality where individuals assume specific identities, may they be intended as national or social, and exercise a socially accepted role, starting from three-year-old children up to teenagers. Socialisation processes as an anthropologically examined concept include various aims, such as monitoring and/or changing the students' social behaviour or preparing them in view of a possible continuation in academic life. In terms of abilities and curricular contents, I consider socialisation in schools following Althusser's understanding of the school as part of the ideological state apparatus, especially his considerations on school as a space that has a specific economic aim, namely the teaching of abilities

under the form of submission to a ruling ideology or the controlling of its practice (see Althusser, 1971). Language itself is a crucial part of socialisation: In schools, students are constantly taught to use language in appropriate and acceptable ways.[5] With regard to this work, language is therefore involved twice in the socialisation process. On the one hand as means *for* socialisation, on the other hand it establishes how and in what form language is to be used (e.g., Schieffelin & Ochs, 1987). In both cases, the socialisation and the will to form governable subjects through language, are primarily supposed to be sustained by teachers.

2.3.1 The circulation of discourses in educational spaces: limiting and selecting practices

Narrowing down to the examined context as basis for the analysis of discourses, it is crucial to understand how they are selected and controlled in order to avoid their casual and random (re)production. This leads us back to Foucault and *Orders of discourse,* which does not only give rise to the genealogical phase of his work and the view on discourse as entity able to shape circumstances we live in, systems of knowledge, as well as the understanding of the self. Also, the previously explained concept of the interrelation between power and discourse becomes evident at the very beginning of Foucault's inaugural lecture, when he assumes that

> in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality. (Foucault, 1971: 8)

Several mechanisms are able to select and limit the proliferation of speech and discourse (Foucault, 1971). The procedures can have effects on discourses from the outside (by excluding them through prohibition, the division between reason and madness, and the will to truth) or limit and control them as discourse-internal mechanisms (principles of classification, ordering their structure, and their distribution) (*ibid.*). A third concept of controlling and limiting is the rarefaction of the speaking subjects, namely the access to discourses through social stratification and the roles of discourse actors.[6] Beside the ritualisation of speech (in short, what can be said and what cannot) and the diffusion of a doctrine (see Introduction), for Foucault, an educational system (fr. *système d'enseignement* [7], de.

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[5] Classroom socialisation in educational and anthropological linguistics: Leone-Pizzighella, 2021; Rymes, n.d., 2011; Wortham, 2004.

[6] For all mechanisms within the three dimensions (external, internal and procedures of rarefaction) through which discourses can be (re)produced and guided, selected or limited, see Foucault, 1971, 2021 [1970]; Pentzold, 2022.

[7] Compared with Foucault, 2009 [1970].

Unterrichtssystem [8]) as "fellowship of discourse" (fr. *société de discours*) (Foucault, 1971: 18 ff.), is strongly conditioned, inter alia, by a) the ritual and b) the social appropriation of discourse. As to a), rituals limit the proliferation of discourse, since only qualified speakers can take part in dialogic interaction and communication in the context of specific topics or spaces. This concerns among others political, religious and discourse in education, where ritual

> [...] lays down gestures to be made, behaviour, circumstances and the whole range of signs that must accompany discourse; finally, it lays down the supposed, or imposed significance of the words used, their effect upon those to whom they are addressed, the limitations of their constraining validity. (Foucault, 1971: 18)

The concept of ritual is interwoven with the social status of a speaker (Warnke & Spitzmüller, 2008: 34) and the achievement of a specific goal in a given context, with the speaker's valid utterances corresponding to a collective understanding and an ideology (doctrine). This suggests "a dual subjection, that of speaking subjects to discourse, and that of discourse to the group" (Foucault, 1971: 19). Ritual can be read as a clear reference to the intersection of power and discourse in an educational system, namely the productiveness of power in terms of truths and the "conceptualisation of individuals" (Powers, 2007: 29).

As to b), the appropriation of discourses is probably one of the most effective stages at which specific discourses are conveyed and others not. This is a concept that is socially dependent, and socio-discursively or linguistically determined by a specific group and/or society, not only educational institutions: "Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it" (*ibid.:* 19). Within this use of "educational system" (fr. *système d'éducation*[9]; de. *Erziehungssystem*[10]) forms of institutions are included, but education can also be read in the most general sense of the term. Beside the word's affiliation to an instructional process, the use can imply, for instance, an educational process in terms of an awareness-raising campaign on climate change or a vaccination campaign which both have the aim to induce the overcoming of prejudices and/or fears in that context. Briefly, these are all scenarios in which people are educated and not only instructed toward a specific direction among many circulating discourses. The issue of the only partially empowered individual or collective to whom discourse is subjected (*supra*), links to a need of a more actor-related view of language and an analysis

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[8] Compared with Foucault, 2021 [1970]: 30.

[9] Compared with Foucault, 2009 [1970].

[10] Compared with Foucault, 2021 [1970]: 30.

of spatiotemporal encounters where humans as social agents are able to determine the reiteration of discourse: A teacher, for instance, like every component being part of a discursive collective, is subjected to the influences different discourses exercise on them or expect to be reproduced. Nonetheless, an individual contribution to the circulation of discourses (within the chronotope "history class") in form of rejection, negotiation and reformulation of forms of speech, is presumed to be part of a power *over* discourse. And this power over discourse is supposed to be exercised by participants in interaction.

2.3.2 Capacitating the individual: powerful actors in ritualised spaces

Building on the presence of multiple voices within a specified chronotope and the mechanisms that hinder and limit the proliferation of whatever form of speech, the different positions that are ascribed to the social actors in an interaction during a class have to be pointed out. The term *actor* is here added to the concepts of *individual* and *subject* (see 2.2.2.1). With *actor* I understand figures who "reproduce and norm the ideologies offered by the systems through *individual actions*" [11] ("reproduzieren und normieren dabei die von den Systemen angebotenen Ideologien durch individuelle Handlungen") (Porstner, 2017: 24), by being interactively involved in the constitution of discourses (*ibid.*: 25). This leads to even more subject-related considerations of discursive production and the figure of the actor as symbolically relevant: Pierre Bourdieu and his constructivist-structuralist approach to the analysis of language highlights the social conditionality of linguistic practices. Language in a social field is defined by Bourdieu as a *symbolic system* (Bourdieu, 2009: 164 ff.) in terms of structuring structures, i.e., instruments for "knowing and constructing the world of objects" (*ibid.*). The focus on the *modus operandi* of language, namely its mechanism of structuring structures, leads us to a more proper consideration of the different functions of social actors within the configuration of what has been previously defined as chronotope, and more broadly seen can be part of a social field (in Bourdieu), such as academia or education. In Bourdieu's sense, the field as social organisation is defined, in terms of agents, by oppositions such as teacher vs. student, or judge vs. jury (Hanks, 2005). This is also the case with the spatiotemporally constructed history class with its teachers and students. In language, social agents come together and enact a competition to gain more symbolic power through the right and most valuable form of language (Bourdieu, 1982, 2009; Wacquant, 1992). What here is proposed is not the emphasis on inequalities due to competing linguistic practices in social, economic and political terms (*ibid.*), but the reproduction of a hierarchically structured communicative perspective, and the nature of the framework that makes those situations happen. This is, inter alia, achieved through the

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[11] Translation and emphasis mine.

hierarchical distribution of the figures of the teacher and the receiver, i.e., the students. This perspective helps to further analyse the transgression and reproduction of discourses. Central to this explanation is the mentioned opposition between powerful actors and less powerful ones, which legitimises the forwarding of ideas and beliefs that come together in that spatiotemporal constellation. The functioning of communication and an interaction can be seen as a mutually accepted situation, namely from both teacher and students, created through legitimation and authorisation, and the evaluation of language in action.

2.3.2.1   Authority and hierarchically positioned voices

Considering a prototypical lecture in a classroom with students/children who listen to the teacher, there is only one part in the student-teacher opposition, namely the teacher, who represents a *delegated authority* in terms of speech. Within a classroom situation,

> [...] the use of language, the manner as much as the *substance of discourse*[12], depends on the social position of the speaker, which governs the access he can have to the language of the institution, that is, to the official, orthodox and legitimate speech. (Bourdieu, 2009: 109)

Endowed with the *skeptron* (*ibid.*), the speaker is not only performatively powerful as licensed creator of speech, but can decide, based on their social function, over the appropriateness of what is being uttered. Beside the teacher's ascribed authority, what is crucial for the functioning of the solidification of the different social roles and rules within the social situation, is the understanding and the recognition of the discourse of authority within the space where all participants come together. As a fundamental presupposition for the discourse of authority, Bourdieu places the recognition and the understanding of the latter. However, whereas understanding can also fail without having repercussions, recognition remains crucial. Language in a determined setting must thus be pronounced by the *recognised* holder of the skeptron, a licensed person, in a legitimate situation and in front of a legitimate audience (*ibid.*: 111-113). Thus, whether in a preschool or a school, the figure standing in front of the listeners (students and children) is not only evaluated by the system as legitimate representative of discourses but also recognised by the (ratified) audience which endows the teacher with the role of being the source of knowledge that instructs people who presumably are not in the possession of that knowledge. Bourdieu refers to discourse of authority through examples such as a lecture or a sermon where speech is linguistically produced and combined with non-linguistic practices. The term discourse is interpreted as a linguistic *act* of authority, with the power that relies within an utterance *in relation* to the subject

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[12] Emphasis mine.

who pronounces it, and the value and importance conferred to it. Thus, the performative power in the licensed subject is ascribed to a person, in our case the teachers as *actors*, who represent part of a system, but are able to position themselves in relation to the audience, in the speech and to dominant discourses (e.g., Spitzmüller et al., 2017).

In sum, whatever ideas and beliefs may emerge in a dialogical environment between social agents inserted in a spatiotemporal circumstance, there are more valid statements that assume socially more significant values because of the utterer as authoritative entity that is 1) legitimated as such by a system and 2) reciprocally accepted and considered appropriate by the other part of the socially opposed figures. Considering language as a symbolic systems which are able to constitute structures (Bourdieu, 2009), their invisible power is *symbolic* and seen

> [...] as a power of constituting the given through utterances, of making people see and believe, of confirming or transforming the vision of the world and, thereby, action on the world and thus the world itself, an almost magical power which enables one to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained through force (whether physical or economic), by virtue of the specific effect of mobilization – [...] a power that can be exercised only if it is *recognized,* that is, misrecognized as arbitrary [...] *it is defined in and through a given relation between those who exercise power and those who submit to it* [13] [...]. (Bourdieu, 2009: 170) [14]

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[13] Second emphasis mine.

[14] For Bourdieu, all symbolic instruments (structuring structures, structured structures, and instruments of domination) together lead to domination. What is outlined is the relation of all social roles which come together in the analysed setting, and the hierarchically constructed presence of voices. This is here not to be (only) understood as a domination in the sense of different classes or capital reigning over (symbolically) oppressed subjects.

3 Methods

Recapturing the presence of a multitude of voices in educational space, the boundaries of an oral, communicative polyphony illustrated above are the ones instituted by a system which permits a specific selection of people to perform in a defined setting such as a history class. The institutions as responsible of the setting, and the discourses circulating in them have a strong influence on the functioning and the working of a dialogically structured chronotope, by hierarchising the different voices and ascribing them more or less weight in an interaction. The proliferation of discourses influencing both agents and setting is assumed to be directed by social actors who are able to select and reproduce, reiterate, transmit and/or weaken them. In the following ethnographically informed discourse analysis, I investigate how and through what content teachers as authorised speakers and students/children as ratified audience discursively and collaboratively (re)create collective identities via linguistic interaction, aligning or distancing themselves from school as institutions, and being themselves messengers of knowledge. This happens in contextual situations, created sui generis, through the interplay of a polyphonic chronotope, its social agents and the discourses that condition social interaction.

3.1 Data collection

3.1.1 Observing language and the field

The assumption of the centrality of language in the social world counts as a basis for carrying out research in linguistically and socially complex realities and was already anticipated with regard to poststructuralist approaches. The approach of linguistic ethnography (LE) permits researchers to take language as entry point in studying the connection between linguistic, cultural and social paradigms (Pérez-Milans, 2016; Rampton et al., 2015). Broadly speaking, LE often designates

> a particular configuration of interests within the broader field of socio- and applied linguistics [which constitute, E.T.] a theoretical and methodological development orientating towards particular, established traditions but defining itself in the new intellectual climate of post/structuralism and late modernity. (Creese, 2008: 229)

In the context of this work, linguistic ethnography includes the research carried out throughout the months I actively and physically spent in schools, as well as the demonstration of relevant patterns through reflection and data elaboration with subsequent analyses. In a poststructuralist spirit, LE affords an ontological and epistemological understanding of how language and the social world shape one another, and is influenced by various fields such as social theory (Bourdieu, 2006, 2009; Foucault, 2020 [1966]), communication studies (Bakhtin, 1981; Blommaert, 2015), and sociolinguistics/linguistic

anthropology (LA) (Agha, 2007; Gumperz & Hymes, 1986). While LA and LE are similar in many ways, they have different disciplinary histories and connotations. The former is born out of North American traditions, whereas the latter has more recent roots in the United Kingdom. Unlike anthropology in the US, the same discipline in Europe did not properly develop a linguistic branch, and this caused a divergency in linguists on the one hand and anthropologists on the other, even if both disciplines study cultural practices and social patterns. Therefore, in Europe, LE can provide the approach to language in combination with anthropological paradigms. However, the interdisciplinarity between LA and LE is increasing, and each of them completes and enriches the other (see Copland & Creese, 2015; Leone-Pizzighella, 2021).

3.1.2   Bridging to the analysis: empiricism and reflexivity

The intersection between theory, empirical observation and analysis as basis for interdisciplinary research in social sciences is fundamental for this work (Murphy & Allan, 2022). The paradigm of social theory helps us to understand the realities we live in, and affects relations between the state and civil society, culture and social transformations, as well as the power of language as a mechanism of social control. Social theory in education draws from a wide selection of disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, media and communication studies, history, and linguistics (*ibid.*):

> [S]ocial theory is explicit in framing the issues affecting education as already politicised [...] and offers researchers a conceptual apparatus that addresses the social roots of educational issues. These roots may surface via forms of language, culture, knowledge, and governance systems, and hence the theories may differ in their focus, but when applied to fields such as education, they inevitably ask research questions that can unsettle taken-for-granted assumptions about schools, colleges, and universities. (Murphy & Allan, 2022: 6)

A firm pattern that accompanies this work within its epistemological outcome from ethnographic research is Pierre Bourdieu's rejection of *theoreticism,* i.e., a theory that does not include enough empirical data to exercise open critique (e.g., Rawolle & Lingard, 2022). Not only theoreticism, but also *methodologism,* the fervent focus on methods and techniques at the expense of epistemological and ontological issues about data, ends up in the background (*ibid.*). In other words, in a potential pre-analytical perspective, this work follows Bourdieu who speaks for creating a connection between both theory and data throughout the interdisciplinary research provided by many social fields, such as education. By refusing the opposing dichotomies theory-data and theory-methodology, every act of research should be both theoretical and empirical, i.e., observe and evaluate by constituting hypotheses in examining structures and relations (Wacquant, 1992: 35). The connection between theory and

analysis within this work is based on the results of active empirical observation in educational space, and different theoretical concepts that help to develop and transform the ethnographic observations into material for the analysis of varied fragments of discourse. This is to be considered one of the elements of the intrinsic connection between theory and data. Indeed, Rawolle and Lingard (2022: 174) see Bourdieu's approach to social research as "abductive", i.e. it applies both inductive (data to theory) and deductive (theory to data) approaches to the analysed context. Translated to this context, this means that conclusions will be drawn both from the theoretical patterns confirmed in the analysis as well as from paradigms emerging out of analysis.

Beside the imbrication of theory and data in Bourdieu's view, a first rapprochement to the analysis of the following parts of audiovisual recordings is the author's self-reflection during fieldwork. As outlined by Bourdieu, the researcher/ethnographer/analyst has to get away from their *epistemological innocence* and the illusion of a transparent and clear understanding of the object of study. It has to be realised that researchers/ethnographers/analysts are themselves part of cultural traditions and social frameworks (e.g., Bourdieu, 2006). In the context of education, *reflexivity* meant to me that 1) I had to get in touch with the object of study by understanding what importance it might have had to me, and 2) compare the observable and observed to my own experience and backgrounds. This necessary reflexivity has to endure when it comes to the analysis of discourses. Drawing on the expansion and penetration of discourses in educational spaces in this work, the concept of reflexivity is not abandoned. Also Foucault argues the persistence of the scientific figure and its biases: Researchers and analysts are guided and subjected to *epistemes,* or "historical a priori" that establish the possibilities of science (Macdonell, 1986; Mills, 2004), i.e.,

> [...] the total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and possibly formalized systems; the way in which, in each of these discursive formations, the transitions to epistemologization, scientificity, and formalization are situated and operate [...] It [the episteme, E.T.] is the totality of relations that can be discovered, for a given period, between the sciences when one analyses them at the level of discursive regularities. (Foucault, 1972 [1969]: 191)

So, our perception of objects is shaped within our own limits, and the discursive analysis of language, economics, politics, etc., is to be understood as subordinated to the researcher as examining subject and object of their own study (Foucault, 1994 [1966], 2020 [1966]). As a researcher, I bring my own cultural heritage to the studies and the analysis, since the context of investigation is the one in which I grew up, including an educational system that shaped me. My own biases and historical a priori will influence the analysis.

3.1.3   From ethnography to data elaboration

From February to June 2023, I participated in the data collection and elaboration phases of two ethnographic linguistic research projects in educational spaces[15]. My work on the participatory action research project *STEMCo* (*Stances Toward Education in Multilingual Contexts*: H2020-MSC-IF, no. 101030581)[16] consisted of nearly five months of weekly ethnographic engagement (fieldnotes, audiovisual recording, participant observation) at a middle school in South Tyrol, Italy, as well as ongoing iterative data analysis (coding and transcription), and some collaborative reflection sessions with teacher participants (e.g., Leone-Pizzighella & Telser, 2023a, 2023b).

KiDiLi - Linguistic diversity at South Tyrolean pre-schools: a sociolinguistic ethnography[17] is the second research project I have contributed to. Through methods of critical sociolinguistic ethnography, KiDiLi investigates multilingualism and language education in a preschool in a historically multilingual reality, the Autonomous Province of Bolzano/Bozen-South Tyrol. The ethnographic fieldwork took place in an institutionally German-language preschool (see Thoma & Platzgummer, 2023). I have been involved in the subsequent phases of the research after ethnographic fieldwork had already been concluded (Platzgummer et al., 2023).

In the following sections, the working procedures and processes in the matter of the mentioned projects are discussed in parallel, in order to give an insight into both studies and the elaboration of the collected material, beginning with the active ethnographic involvement in STEMCo.

3.1.3.1   Participatory action research (STEMCo)

In the context of STEMCo, ethnographic research was composed out of different phases of participatory action research (PAR), namely observing classroom practice, reflecting on data collected with teachers, planning modifications to didactics, and putting these changes into action.
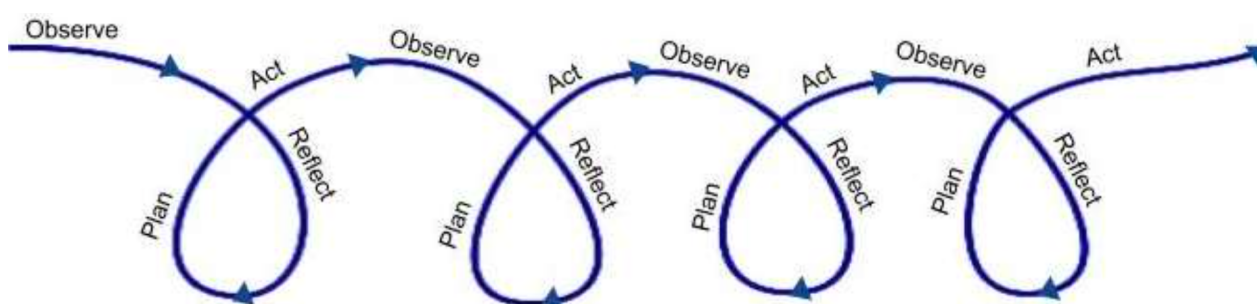
Figure II: The graphic representation for participatory action research

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Whereas the parts of planning and acting included the process of teacher-training-oriented activities and pedagogic implementations, the observing and reflecting phase were used in view of this thesis to concretise the recorded practices in terms of discourse/language at school, by commenting on them and connecting different statements or circumstances in an analysis to the theoretical framework.[18]

Fieldnotes, ethnographic interviewing, and audiovisual recordings were the collected material at the end of fieldwork. The fieldnotes have been pseudonymised and coded in NVivo[19] (ongoing process, as of February 2024). As for audiovisual material stemming from lessons and educational practice, two recorders were distributed in the classes and assigned to groups of students, and one recorder was always assigned to the teacher. The filming took place at the back of the classroom next to where the researchers were sitting. After being uploaded, the audio recordings were renamed following the school subjects and the pseudonyms of students/teacher they had been assigned to, and subsequently regrouped in different folders with the respective video/s (usually one video for a 45-minute class)[20].
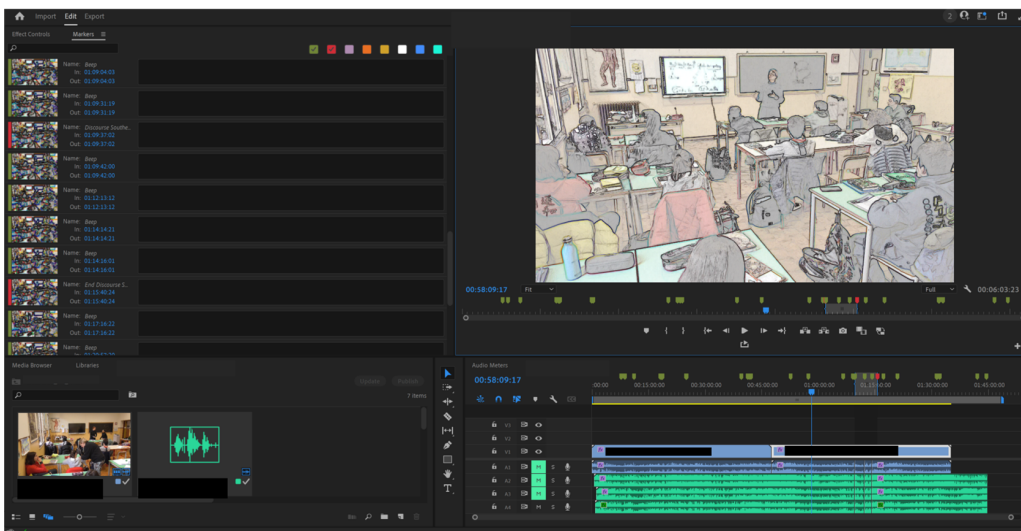
Figure III: Editing in Adobe Premiere Pro

In Adobe Premiere Pro[21], the videos and audio recordings of the same class were put together in projects and then synchronised. A first listening process could identify and select with green markers the parts (majorly names) which had to be anonymised. A filter ("Find Edges") with a 30%-blend with the original was put on the video file to guarantee visual anonymisation. Also, the audio pitch of all audio tracks was shifted so that the original voices cannot be recognised. For this work, only the

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[18] The diagram of PAR was developed by Andrea R. Leone-Pizzighella who kindly offered using the figure to describe the part of working process useful for this thesis.

[19] https://lumivero.com/products/nvivo/

[20] For a detailed description of the whole data management process consult https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10406517.

[21] https://www.adobe.com/it/products/premiere.html

teachers' recordings are relevant. Therefore, all other audio tracks have been muted in the single projects on Adobe Premiere to guarantee a better understanding for transcriptions. Mentioned personal data and/or references to the school's identity were erased by modified "beeps". A second listening to the projects with video and audio files could identify potentially relevant and recurrent discursive events and linguistic material within the recorded interactions. Those sections were labelled with red markers and underwent a third listening. After that, the corpus of audiovisual sections was exported for analysis.

3.1.3.2 Creation of data corpora (KiDiLi)

Ethnographic material for KiDiLi consisted in audio recordings registered in the preschool, covering the period from April 2021 to April 2022, with different social agents involved in interaction. Out of the collected material, audio recordings were regrouped in an inventory and separated in 1) teacher meetings and 2) interactions in different situations of educational practice with both teachers and children involved. The researcher was always present. These recorded situations are wide-ranging, from games among children, individual interactions during breaks and meals, to more regulated practices in the classroom, with various activities organised by the teachers as a morning circle time. They are a daily meeting of around various lengths (10 minutes to an hour) between the children and a teacher leading the activities, during which learning is encouraged through games, stories, songs and others. One constituting element in these meetings are various tradition-related and custom-oriented activities. In this context, I focused on the first semester of the preschool year 2021/2022 because of its thematic relevance to this study and the months before Christmas as a period which highlights the preschool's intensified dedication to religion-inherent activities. I created one corpus with the meetings among teachers from that period (two recordings) and one for the morning circles (11 recordings).

3.2 Data analysis

3.2.1 Choice of materials

In the context of STEMCo, the relevant discursive moments have been chosen out of the exported excerpts of recordings (*supra*) during specific classes, namely Italian, history and geography. The selection of video and audio files recorded during the lessons of the mentioned subjects is grounded on the assumption that in humanities subjects, teachers can take up a great deal of space as a discourse-constituting entity, namely through the construction of narratives and a partially monologic design of the lessons. From all synchronised recordings in these subjects in the period from February to the beginning of June 2023, a search was made for discursive elements containing *world views* and normative and normalising narratives on reality, i.e., thematic knowledge conveyed in the form of

language with regard to the mentioning and creation of groups, roles and identities. Those elements were finally exported from Adobe Premiere Pro as discourse excerpts (*supra*).

For KiDiLi, the focus on teacher meetings and structured encounters between one teacher and the children in the context of games, stories and other activities permitted the examination of the circulation of discourses in educational practice and their regulation on a meta-level (teacher meetings): Whereas the meetings could give insights into decisions on the programme and the discussions about several issues, the study of the morning circles from the same period made it possible to investigate whether some of the phenomena and discourses discussed in the meetings manifested themselves in practice.

All the chosen and analysed discursive elements from both STEMCo and KiDiLi are *emblematic* for discourses of social phenomena and can give valuable insights into cultural mechanisms, discursive and non-discursive practices, and social dynamics in general. The selection of the excerpts based on *key incidents* provides a deeper understanding of moments linked to different social phenomena. The key-incident approach adopted in this work (e.g., Kroon & Sturm, 2000) is able to focus on concrete moments or instances of abstract mechanisms that shape social life (*ibid.*). An emblematic key incident for specific mechanisms is respectively revealed in one of the following parts of discourse, and can be linked to other incidents. In this matter, Frederick Erickson (1985) states that

> [...] the researcher assumes intuitively that the event chosen has the potential to make explicit a theoretical 'loading'. A key event is key in that it brings to awareness latent, intuitive judgments the analyst has already made about salient patterns in the data. Once brought to awareness these judgments can be reflected upon critically. (Erickson, 1985: 108)

Key events or incidents can be highlighted out of fieldnotes or the analysed audiovisual material, linking them to other incidents or theoretical concepts, so that "others can see the generic in the particular, [...] the relation between part and whole" (Erickson, 1977 cited in Kroon & Sturm, 2000). This juxtaposition between the part and the whole, and the micro that reveals the macro, can be aligned with the parallelism between D/discourse and the fact that social phenomena are enacted and expressed in face-to-face interaction (see 2.2.3). The ethnographic concept of key incident is here applied to the single statements that offer a key to uncover discourses and have a deeper understanding of reality by combining spoken discourse to the context of investigation.

Different key incidents were treated as discourse fragments in Siegfried Jäger's definition, i.e., parts of speech evoking a specific thematic area, to their discourse strand, that is, flows of discourse regarding a common topic (Jäger, 2001; Jäger & Maier, 2016). An example of a discourse strand could be the one centred around religion. This strand can be entangled with other discourse strands, such as the ones of traditional values or culture: A hypothetical captured discourse fragment such as

"Tomorrow we celebrate Christmas, let's buy some gifts and, as Christians, say some prayers" can evoke the discourse strand of religion or traditional values, entangled with the ones of economy and identity (*ibid.*, drawn on an example given by Jäger). For STEMCo, the final corpus of audiovisual recordings was composed out of 20 exported files with several, hypothetically relevant key incidents within them, each of them of a different length with a maximum of around 17 minutes. A second selection out of the 20 excerpts consisted in attributing the different key incidents to their nature as discourse fragments. Out of the corpus of 20 audiovisual files, two discourse excerpts (with their fragments) corresponding to two exported sections out of two different classes have been chosen for in-depth analysis this work. For KiDiLi, out of the aforementioned corpora, two relevant recordings of files that document discourse related to one specific topic have been chosen, one excerpt from a recording of a meeting among teachers, and one is taken out of educational practice in a morning circle time.

After the collected discourse fragments, the discourse strand as a common denominator for the revealed phenomena in interaction has been identified. It involves both projects with the four recorded excerpts, all their discourse fragments and regards **the construction of collective identities.** This discourse strand is composed by several subtopics that will constitute the single data chapters. It is important to know that the discourse strand has been *deductively* discovered, after filtering out recurrent elements out of the excerpts stemming from STEMCo and the ones of KiDiLi: Two different subtopics inherent to 1) cultural and 2) socio-political issues are illustrated with data taken from STEMCo (see chapters 5 and 6). The subtopic of religious and traditional values as object of investigation is composed by the two preschool-recordings (Chapter 7). Note that for KiDiLi the discourse fragments examine the subtopic of religion and traditions with a diachronic shift (e.g., Jäger, 2015; Jäger & Maier, 2016), i.e., their evolution in two different moments of time but also on two different levels. They regard the discursive construction and discussion of a religion and tradition-relevant topic among the teachers in a kindergarten in the context of a) the chronotope "meeting among teachers" and b) the subsequent delivery of the same topics in the classroom with the children present. As such, they guarantee the insight into a meta-reflection on discursive content and its materialisation in practice.

3.2.2   Framework for analysis: the interpretation of reality

The notion of analysis evokes here first and foremost a reasoning process that tries to establish how recurrent social phenomena in discourse are both effect out of an antecedent ensemble of ideas, and cause for newly generated paradigms in communication. Turning back to the analysis of discourse in Foucault, he states that this analysis is

a task that consists of not - of no longer treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this *more* that renders them irreducible to the language *(langue)* and to speech. It is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe. (Foucault, 1972 [1969]: 49)

It needs to be analysed how the linguistic practices contribute to the "more" and to reality, as well as to the formation and the genesis of knowledge, with the participation of social actors. The following analysis is insofar critical, as it does not aim to establish what is right or wrong, or good or bad in terms of ideas and discourses, by simply evaluating positively or negatively the empirically observed. Instead, it highlights the continuous questioning of the taken-for-granted and of *normal* and *normative* discursive parameters emerging in statements hitherto unquestioned (Jäger, 2015; Jäger & Maier, 2016; Wodak, 2020). The analysis is aware of its own discursivity, with the researcher and author himself as product of power relations and discursive influences.

3.2.3   Processes of analysis

A dual analysis for the understanding of the interrelation between discourse as power-constituting and reality-shaping entity, and the social actors with potential to act through language, is proposed. To align these two perspectives, namely how discourse is created by agents and what it creates, an analysis on several levels has to be considered.

First, a structural analysis of the linguistic material inspired by the model *DIMEAN-Diskurslinguistisches Mehrebenenmodell* (see Warnke & Spitzmüller, 2008) is suggested and adapted to oral interaction. The aim is to focus on an intratextual analysis within the discursive excerpts, paying attention to elements within the single discourse fragments through a word-oriented (e.g., keywords or stigmatisations, indexicals, pronouns) and a proposition-oriented linguistic analysis (e.g., metaphors, presuppositions, usage of deontic expressions) (*ibid.*). This micro- or mesostructural approach on the level of statements leads to a more detailed view on what and how parts of discourses are linguistically conveyed throughout the discourse strand of the (re)production of identities. Also, it conducts to the examination of how pieces of interaction on cultural and/or socio-political topics contribute to the circulation of the "whole" (see Erickson, 1985; *supra*): In fact, in combination with the word- and proposition-oriented analysis, a more discourse-oriented examination will identify possible *topoi* and elements of social symbolism (*ibid.*) for a transtextual or, as I call it here, transinteractional sphere. Topoi are elements of discursive knowledge, and more precisely, implicitly conveyed argumentation schemes which evoke, through collective knowledge, different meanings without mentioning them explicitly. In terms of topoi, I adopt the notion brought forth by Martin Wengeler (2017: 2), who

explains that a topos reveals part of the dominating social consciousnesses and manifests collective meanings and thoughts in relation to a specific topic. Wengeler's approach is, in a broader sense, a reception of Foucault's theory on discourse and therefore even more relevant to this work. Moreover, the question on the difference between topoi and the use of symbols needs to be answered. I understand both topoi and symbols as highly collaborative and crucial for deciphering discourses. Like topoi, (collective) symbols are a means for contextualisation and indicate discursive knowledge. However, unlike the former, collective symbols are here considered to be conventional, *explicitly* mentioned social symbols indicating a repertoire of images known to all members of society/the group involved in discourse (Jäger & Maier, 2016; Warnke & Spitzmüller, 2008). The sphere of symbols can regard stereotypes or historical symbols and events. In other words, I assume that implicitly occurring topoi as argumentative schemes can include several explicitly mentioned collective symbols and other argumentative techniques which function at the same time as indicators for a specific topos. Also, topoi as (hidden) schemes that orchestrate interaction have great influence on the choice of words and different expressions in interaction centred and regrouped around a given notion/meaning. In the analysis, recurrent topoi related to the discourse strand are examined throughout the discourse fragments and constitute the sections within each data chapter (e.g., *Idealism* in subchapter 5.2 or *Religious homo(hetero)geneity* in subchapter 7.3).

Second, part of the analysis of the discourse-constituting agent is outlined based on Erving Goffman's notions of *animator, author,* and *principal* (1979, 1981)*.* These concepts are central tools in the analysis of interaction and the presentation of self, and are used to establish who speaks and whose voice is represented, in short, how and through whose voices statements become discourse. The *animator* is the instance physically delivering speech and performing communication, i.e., the voice box. It is the individual who is physically conveying the message (e.g., the teacher who delivers a monologue in a history class). The *author* can, but does not necessarily have to overlap with the animator as speaking agent and is who created the speech and constructed the message (e.g., the teacher themselves or the text out of a book written by an author, then delivered by the teacher). Whether animator and author converge in one figure or not, the analysis of the author can aim at investigating the influences on the audience, the choice of words and rhetorical devices, as well as intents through cultural references and persuasive techniques (*ibid.*). The *principal* is the accountable part for the speech of the animator in the aforementioned trinomial, i.e., the person or entity whose interests are being served (e.g., school, or very generally a world view, different ideologies, etc.). The principal can be portrayed or repressed in the interaction, and the aim is to investigate the interplay of the three concepts (*ibid.*), what interests they represent and how the different roles manifest themselves in a fellowship of discourse (Foucault, 1971).

The synchronic outlining of a word- and proposition-oriented analysis and an actor-related view in form of the terms of animator, author, and principal (Goffman, 1979; Warnke & Spitzmüller, 2008) leads to and collaborates with the transinteractional analysis based on topoi and collective symbols. The global analysis will not proceed in a linear way, but will rather include recursive processes, focussing on the word/proposition-based and the actor-based analysis in interchangeable ways within the chapters (*supra*).

The following data chapters address the discourse strand of the creation of collective identities and each represent one subtopic (e.g., the transmission of traditional and religious values in Chapter 7). The chapters are preceded by a short introduction which illustrates some elements that give insight into the classroom as ethnographic scene. In each subchapter, material in the form of discourse fragments is presented, both with the necessary background and context, to include non-discursive practices, evoked symbols, and behaviours (i.e., all considered non-written or non-verbal language). Subsequently, the relevant elements are outlined and critically and linguistically interpreted. For the choice to consider oral interaction as discourse fragments, it followed that the recordings in both educational settings needed to be represented and prepared for analysis through transcription (in *Folker*, an adaptation of the *EXMARaLDA* system, see Schmidt & Wörner, 2014). In the matter of this, a modified version of Gail Jefferson's (1983, 2004) transcription conventions, amplified through the *Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem* (GAT-2) by Selting et al. (2009), was applied. The degree of detailed transcription suitable for this analysis seemed to be a context-adapted GAT-2 *Basistranskript,* which is widely used for the investigation on (dialogic) interactions and able to focus on relevant prosody and non-verbal actions (*ibid.*). As the interactions occurred in German or regional forms of it (preschool) and in Italian (some interventions in the preschool and all interactions in the middle school), the excerpts were translated into English. The original excerpts and their translation into English, as well as the transcription conventions (see 10.1) are inserted in the Appendices. For a clear understanding throughout the analysis, the term *excerpt* will refer to the whole transcribed part of the lessons, whereas *fragments* are all reported pieces of interactions within the analysis. As to the analytical process, relevant sections (fragments) will be copied from the transcripts and inserted into the different sections. All the mentioned participants are represented with their pseudonyms. Quoted lines within the text refer to the single fragments and the column with the English translation. If there are no fragments inserted, necessary references to the full transcript in the appendices are made following this wording: "lines XY in transcript". Notes and comments to the translated version will find space in the footnotes. Relevant utterances, words, and other parts of sentences within the copied sections will be reported in **bold type**. Any modification of these types is added by me, unless otherwise specified.

4 Setting the scene: Observing the classroom

The first two excerpts in the analysis (referring to Chapter 5 and Chapter 6) are audiovisual recordings in the context of the middle school (project STEMCo). The image below shows one moment in the classroom during a recorded class with the teacher who assumes the role of qualified speaker, leading the interactions with the students.
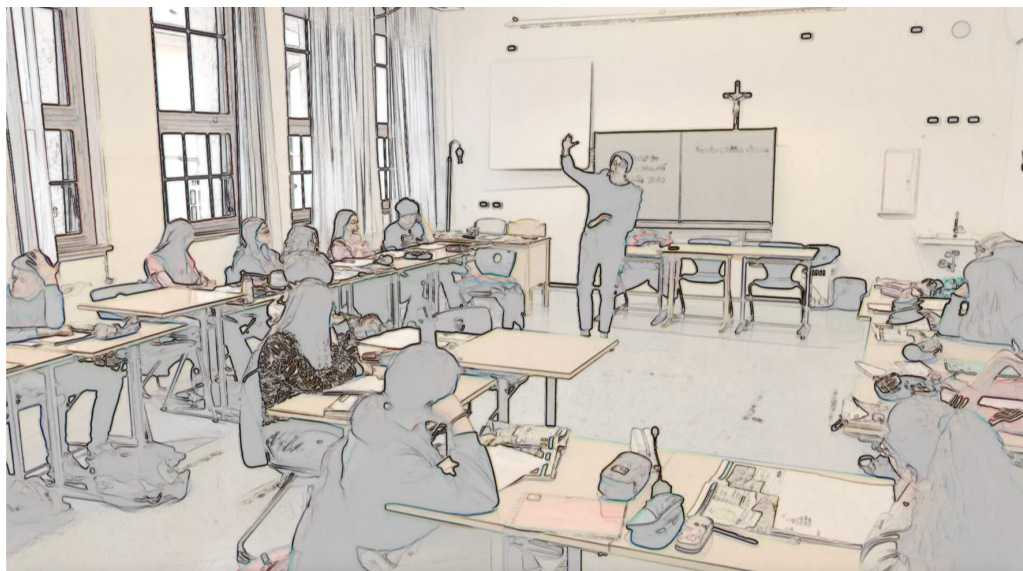
Figure IV: Video recording of a history class

The teacher normally stands in the middle of the classroom with all the students around them arranged in a horseshoe. Behind the teacher, there is the blackboard, and a crucifix hangs above it. The majority of the space in the classroom is dedicated to the teacher and their "performance". This spatial organisation renders them the protagonist of the speech situation: They map and structure discourse throughout the lessons. The speaker's gestures dominate most of the space in the middle of the classroom and confirm the person's control over the space and the setting. By walking around in the room, the teacher is able to structure their lessons monologically and strengthen them by enacting gesture and facial expressions as part of body language. Especially facial expressions are, in oral discourse, able to convey an "emotional state" and are a means of conveying non-verbal messages (Bendel Larcher, 2015: 106). The teacher as animator in discourse may thus have several effects on the students as ratified listeners, showing them (willingly or not) their emotions through the fusion of verbal expressions, facial expressions and gestures(e.g., Goffman, 2007). Due to the design of the classroom and also the interactional organisation of the class as "audience", the speaker assumes an almost orator-like position that contributes to the creation of their *ethos* in the transmission of messages. This confirms that the teacher's recognised and delegated authoritative position in speech can already be evinced out of the spatial disposition of the classroom as a stage. The furniture is not fixed to the ground,

and teachers can move tables and chairs around in the classroom if they wish: either to form single rows or to create an "island"-format with groups of tables placed together, to enact interactions among the students. However, the stage-like organisation of the space remains as it is, and thus notably contributes to the performance.

With regard to KiDiLi and the preschool environment, the interactions in the room and between the social actors taking part in communication (teachers and children) are less regulated and controlled. The audio recordings give insight into vivid exchanges between the educators and the children who, of course, are treated differently compared to the teenagers in the middle school. Communication within the educational space in the kindergarten often takes place spontaneously, with children making contributions when they retain to do so, without waiting for permission from the teachers. This creates a much less structured and less controlled, but a more intense dialogic situation than in the middle school. Teachers have to moderate various situations, admonish children, pick up speeches from the beginning when they are interrupted and attract attention through engaging captivating narrative patterns. In fact, teachers animate their interventions with recurrent questions and emotionally and phonetically emphasized statements to not lose the children's attention (who are between two and a half and six years old). Despite the different environment, the classroom situation in the preschool shares its ritualised nature with those classes in the middle school, by being guided and structured by a reciprocally, i.e. from the students and the system, recognised figure who organises speech and orchestrates a multitude of voices.

5   Fluid and static (national) identities

This first chapter of analysis focuses on an extract of a geography class in the context of the middle school, and is part of a series of lessons in which characteristics of different European countries are presented and discussed, with subsequent tests and oral exams. Held at the beginning of February 2023, the class from which the analysed interaction stems (transcript in 10.2.1) was a lecture about France. The students were all sitting in the classroom, with their books on their desks. The book for geography class is subdivided into different chapters which each focus on a different country. The page the students were looking at represented a map of France and smaller pieces of textual information. In the class, not only geographical or historical, but also societal and cultural themes were considered, when the conversation led to the topic of migration/immigration. The teacher initiated the discussion without references to a specific section in the book the students were looking at. In the analysed part of the lesson, France was introduced as a country with a significant history of immigration. In doing so, the teacher included several personal considerations about the presence of foreigners in Metropolitan

France, providing context for the students by repeatedly comparing the country's history and its societal functioning to the Italian reality or the students' presumed lived experiences in their reality.

5.1 Othering

At the very beginning of their discourse on immigration, the teacher mentions France as the country in Europe which would have welcomed over the years the most North African immigrants and people from former French colonies in Africa. This already suggests that there are at least two groups of people who seem to be relevant for the analysis of immigration, namely the French and the immigrants. Starting from these two categories, this first section deals with groups of people mentioned by the teacher and the different identitarian characteristics attributed to those groups throughout the interaction between teacher and students.

Throughout the class, there are constant references made to the self and to others. These references regard not only the mentioning of the topic of investigation (France) and all the instances composing it, but also references to the self and to other groups and categories. The constant evoking of the self and of others in a landscape of different groups and people is here considered as a first argumentative scheme and defined as cross-discursive element: In fact, the linguistic use of indexicals and denominations of people function as a foundation on which the discussion in the geography class is built and developed. It specifically regards the creation of different images in relation to real circumstances lived or experienced by both teacher and students, and can refer to the context of investigation by giving names, attributions and building up categories with references to nationalities and origins. Both the students and the teacher as social agents refer to groups of people, sometimes explicitly mentioned and described, sometimes implied. The forming of several categories, adapted and readapted throughout the conversation, is a premise for the evolution of different discourses and knowledges on belonging.

To categorise people or groups of people, a point of reference is needed, which often is expressed through the indexical *we* or pronouns related to it. In the matter of immigration and its history in both Italy and in France, the teacher (TEA) creates a parallelism of how the phenomenon is perceived and treated in the two countries, relating it to the fact of giving citizenship to immigrants. This elicits reflections on the opposition between a created *we*-group as category opposed to the entity "France", as the following fragments stemming from the class show:

Fragment 5.1.a: We - "the French"

| 140 | **TEA** | quindi noi (arriviamo) con un percorso lungo e faticoso a dare la cittadinanza (.) in tanti paesi invece del mondo tu lo acquisisci alla nascita (-) | *so **we (arrive)** with a long and laborious process in giving citizenship (.) in many countries of the world you acquire it at birth instead (-) so you understand* |

145		quindi capite che c'è (-) una grande differenza anche (.) CULturale (.) i francesi in questo sono anni luce (-) avanti a noi …	*that there is (-) a big difference also (.) CULtural (.)* **the french are light years (-) ahead of us** *in this regard …*

Fragment 5.1.b: We/"We Italians"

	TEA	perché forse sono arrivati con un altro percorso (.) noi: siamo stati più una terra di <<cresc> E!migranti> che non di (-) immigra immigrazione siamo stati noi ad andare (-) per decenni a fare gli emigranti in giro per il mondo quindi quando qualcuno no (-) arriva da noi facciamo più fatica (gli mettiamo) una serie di (paletti) di difficoltà	*because maybe* **they arrived** *by another path (.)* **we: we have been more a land of <<cresc> E!migrants>** *than of (-) immigrants* **we were the ones who went emigrating around the world** *(-) for decades as emigrants around the world* **so when someone right (-) comes to us we make it more difficult** *(we put) a series of difficulties*
155			
160			

The "we" ("noi") is used several times without further specification, with regard to a taken-for-granted category. The generic *we/us* (lines 140, 147, 153, 155) can represent all people sitting in the classroom as part of a bigger entity unified through "a land" (line 154), namely Italy, and implies a generic use of "Italians" for defining people belonging to that entity. This homogeneous identitarian representation starts from a speaker-related view and is creating an identity that the interlocutors in the classroom are expected to assume: It is an element that seems self-evidently valid, and it is never challenged by any participant in the interaction. Through the use of the indexicals *we/us*, the teacher stipulates their belonging to a group, without specifying who is actually part of it and who is not. The creating of this collective being through terms related to a nation can constitute a) the social reality in which the teacher and the listeners live and b) a tool to define oneself through a collective term, imposing a specific image of community on the listeners (see Amossy, 2010). By referring to Italian diaspora, the passages in lines 153-157 reinforce this collective image through the mentioning of a common historical past to which the students and the teacher relate not by having experienced that past, but by sharing it as cultural and identitarian heritage. Linking to the discourse on immigration in Italy, throughout the class, the initially implied reference to the *We* as "Italians" is explicated several times through nation-related terms. In portraying immigration as relatively new and more recent in Italy, the teacher clearly evokes a common national consciousness through the use of "us Italians" or "we Italians" (e.g., lines 94, 120, 188 in the transcript), with Italy as a whole and the definite attribution of the *We* to a bigger community and not just the people sitting in the classroom.

The *We* / "We Italians" constitutes the first part in an identity-triangle (see end of this section) and automatically evokes a second corner composing the triangle. The latter refers to the main topic of the geography class, and the concept of immigration in the reality the conversation is about, namely France and French people (lines 146-147, "they" in line 152). "The French" is used as *pars pro toto* for a

generalised, cultural, historical, and societal ensemble: In fragment 5.1.b, *they* in line 152 stands for "the French" and is diametrically opposed to the *We*, representing like this not just people living in France, citizens in terms of groups of people, but an entire system retained to be "light years ahead of us" as stated in 5.1.a (lines 146-147). In short, the *We* is established as deictic centre opposed to the representation of "the French" as essential, static category: The recurrent propositional construction of 'subject + are/have/did' referred to the French conveys a "generic identification of ethnic groups" (Warnke & Spitzmüller, 2008: 27), and is able to define other groups by automatically excluding them: With regard to immigration, the creation of "the French" has a presupposing function in creating another, separated identitarian image. So is the third corner completing the triangle a very general and underspecified category, the "immigrants". Especially at the beginning of the analysed interaction, where the topic of immigration in France is introduced, the *others* are qualified by the teacher in different ways, mainly by referring to their origins. An initial underspecified use of "immigrants" becomes more specific when the teacher talks about the presence in France of "North African emigrants" from former French colonies, "Maghrebis" or "people from all over the world" (lines 01-33 in the transcript). So becomes the third category the richest one from a linguistic point of view, as all words used for categorising a group outside the binomial Italians-French people refer to it. Focussing on France and the presence of people from all over the world, especially from former African colonies, the students Valeria (VAL), Pietro (PIE) and Nabil (NAB) intervene and relate the facts demonstrated by the teacher to their own observations:

Fragment 5.1.c: Others - Africans and people of colour

35	**VAL**	[ma] infatti anche tipo:: (.) ai mondiali quest'anno [ho notato] (per)che (.)	[but] in fact also during the world championships this year [i realised] (because) (.)
	PIE	[son tutti:]	[they're all:]
40	**VAL**	la squadra di calcio della francia [sono]	the french national football team *[are]*
	NAB	[è la più forte è troppo forte]	*[is the greatest they're really the greatest]*
	VAL	tutti [tutti::] africani così	*all [all::] africans* yes
45	**PIE**	[di colore] *omissis one turn, not clear*	*[people of colour]* *omissis one turn, not clear*
	TEA	sono tutti ( ) afric[ani] no ma anche se voi andate [(3.0)] *omissis seven turns, students begin to talk about football and teacher interrupts them, they call for attention*	*they're all ( ) afri[cans]* no but also if you go [(3.0)] *omissis seven turns, students begin to talk about football and teacher interrupts them, they call for attention*

Whereas the first two collective identities composing the triangle have a clear word-anchorage through specific terms ("the French", "Italians"/"we", *supra*), the third group represents a fluid, racialised category summed up here under the associative field (Niklas-Salminen, 2015) of *Others*. In the analysed

excerpt, a racialised othering within this third dimension of identities is a scheme that is applied through the usage of different terms and denominations. In fragment 5.1.c, Valeria links her intervention to the concept of immigration and mentions football as an element of daily culture that should confirm the teacher's knowledge about France as gathering the highest number of immigrants in Europe. She introduces soccer as a pop cultural theme with a high grade of symbolic relevance when talking about countries and national belonging. The student comments the teacher's statements about the presence of many different people in France and expands that theory based on their own knowledge on a specific topic. Valeria suggests that "in fact" (line 34), the France national football team is composed out of all "Africans", hesitating before using the word (line 43). Preceded by pauses and repetitions, in her statements, Valeria seems to reflect on an appropriate word for the group she is about to mention, and gives the impression of trying to figure out what politically correct term to use without being derogatory. The result is the word "Africans" that creates a cognitive parallelism between the player's colour of the skin and supposed origins, verbalised by Pietro who completes Valeria's moment of hesitation with the fact that the football team's components are "all" people "of colour" (line 45). The teacher in lines 47-48, instead, confirms Valeria's hypothesis by repeating "Africans", and affirms their authoritative role of evaluating the student's intervention as relevant and valid knowledge (Bourdieu, 2009; Foucault, 1971). It emerges that the identitarian image of *others* related to immigration contains more fluid conceptualisations of identity, in attributing at least two different qualities to the created category, namely the one of geo-historical origins, i.e. people coming from the outside, and one element ascribable to racio-ethnically categorising elements, i.e. the colour of the skin. Not only is this third image of identity fluid in its verbalised linguistic conceptualisations ("immigrants", "North Africans", "Maghrebis", "Africans", "of colour"). Also, there happens a potential generalisation due to the here interpreted worry of being politically incorrect as in the formulation by Valeria, who searches to sum up a group of people with one word. The figure of the presumed immigrant is here visually identified through the colour of the skin, and this becomes almost synonymous to "immigrant" or to "African", as also the teacher confirms. What follows is the creation of one identitarian image that regards the immigrants previously mentioned by the teacher, and due to the interventions by the students, their equivalence with "Africans" (line 43, 47) and "people of colour" (line 45). It is thus assumed that an identity trait such as the skin colour functions as hypernymous concept for all other, probably non-recognised nationalities and origins in France and its national football team. Moreover are the *Others* seemingly united through the fact that they are all considered immigrants or descendants from immigrants. The discussion on the presence of the *other* in the football team is brought forward, and so becomes the world of sports a representative symbol of France as a country. The teacher subsequently links the existence of the *other* to their own lived experiences in urban realities in France,

where they experienced the coexistence of all the aforementioned "types" of immigrants, and talks about it in fragment 5.1.d:

Fragment 5.1.d: Others as quantifiable group

| 60 | **TEA** | … se andate a parigi e girate certe strade> (-) io veramente ho fatto fatica a riconoscere un francese come mi aspettavo di trovare *omissis two turns, students chatting* | *… if you go to paris and walk around in certain streets> (-) i really had a hard time recognising a french person as i expected to find* *omissis two turns, students chatting* |
| 65 | **TEA** | tantISSIMI di colore (-) e tantissimi nordafricani maghrebini maghrebini … | ***a LOT of people of colour (-) and a lot of north africans maghrebis maghrebis …*** |

The presence of the *other* becomes quantifiable, and the existence of "a lot of people of colour" and "a lot of North Africans, Maghrebis" (lines 65-67) is prosodically highlighted. The fact that in the football team or in French cities there are "lots of them", evokes an image that represents a wave of the *others* perpetuating several areas, and confirms their status of an immigrating instance. This can lead in the receiver, even if not intended by the speaker, to the understanding of the *other's* historically unnatural and strange, but accepted and tolerated presence, due to the high number of people.

The trinomial relationship between *We - the French - Others* with several linguistic attributions is represented once again in a triangle that shows three main identitarian images discursively created throughout the lecture, and whose relationships and connections will be analysed in the following sections.
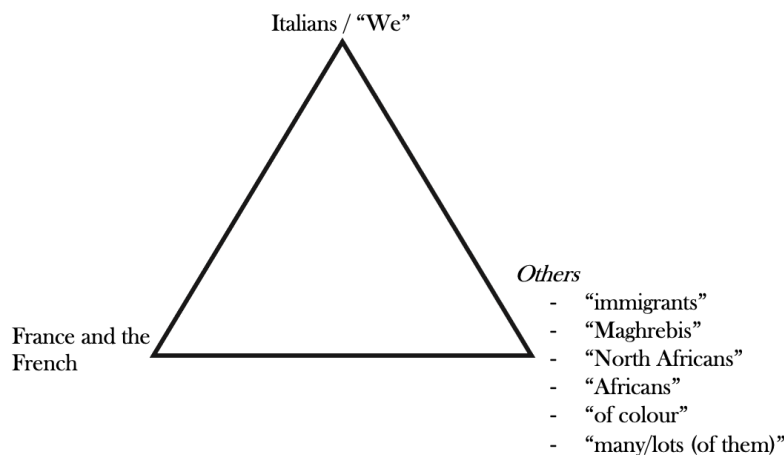
Figure V: The construction of a triangle of identitarian images

The triangle portrays how the different corners are interdependent through the three sides, not only in terms of comparison, but of the single corners as fundamental in defining each other. As Deborah Schiffrin explains, "other is a microcosmic representation of society; other/society and self are interdependent" (2006: 105). What emerges out of the juxtaposition of these three groups is a reflection

on the self which, in turn, contributes to creating the other and the self. The three sides aim to show how and to what extent the single entities stand in an interrelation to each other. The collective identity of "Italians" that stands for the *We* constitutes the point of reference and is placed in the upper part of the scheme. This group is opposed to France and the French, as the two entities are constantly put into opposition by the teacher. However, the two groups may also share some characteristics, e.g., being Europeans and a static identity which is also linguistically expressed through specific terms that stand for those nationalities (*supra*). This invokes that beside their binary relationship, the two corners are both singularly and commonly opposed to the category *Others.* The latter comes from the outside and includes all groups and people who do not or not fully correspond to the identitarian images of neither the French or the *We.* Thus, not only becomes the mentioning of Italians vs. French a criterion of opposition in culture and mentality, but also encourages a singular or a common identity process of the two groups through the comparison with the category *Others.* As the topic of immigration is treated with regard to French society, next to the opposition to *Others,* there also persists a relationship between the *We* as one category opposed to France and the French that includes the category *Others*, forming together one single instance.

In sum, the creation of the *other* not only permits the parallelism between the categories "Italians" and/or the "French" vs. the *other,* but also a constant opposition between just the "We Italians" versus the "the French" <u>and</u> the *other* as potential part of the image represented by French society. Finally, the emerging oppositions in the triangle are: 1) *We* vs. "the French", as well as the 2) *We* vs. *Others,* 3) *We* and "the French" vs. *Others,* 4) "the French" vs. *Others,* and 5) *We* vs. "the French" <u>and</u> *Others* as a single instance. As the following point shows, inserting the third category in the French reality, endangers the setting of boundaries between the latter that includes the category *Others* opposed to a concept of "real" *Frenchness*[22].

5.2   Idealism

The ongoing explicit mentioning and/or implicit comparison of the three images composing the triangle described above leads to an idealising process of identity carried out in several dimensions. After the students' interventions on the French national football team (see fragment 5.1.c), where the presence of "people of colour" and "Africans" is stated by Valeria and Pietro (*ibid.*), a differentiation between identities in the reality of investigation, namely France, is made. The teacher extends the mentioned example of the soccer team and adds:

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[22] Frenchness is used as *national character*, although I acknowledge the indefinite and complex set of meanings this word evokes.

Fragment 5.2.a: "Francesi veri DOC"

50	**TEA**	(–) se guardate la nazionale di calcio francese di francesi veri doc (.) con un cognome francese con con una fisionomia (.) ce ne sono veramente pochi no? però sono tanTIssimi di colore tanTIssimi africani *omissis three turns, Nabil and other students name football players*
55 60	**TEA**	(0.5) e se girate (.) e poi son cittadini francesi STANNO in francia (1.0) ovviamente se stanno nella nazionale <<cresc, as if something very interesting follows> se andate a parigi e girate certe strade> (–) io veramente ho fatto fatica a riconoscere un francese come mi aspettavo di trovare

		(–) *if you*[23] *look at france's national football team* **there are really few genuine (it.doc)**[24] **french (.) with a french family name and with with a physiognomy right? but there are a LOT of people of colour a LOT of africans** *omissis three turns, Nabil and other students name football players*
		(0.5) *and if you go around (.)* **and yes they**[25] **are french citizens they LIVE in france** *(1.0) of course if they are in the national football team* <<cresc, as if something very interesting> follows **if you go to paris and walk around in certain streets> (–) i really had a hard time recognising a french person as i expected to find**

The initial differentiation between French and the *other* as simply non-French, almost French, or part of French society, is not just carried out by mentioning a trait like the colour of the skin, but on an entire series of biological/genealogical and national characteristics. Throughout the interaction, the teacher constantly invites the students to partake in the image of French society that they perceive on TV or in other media, and to experience vicariously the lived experiences the teacher had in France when they visited as a tourist. Thus, the teacher ratifies the students as addressees of the interaction (e.g., Goffman, 1981). They address them directly through personal deixis ("you"/"voi"; 2ⁿᵈ person pl.): "if *you* go around" (line 34) or "if *you* look at France's national football team" (lines 48-49). Again, the national football team is an element that provides insight into a dimension of reality from which a whole generalising process starts. The teacher outlines the difference between at least two groups of players, based on the presence of "real French" with a "French family name" and a French "physiognomy" (lines 49-54), putting them in a binary relationship with an implied group of "fake" or atypical French, people with non-French family names and a non-French physiognomy who are nonetheless French citizens. The mentioning of the "real French" is followed by the use of the adversative conjunction "but" (line 52), that builds up a wall between the real French people and the fake ones. In saying so, the teacher adds the interrogative particle "right" (line 52) to her reasoning that implies a question whose preferred response is agreement. The references to the two categories are elements summed up under the word complex of *genealogical-biological traits.* They are indicators for a perception of an identity

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[23] 2nd person pl., "you guys"

[24] Explained in the text, note in transcript mine.

[25] They "the immigrants".

image as a genetic and historical concept conditioned by family membership and lineage, also through the suggested existence of typically French-like surnames. The teacher's use of the term 'DOC' to describe French citizens who also have a "French surname" and "French physiognomy" (see column with the original version) enacts a decontextualised metaphor adopted from Italian oenology (line 50). In Italian, *DOC* is the acronym for *denominazione di origine controllata,* (controlled designation of origin) and is one of the highest labels of legal protection of Italian wine ('doc', n.d.), meaning that a specific breed of grape that is indigenous to a specific territory was cultivated in that same specific territory. The label is often used among Italian-speakers for indicating a person coming from a specific region and/or city to emphasize their belonging that embodies (stereotypical) characteristics that are perceived as such of that area (e.g., Leone-Pizzighella, 2019). In the case above, the mentioning of the phrase creates a distinction between the football players as representations of the "French doc", e.g., those who are racially, culturally, and legally French, as opposed to their colleagues as "French citizens", e.g., "just" legally and/or culturally French (line 56) as they "live" in France (line 57). The image of the prototypical French with a specific physiognomy, whose existence is evinced out of the teacher's expectation to find such a copy on the streets of French cities (lines 62-64), is strengthened and confirmed by a contextualised personal experience in an undefined moment in the past, transposed to the present spatiotemporal situation. In the narration, the teacher reports lived moments of walking around in "certain streets" (lines 61-62) where finding the type of French person the teacher expected seems nearly impossible. This can be read as a reference to multicultural areas in French cities and/or the banlieues with a higher presence of immigrants. The passage globally tends to objectify a human being, as if the teacher themselves were searching for a specimen of a certain species on the streets of Paris. There are references to their own historically lived moments, using a specific chronotopic constellation in the past that conveys an image that the listeners can use to construct a reality hitherto unknown to them. The spatiotemporal references are presented as knowledge and a form of absorbed information in the teacher out of personally lived images. This knowledge is transmitted as part of a narrative given by the teacher and links back to the definition of knowledge I gave in section 2.2.2.2: The statements create new consciousness on the perceived France's multi-ethnic reality, and reiterate new discursive knowledge about the country as reality to the listeners, enacting discursive power over them.

Beside the comparison between the French and the *other* in France's society, in the same class, the teacher also makes references to the presence of the *other* in the social group represented by the *We,* touching the line of the identity triangle that connects the "Italians" to *Others.* This interrelation is illustrated always in comparison with the French reality. An important sphere of discussions in the class remains the world of sports. As in the previous example of the opposition between the real or ideal

French and the fake French, this time the teacher focuses on the Italian context and mentions elements of a reality closer to the audience. With regard to the consideration of the *other*, the "person of colour" or the "African" as Italian, the teacher brings an example that outlines, compared to the French society, a less tolerant behaviour from the in-group versus the racialised category *Others*. Mentioning a famous Italian football player, Mario Balotelli, the teacher gives some examples to remind the students of how he was treated by football fans, intending to refer to the player's African origins, and that certain racist and xenophobic scenes (as racist choirs at the stadium) addressed to Balotelli (e.g., Guardian Football, 2019) would have never happened to a black football player in France. Balotelli functions not only as an example, but as a symbol that stands for the resilience to racist attacks and intolerance, especially at the time when the player had reached the peak of his career. Particularly in the context of the 2012 European Football Championships, Mario Balotelli was celebrated as an Italian hero, but his time as footballer was constantly accompanied by discriminatory and derogatory gestures coming from fans (e.g., Foot, 2012). Talking about Balotelli, the teacher takes distance from this kind of attitude and condemns people throwing banana peels at the player, and their aggressive, violent verbal reactions, repeating several times that those are things done only by Italians:

Fragment 5.2.b: Italianness in football

	TEA	pensate con balotelli (.) quando stava nella nella nazionale italiANA (.) che gli urlavano (che) gli buttavano le bucce di banana gli urlavano tu non devi stare qua perché tu non sarai mica italiano (.) questo adottATO da una famiglia bresciana quando apre bocca ce l'ha scritto di fronte BRESCIA	*just think about balotelli(.) when he was in the itALIAN football team (.) that they were shouting at him (that) they were throwing banana peels at him they were shouting at him you can't stay here because you are not Italian (.) this one was adOPTed by a family from brescia* **when he opens his mouth he has written in front of it BRESCIA**
105			
110			

The teacher and the students might not attribute the same degree of relevance to the football player in the chronotopically evoked context of racism and xenophobia: When the Italian national football team reached the final of the 2012 Euro after Balotelli's scoring against Germany (*ibid.*), the majority of the students listening to the teacher's monologue were new-borns or probably one to two years old. The teacher takes for granted that the whole class knows about Balotelli, yet they might not have experiences of watching the player on live tv or hearing him after games or at press conferences. A second omission by the teacher are references to Balotelli's backgrounds (he was born in Palermo to Ghanian parents, with the surname Barwuah) ('Balotelli, Mario', n.d.). The teacher exclusively mentions his Italian last name, and the students can only deduce that he might be black because of the reference of throwing banana peels to him, an unfortunately common scene in European soccer which they have probably seen happen as common gesture during football games. To prove the inappropriateness and dangerous attitudes in relation to the events evoked, the last part of the teacher's turn evidently marks Balotelli's

right to be considered really and realistically Italian, as "when he opens his mouth, he has written in front of it BRESCIA" (lines 109-110). Not only Italian as Balotelli's presupposed language is implicitly mentioned. The teacher expresses a strong regional and local anchorage of the player's identity in using the metonym "Brescia", that not only stands for the city in which the player grew up, but also for that regional, especially phonetically marked variety of language. Thus, an indicator for being counted as a "real" French or Italian (or any other nation-related identity), can be language: The formulations can be read as representative for language as symbol for identification and stand, inter alia, for the absolution of the player from all racist attacks. Translated to the context in which the teacher mentions Balotelli as symbol standing for a whole social issue, they are implicitly positioning themselves against racism. Nonetheless, the argument that undermines their position is again an ideal, namely language as indicator for national belonging and the allusion to a local accent as a perceived "alibi" and emblem for a strongly anchored identity. This enabling of the local accent as a marker of identity produces a supposed legitimacy of accepting or rejecting a person as "really" Italian also based on their linguistic practices: Hence, a person speaking Italian (or French) with a perceived foreign accent or, in this case without regional and local accents may not fulfil all prerequisites for the ideal of Italianness or Frenchness.

5.3   History and social privilege

The connection between the identitarian images of "France and the French" and the *Others* is part of the whole transcript, also when the teacher refers to history and politics from the past in giving reasons for the high presence of immigrants within the borders of continental France: They introduced the topic of immigration with notions related to colonialism at the beginning of the class (5.1), and thus already gave some historical reasons for the identification of the category *Others.* France's colonial past turns out to be important at the end of the recorded excerpt, where some hypothetical reasons for the arrival of the *other* are explicitly discussed. The teacher creates a direct connection to their statements at the beginning of the class and wants to give concrete examples that regard the integration and inclusion of the *other* in French society. In the following fragments, the teacher portrays an immigration process to France and some of the reasons that can stand behind it. To do so, they bring the example of a potential person from Tunisia coming to France:

Fragment 5.3.a: Colonialism and France 1

	TEA	CERto (.) se io dalla tunisia devo emigrare (--) VOGLIO emigrare perché non ho lavoro perché (-) ho una situazione economica che non mi consente di vivere bene se devo scegliere un paese dove andare è ovvio che io scelga la francia	*of COURSE (.) if i have to emigrate from tunisia (--) i WANT to emigrate because i have no work because (-) i have an economic situation that does not allow me to live well if i have to choose a country to go to it is obvious that i choose france*
200			
205			

43

	TEA	*omissis two turns, ramon tries to speak french* che non solo era una mia ex colonia (–) ma (.) ((correcting)) era la mia ex madrepatria ma io conosco il francese quindi capite (.) l'ostacolo della lingua che è l'ostacolo più grande per un immigrato (1.5)	*omissis two turns, ramon tries to speak french* *which* **was not only my former colony (–) but (.) ((correcting)) was my former mother country but i know french** *so you understand (.) the language barrier which is the biggest obstacle for an immigrant (1.5)*
210			

In presenting the immigration process, the teacher uses the first-person singular (lines 199-206) and speaks as if they were a Tunisian immigrant. They are animating their speech through the authorial voice of that potential person that comes to France in search for a better life. The figure of the imagined immigrant is the hypothetical creator of the message (e.g., Goffman, 1981). However, a literal reading of the transcript tells us that the reasoning process attributed by the teacher to the immigrant follows an ideology that sees immigration as a choice and not only as a need. This represents a view on immigration to France based on opportunities and skills, and corresponds more likely to a neoliberal-economistic ideology on which the speech is constructed: In this sense, the teacher functions as voice box, the potential voice of the immigrant is assumed to be the author, and the ideological lens through which the narrative is transmitted is considered to be the principal of interaction. the main reason for immigrants "choosing" (line 204) France as their new home is their country's seemingly advantageous position of having a colonial past, with France as colonising entity and several African states as colonised territories. The teacher is animating historical knowledge as topos and the argumentation is limited to two different concepts responsible for immigration to France: They illustrate a hypothetical reasoning process in a migrant, portraying emigration not only as need but also as a wish, and talk about a seemingly privileged emigration to France due to the nation's role as former "mother country" (line 209) in providing, among others, the linguistic resources for the future immigrant. In doing so, the students elaborate a specific identitarian image of a person immigrating to France and can imagine that people coming from former French colonies all know the French language, as the phrase "I know French" (lines 209-210) can be read as generally valid proposition for the mentioned group of people. The teacher's initial lapsus of "former colony" in defining France (line 206), and the correction through "mother country" (it. "madrepatria"), also highlights the omission of references to the imperialising and oppressing character of colonialism, and a lack of explanations with regard to power inequalities between the countries, which are simply taken out of the equation. Moreover, the notion of "mother country" does not only refer to the colonising state related to its territorial dependencies but can also include an emotional connection to that country. It almost seems the representation of a parental relationship between the two countries, and not only a former political arrangement between colony and metropole. The use of "mother country" probably would not be read with the same connotation

by an immigrant or direct descendent of a family who experienced colonisation in Northern Africa. The teacher ascribes traits of identity to the migrants and is completely neglecting the concept of identity and identification during colonialism as well as engendered troubles of identity (Derrida, 1996) in the colonised people. This discourse can presuppose that, beside all inflicted situations to the immigrant or their family and past generations, there exist potential elements of identification with France as former motherland.[26] Briefly, the teacher may suggest that people from former colonies can identify themselves with France as a country and French as *their* language, and so both economic and personal reasons seem to lead a person from a former colony to emigrate to France. Colonial past and language turn out to be advantageous elements and decisive for an immigrant's privileged social position, which is not the case of Italy as the country does not have the same historical and "glorious" past as imperialising nation.[27] Compared to France, immigration in Italy is constructed as a difficult path and implies a different integration process for immigrants. To outline the contrast between Italy and France on this matter, throughout the lecture, the teacher constantly emphasizes a successful integration of the category immigrants in the French society, opposed to the Italian one where the *others* do not have the same opportunities:

Fragment 5.3.b: Integration and inclusion 1

| | TEA | (1.0) perché il suo titolo di studio non è riconosciuto perché non sa la lingua ci mette un po' ad impararla quindi deve fare un po' quello che gli capita (-) invece gli immigrati che poi alla fine sono cittadini francesi a tutti gli effetti occupano anche (cioè) ne vedi tantissimi anche nella pubblica amministrazione | *(1.0) because their title of study is not recognised because **they don't know the language** it takes them a while to learn it so they have to do a bit of whatever (-) **on the other hand immigrants who are in the end french citizens to all intents and purposes** also (like) **you see many of them also in the public administration*** |
| | TEA | ne vedi tantissimi anche negli ospedAli (1.2) sono cittadini francesi a tutti <<dim> gli effetti> (--) quindi c'è una grande differenza con l'italia … | ***you can see a lot of them also in HOSpitals (1.2) they're french citizens to <<dim> all intents and purposes>*** *(--) so there persists a big difference to italy …* |

Whereas in Italy, the immigrant's titles of study would not be recognised and they would not know the language, immigrants in France would become "French citizens for all intents and purposes" (line 82-

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[26] In the context of France's colonialism and his personal experiences in colonised Algeria, Jacques Derrida wrote in his *Le monolinguisme de l'autre* (1996) about the concept of *ipseity,* an individual identity that makes a person unique and distinct from others. The notion of ipseity can be metaphorically used here as contrasting element to the process of an ascribed and generalised identification led by the teacher.

[27] As many other European countries, Italy had its (few) territorial colonies in Africa which were expanded during the years of fascism and World War II. The African colonies at the time of the biggest extension of the Italian Empire in World War II were today's Eritrea, Ethiopia, Libya, and Somalia (Breve storia del colonialismo italiano, 2020).

84, repeated in lines 89-90). This phrase represents citizenship for (North) African immigrants as status to be ideally acquired and which the category of the *others* mentioned by the teacher actually obtained. Language and completed studies are some important steps for acquiring it. The comparison between immigration in France and in Italy based on colonialism and the things it brought with it, also implies that Italians, the *We,* are less open-minded and hostile to immigration also because of the lack of former colonies with people speaking Italian (lines 78-79). Again, the period of colonialism seemingly provides the resources to an advantageous emigration. Referring to the category *Others* in France, the teacher outlines that one can "see (many of) them also in public administration" (lines 85-86) or "also in hospitals" (line 88-89). These statements suggest a positive and privileged, but non-traditional presence of those citizens among hypothetical circles of "real" French people. It is not clear if the reported presence of others in those spaces is related to the teacher's repertoire of personal experiences. It is evident, however, that the teacher limits her knowledge on something perceived through sight, using the verb "to see" (lines 85, 88)*,* and thus an identification of the people entirely based on their physical traits.

The teacher linguistically represents a reality and patterns of how a whole system works by constructing it through discourse (as means of reproduction, Jäger & Maier, 2016) for their audience as something positive, with the integrated category *Others* and their success of acquiring also higher social statuses compared to the in-group reality. This is confirmed at the end of the transcript by a moment in an exchange with Pietro (PIE), where the teacher takes up again the process of inclusion of the *other* in French society:

Fragment 5.3.c: Integration and inclusion 2

	TEA	vedi <<chanting, enumerating voice> tantISSimi di colore tantISSimi nordafricani> (1.0) e poi [(-)]	*you see <<chanting, enumerating voice> SO so many people of colour SO lots of north africans> (1.0) and then [(-)]*
175			
	PIE	[(il che) è un bene (.) no cioè]	*[(which) is a good thing (.) no i mean]*
	TEA	è un bene certo che è un bene sono cittadini francesi a tutti gli effetti	*it's a good thing of course they are French citizens to all intents and purposes*
180			
	TEA	e li trovi anche in posti di nei posti di lavoro di responsabilità li trovi anche nell'amministrazione pubblica	*and you also find them in jobs of in positions of responsibility you also find them in the public administration*
185			

The exchange above represents one of the few rationalisation processes and direct comments coming from the students on the matter of the topic that concerns a positively represented pluralistic society. The inclusion of the category *Others* is perceived by Pietro as something positive. To react to the Pietro's suggestion, the teacher repeats where one can "find" the *other* (line 182) as previously in fragment 5.3.b, in short, in "positions of responsibility" (line 183). What is created here is an implicit

image reminding of the norm ruling the own community, i.e. the reality of reference (Italy) where "positions of responsibility" are presumably and likely to be in the hand of the category *We*. The French reality, instead, is the ideal or simply the exception to the world the teacher and students are used to. In the context of France, the identification of the *others* happens here based on their roles in society that they fortunately, but not normally (with normal as corresponding to a set of transmitted norms) occupy. Also, seeing privileged positions as parameters for social distinction, the term responsibility is read as aligned with the term of importance, and having a responsible role in a job can create an important figure. Thus, the statement in line 183 designates the contrast with the reality of the community the teacher and the students live in, in which the cited distribution of social positions is probably considered abnormal and reduces people to the functions exercised by them. In addition, it once again defines *Others* as a unique and inevitably marked category, yet with the intent to encourage students to perceive their integration as remarkable phenomenon.

5.4   Veneration and denigration

The constant comparison between the *We* as collective entity opposed to the sphere represented by France and the French, and their positive relationship to the *others,* is a leitmotif that characterises not only the teacher's interventions but also contributions from the students. As the last section of this chapter shows, different values and characteristics are ascribed to the two instances.

France and the French are constantly described as cosmopolite society with a pluralistic character able to include and integrate *others* in a modern and democratic way. This positive view on the French society and a more denigratory one on Italy is confirmed in several occasions (as in the previous sections). Explicit characterisations of the *We* and "the French" are made by the teacher with regard to the acquisition of citizenship by the category *Others* and the legal situations related to ius soli and ius sanguinis in different European countries. In Italy, long and laborious procedures in getting citizenship and the non-existence of ius soli are raised as indicators for a slow and retrograde society. These factors do not exclusively present presumable bureaucratic issues and long administration paths in conferring the citizenship, yet the concept is employed for highlighting the difficult process of acceptance of the *other* as Italian, as the previous sections showed. Other countries, with explicit mentions to France and the United Kingdom, are represented by the teacher as societal antipode to Italy and its reality.

The veneration of France and the French inevitably evokes an image diametrically opposed to this ideal through acts of disparaging the *We*, as the last fragment of this chapter shows. In this matter, there are two contributions from Ramon (RAM) and Pietro (PIE) who attribute different qualities to the mentioned realities and co-construct their identitarian images with the teacher:

Fragment 5.4.a: Enlightened France vs. medieval Italy

120	TEA	[d'altrONDE] (.) sono quelli che hanno fatto la rivoluzione francese quindi qualcosa ci insegneranno anche a noi italiani (-) questa cosa <<emphasizing> non c'è in francia> (1.0)	*[after ALL] (.) **they are the ones who made the french revolution so they will teach us italians something too (-) this does <<emphasizing> not happen in france> (1.0)***
125 130	TEA	non c'è questa differenza cioè loro si (si) ritengono tutti (.) cittadini francesi (.) e tu sei degno di stare nella nazionale francese esattamente come me	*there is no such difference like they consider themselves (themselves) all (.) french citizens (.) and you are just as worthy to be in the french national team as i am*
		omissis one turn, students chatting	*omissis one turn, students chatting*
135	TEA	non ci sono questi episodi di razzismo di intolleranza che ti buttano le bucce di banana quello lo facciamo solo noi italiANI (.) che facciamo (…) in francia questa cosa non esiste (0.8)	***there are no such episodes of racism of intolerance that they throw to you banana peels only itALIans (.) do it** (…) in france it does not exist (0.8)*
		omissis one turn, not clear for four seconds	*omissis one turn, not clear for four seconds*
	RAM	[siamo degli animali]	***[we are animals]***
		omissis eleven turns, discussion about citizenship, ius soli and ius sanguinis in Italy and France, and about the fact that acquiring the Italian citizenship is a longer path than it is in France	*omissis eleven turns, discussion about citizenship, ius soli and ius sanguinis in Italy and France, and about the fact that acquiring the Italian citizenship is a longer path than it is in France*
	PIE	ma noi siamo arretrati	***yeah we are backward***

The glorification of French culture and mentality includes the reiteration of concepts that the teacher as animator (and author) of speech presents as absolute truth values through negation and/or personal experiences represented as facts and general knowledge. France and the French are shown as a civilised, respectful and modern state that "after all [...] are the ones who made the French Revolution, so they will teach us Italians something too" (lines 118-121). The French Revolution works here as collective symbol and indicates a civilised, enlightened, and democratic population that marked the passing from an absolutistic, hierarchically organised and intolerant society to a modern nation. This is an image of France brought forth for decades and centuries, genealogically starting with the French Revolution. The image seems to be still valid and constitutes historical knowledge in form of discourse that, in turn, shapes the country's character (the object) through the language employed (Foucault, 1994 [1966], 1971). On the other hand, it is an image that is not attributed to Italy. In the interaction with Ramon and Pietro, the teacher affirms twice (lines 121-123, 131-134) that "intolerance" and racist attacks do not occur in France, establishing through words France's and its citizens (ideological) position, which would correspond to portraying the country and the French as principal of interaction. French society

is speaking through its own representation (Goffman, 1981), whereas the teacher as animator functions as voice box for an instance that has that specific, reported image. This construction of an absolute and objectively acceptable truth eclipses any positive conception of the *We* in the students and induces to a responsive attitude that goes in the teacher's direction. In fact, at the suggestion that "only Italians do that" (lines 133-134) with regard to racist attacks in the world of sports as it was mentioned in fragment 5.2.b, and considerations about the process of citizenship in Italy, Ramon and Pietro give responsive reactions through negative attributions to the society they live in, ironically adding that "we are animals" (line 138) and (not ironically) "we are backward" (line 139). The constant badmouthing of the *we*-group opposed to a fully working and well-developed out-group seems an overloaded awareness-campaign. It is suggested how things should work in the own community as well, by simply outlining negative connotations related to the collective the teacher and students are part of. Especially in the exchange above and the comments made by Ramon and Pietro, the badmouthing of the *We* seems a commonly accepted cultural practice: The derogatory comments made by the students are not objected by the teacher. Instead, they are inserted in a rather normal and accepted continuum of depreciation of the community all the participants in the interaction are considered part of.

5.5 Summary

In this first data chapter, the reproduction of collective identities firstly concerns national belonging and historical-geographical origins, that both bring along *specific* cultural and social patterns inherent to two nations in the case of Italy and France, and a more generalised image of identity in the case of the category *Others*. Beside their constant comparison, the three identitarian images are interrelated to each other as they could help to identify the respectively other parts.

In the cases of historical and ideological knowledge, the teacher is adopting different principals and ideological discourse that become accountable for what they are conveying: Even if the hostile and intolerant attitude toward *others* is condemned by the teacher, several elements indicate that ideals in terms of identity still persist. Reaching those ideals is a matter of backgrounds, genetic and cultural elements, social positions, and linguistic resources. Thus, having a French surname or speaking like a real Brescian are some of the prerequisites to overcome a fluid, not well-defined (national) identity, making out of it a static and less debatable one. Groups are also represented as competing instances, with positive or negative values ascribed to them based on historical past, e.g. references to colonialism, and mentality-related patterns, which entails the denigration or glorification of those groups, being the first referred to the collective the teacher and students are part of.

The geography class is *animated* in Goffman's sense through episodes of personal experiences and chronotopic references which are able to induce newly generated consciousness through knowledge in form of experiences and lived images. The argumentations for ideals, the topos of history and the constant denigration of a reality that should not be like it seems to be are other schemes in argumentation. In the interaction, symbols standing for greater concepts such as racism and intolerance, as the case with football players, remain underdetermined and might not have the same relevance to the students. Also, the part of the lecture concedes few moments of reflection and does not open for fundamental discussions about partially ignored, but important events (e.g., colonialism) that determined and still determine the functioning of societies and macrosocial phenomena in terms of power inequalities and oppression.

6   Identity and social roles

Creating identities of the self and of others based on nationalities, and through idealising and/or devaluating identitarian images, is one process leading to the differentiation of people in categories. Also, our social and economic position can be representative of what we are or are supposed to be as single parts of society and an apparatus that considers individuals as *always already* subjects (e.g., Althusser, 1971): The discourse fragments that follow were extracted from a combined geography-history class (full transcript in 10.2.2). In previous classes to the one examined, the phenomenon of population growth and decline had been treated, and the students had read information about population growth in Europe, focussing on the comparison between some countries. The recorded lecture continued analysing social phenomena such as demographic evolution in relation to the world divided according to the socioeconomic and political concept of Global South and Global North. The examined class began with a discussion about birth and death rates in Italy compared to other European countries, and the main topic as framework of the transcribed part of the lecture turned out to be population growth and decline, as well as their nature and causes in the Northern Hemisphere. At the beginning of the transcribed exchanges, the teacher summarised the difference between the concepts of Global North and South, and began to develop their lesson with several contributions coming from the students on the matter of social (numerical) evolution. After this discussion, the teacher narrowed their focus on a cause for population decline they wanted to investigate more, that is the changing role of women, a topic that subsequently became the core part of the lesson.

6.1 Economic wellbeing

The initial statements of the analysed excerpt are part of the framework that deals with demographic evolution and with economic growth, starting from a differentiation between Global North and Global South as designating metacategories. In order to create an overview on how developed socioeconomic societies in the Northern Hemisphere work, in the excerpt, the teacher begins their speech and mentions the opposition between Global North and Global South based on differences in terms of capital and economic wellbeing. The concept of Global North and Global South adopted by the teacher is a division made based on socioeconomic and political characteristics of the countries being part of the two metacategories. The notion has several roots in political thought of Cold War (e.g., Mahler, 2018). In recent years, the term Global South is mainly deployed "to address spaces and peoples negatively impacted by contemporary capitalist globalization" (Mahler, 2017). According to Mahler (*ibid.*), and as the teacher also specifies throughout their speech, there are economic Norths in the South (and vice versa). The knowledge about the terms is transmitted by the teacher only through the mentioning of economic characteristics with regard to the two dimensions, defining the Global South as economically depressed and less strong, and the North as corresponding to the richest and economically strongest countries (lines 01-55 in the transcript). It is presupposed knowledge that the reality the teacher and students live in is part of the Global North, even if the students might only orientate themselves in these spaces (geographically) through countries and areas mentioned as examples by the teacher that are considered part of the Global South, as African and Asian countries. However, the economic and political realities of single countries are not further outlined, rather remains the concept of Global South quite generalised. Entering in the debate about the Global North as starting point for all further discussed phenomena, the teacher mentions a paradox, a contradictory phenomenon, i.e. the low birth rate in countries which have money and would be able to raise a lot of children. In doing so, the teacher creates a connection to the presupposed space all the participants in interaction live in (the Global North), and something that is changing in that dimension, i.e., the lack of human reproduction. This demo-economic phenomenon is posed as an issue to be discussed. What implicitly emerges out of it is the idea that political and economic aims, here population growth and thus a quantifiable and possibly manageable population in "rich", neo-liberal countries, are intrinsic to the biological, namely the human being as resources for those societies. Low birth rates in the Global North not only are defined as contradictory, but inevitably threaten the future economic wellbeing in those areas. With this content being curricularised in oral interaction situated in an educational context, the students can be considered as indirectly addresses responsible entity for guaranteeing social

reproduction as they represent themselves future generations and resources. This idea is an essential premise to how the discourse in the extract develops.

6.2 Norms and Interpellation

The following fragments are part of the continuation of the discourse on the negative demographic evolution in the Global North. Once the problem of the demographic crisis is posed, the teacher asks for the causes that can explain the phenomenon, inciting the students to reflect on what might be important to consider in this matter. Several are the reasons the teacher mentions for the phenomenon of population decline. To get to the core idea of the changing role of women in this context and how the evolution of society contributes to the negative development, throughout enacted microsocial discourse (see Gee, 2015), the teacher creates a visual timeline that sanctions an individual's normal progression in studies and/or academics, work, and family. The (re)-establishing of normal steps in life are not just a norm repeated or created by the teacher for the students, but are a co-construction between the two opposing parts in the social field, namely teacher and students (e.g., Bourdieu, 2009; Hanks, 2005). In the following fragment, a normal progression in life based on academic and educational parameters is outlined and linked to the discussed phenomena:

Fragment 6.2.a: Life, career and marriage 1

	TEA	quindi vuol dire che (.) quando si finisce di studiare? (--) allora se finisci al diploma diciannove anni (-) se vuoi fare l'università ci devi mettere altri cinque anni sei (2.6) giusto se finisci a sedici finisci a sedici vai a lavorare e fai un favore alla alla comunità (.) giusto (come una volta) SE NO finisci a venticinque ventisei anni (---) o (se) i più bravi? (1.0)	*so that means (.) when do you finish studying? (--) well if you finish high school at nineteen (-) if you want to go to university you have to take another five or six years (2.6) right if you finish at sixteen you finish at sixteen and go to work and doing a favour to the community (.) right (like in the past) OTHERWISE you finish at twenty-five twenty-six (---) or (if) the best ones? (1.0)*
135			
140			
	LAU	((not clear for 1.8 seconds))	*((not clear for 1.8 seconds))*
145	**TEA**	perché vi faccio fare questo ragionamento? c'entra anche l'età? l'altra volta non ne abbiamo parlato (--) non c'entra l'età con l'età in cui ci si sposa e si fanno i figli? *omissis four turns, students joking, class laughs*	*why am i asking you these things? does age have something to do with it? we didn't talk about it last time (--) does age have something to do with the age at which you get married and have children? omissis four turns, students joking, class laughs*
150			

The reasoning process concerns the questioning of different steps in a person's life, and the socialising passages to be considered in a hypothetical view of reproduction as socioeconomic aim. The teacher suggests a timeline in which they highlight the academic progression as presumed and *normal* component in people's modern lives. In using the impersonal pronoun "si" (trans. "one"), the teacher

expresses an unquestionable process, or simply how things *normally* work. There is a time when *one* finishes studying and a time when *one* finishes university (lines 131-141), with the latter concluded with a rhetorical question to the listeners by adding if probably only the "best ones" (line 142) are able to do so at that age. One positively connotated career seem to represent those people who begin to work at sixteen (compulsory school age in Italy), "doing a favour to the community" (lines 138-139). In saying so, and by not mentioning potential advantages in an academic career, the teacher conveys that labour is useful to society: It is through work that a person can create a positive impact on the community by being a resource for capital and welfare, and thus time and resources to dedicate to demographic growth. Immediately after, the teacher demands the students if the progression in life and age have something to do with the time when people get married and give birth to children (lines 145-147). Connected to the investigation of the demographic evolution in the Global North, it suggests that several steps following a chronological order presented in the fragment above do not seem beneficial to human reproduction. To that question, Pietro (PIE) responds as follows:

Fragment 6.2.b: Life, career and marriage 2

	PIE	se uno (--) se una persona fa il primo figlio già tardi poi non ne può fare un altro cioè potrebbe	*if one (--) if a person has their first child late in life, then they cannot have another, i mean they could*
155	**TEA**	((interrupting))allora rispetto a sessant'anni fa quando le donne si sposavano giovanissime (--) oggi (.) se guardiamo le statistiche	*((interrupting)) well **compared to sixty years ago when women married very young** (--) **today (.) if we look at the statistics***
	PIE	trent'anni (qu[e)]	*thirty years (tha[t)]*
160	**TEA**	[ci si] sposa (.) già trent'anni sei giovane (3.2) già dici caspita (-) a trent'anni (ti sei sposata/sei sposata) giovane (3.2) un figlio (-) magari lo fai a trentadue trentatre ma se andiamo a vedere anche a trentasei trentasette anni il primo figlio (--) sempre più in alto (---) e allora è chiaro che (come dice) ((naming pietro)) se io faccio il mio primo figlio a trentotto (-) a trentotto anni (-) o ne faccio uno subito l'anno dopo massimo due poi (insomma) divento un po' vecchietta (-) sono quasi la nonna di quel bambino hm? (1.0)	*[you] **get married (.) at thirty you are already young** (3.2) already you say jeez (-) at thirty (you got married/you are married) young(.) a child (-) maybe you have it at thirty-two thirty-three **but if we have a look also at thirty-six thirty-seven you have the first child (--) it's getting later and later** (---) and so it's clear that (as ((naming pietro)) says) if i make my first child at thirty-eight (-) at thirty-eight (-) or i have one immediately the year after maximum two then (i mean) i become a little old (-) **i am almost the grandmother of that child hm?** (1.0)*

Pietro states that having a child at a higher age contributes to the lack of human reproduction as it seems to be difficult to have more than one when people get older (lines 151-154). The student is immediately interrupted by the teacher who already alludes the changing role of women and responds by aligning the concept of having children mentioned by Pietro to the one of getting married, as if they were two

steps to be accomplish interdependently. The spatiotemporal reference of "sixty years ago" (line 156), when a woman married young, highlights social changes in this matter. The teacher then cites statistics which seem to suggest that getting married at thirty nowadays means getting married young, whereas people have their first children gradually at a higher age, even at 36 or 37 (lines 157-170). Citing statistics, the teacher assumes the role of expert in interaction, as they refer to scientific outcomes as established and valid knowledge. They give rise to an authorial voice which they report, being the discourse not the teacher's one but those of *authors* (Goffman, 1981) encoded in the mentioned statistics, then animated by the teacher. In this case, the author could be a textbook or a documentary the teacher quotes, in holding the world views transmitted by that authorial voice as principal of the facts they are transmitting to the class. The teacher's worry-like statements of older women getting children is ended with another rhetorical, with irony overloaded question with regard to the women's age in giving birth to children. In fact, they sustain that after a certain age (38 years) the mother of a child could already be their grandmother (lines 175-178). The teacher refers to this in the first person singular, stating that "I am almost the grandmother of that child" (lines 176-178), posing it ironically as a generally valid assumption that can be interpreted as presumably relevant for all women. We can assume that in this case the rhetorical question that follows expects a confirming response from the audience.

The initial exposition of a hypothetically ideal path after graduation at university related to the fact of having children is cyclically taken up by the teacher during the class. It conveys the image of a degree as fundamental to get access to a job which a person has to find before thinking about a successful career. Meeting this timeline and only once a job is found, the teacher suggests at some point that a person can or ideally thinks about having children, yet only if economically secured. Once these steps are completed, the fact of having children is presented as the last step in fulfilling the expectations and the respect of a predesigned social role. However, to this pre-stabilised path there exist also mentionable exceptions to the norms, or, in other terms, deviant individuals who do not conform to a stabilised model that corresponds to *normality*. An example to this is given at the end of the transcript: Always on the matter of having children and creating a family, the teacher makes personal references and mentions one of their friends who adopted two children instead of having them. Although the person mentioned could have children, they decided to adopt two boys, motivating their choice with the fact that there are a lot of abandoned children in the world, sometimes suffering in orphanages. The teacher's comments on their friend's choice are contained in the following fragment:

Fragment 6.2.c: Deviations to the norm

	TEA	per carità: eh (-) tanto di cervello (-) sei un po' alternativo io non è che ho sentito tanti fare questi discorsi no? però rispettiamo (-) i punti	*for pity's sake: eh (-) very intelligent (-) but you're a bit of an alternative i haven't heard many people saying such things right? but let's respect (-)*
355			

		di vista di tutti è (anche) un ragionamento giusto	*everyone's points of view it's (also) a fair reasoning*

Despite considering their friend's choice for adoption as an intelligent decision, the teacher nonetheless decrees it as something "alternative" (line 353), outlining the norm-breaking characteristics of the action and representing it to the students (who are between 11 and 13 years old) as wise, acceptable, but not ideal. The rhetorical question in line 355 asks, again, for agreement, also because of the lack of a debate that could be extended and turned into a discussion.

6.3   Gender and success

Throughout the recorded class emerged that norms have changed, but that people are however held to meet normal timelines, especially in an established, "ideal" path in life. Deviances to norms evoked through chronotopic references to the past, and the constant, sometimes non-beneficial evolution of norms have already been sanctioned, sometimes monologically and sometimes dialogically constructed as causes for a lack of population growth in the Global North. The teacher's references to the lack of births in a socioeconomically well-developed society is a topic that evoked the changing and constant evolution not only of single individuals who ideally fit into society as subjects (reached through *interpellation*, see Chapter 8), but also those of specific groups, i.e. the role of women in society and how it has changed over decades. Indeed, the lack of human reproduction seems majorly linked to the woman as birthing instance. Already at the beginning of the lesson, student Laura suggests it as important cause for the phenomenon of population decline. It is subsequently taken up by the teacher in fragment 6.3.a:

Fragment 6.3.a: The role of women 1

60	**TEA**	cioè noi sp- possiamo provare a spiegare il nostro fenomeno (1.0) che è provocato e causato da fattori molto diversi tra di loro (--) ((naming laura)) prima diceva (0.9) è cambiato il ruolo	*like we ex- can try to explain our phenomenon (1.0)* **which is provoked and caused by very different factors** *(--) ((naming laura)) previously said (0.9) that* **the role has changed**
	LAU	della donna	**the woman's role**

Searching for the elements which "provoke" and "cause" the problem (lines 58-59), the teacher focuses, prompted by the suggestion from Laura, on the role of women. Just the mentioning of the word "role" (lines 61-62) in singular form, primarily anticipates that there exists *a* role designed for women. This "role" seems to have mutated over the years and has developed a different face. Not only is it unequivocally assumed that a woman has a role, but the normal assumption of it creates a homogeneous social group and identifies individuals on the basis of that role. To highlight the "changing" of *the* role, the teacher adopts a recurring technique for argumentation and proving of facts, that is, their personal

experiences. Monologically structured, they narrate facts and lived moments related to their own past. Fragment 6.3.b is an example for it:

Fragment 6.3.b: The role of women then vs. now 1

75	**TEA**	la maggior parte (-) delle donne (---) faceva di professione la casalinga (--) io penso a mia mamma (--) che non era una mosca bianca cioè era molta diffusa questa cosa (-) le donne si sposavano giovani facevano le casalinghe si occupavano dei mariti DEL marito del marito (.) dei figli (-) e (.) io mi ricordo mia mamma ci portava al parco ci portava al lido ci faceva fare i compiti ci preparava la nutella pane e nutella di merenda (3.1) la casalinga (1.0)	*the majority (-) of women (---) were* **housewives by profession (--) i am thinking of my mother (--) who was not a black swan** *I mean it was very common (-) women got married young and worked as housewives and took care of their husbands of THE husband the husband (.) of their children (-) and (.) i remember my mother would take us to the park would take us to the public swimming pool would have us do our homework would make us bread and nutella for snacks (3.1) a housewife (1.0)*
80			
85			

The teacher refers to the woman's role in a spatiotemporal moment in the past and their mother who was a housewife and took care of the children and her husband, looking after them every day and in each situation of daily life. The mentioned activities in the fragment appear to define the image of a housewife in an undetermined past, considering it a "profession" in the teacher's mother's historical context (line 76). To confirm that the image of a woman being a housewife corresponded to the norm, the teacher animates their speech inserting an idiomatic phrase, sustaining that their mother was not a "black swan" (it. "una mosca bianca") (line 78), representing her as a conformed and not deviant individual in the sociohistorical circumstances the teacher's family lived in. Immediately after the narrated events, the teacher connects the evoked past experiences to the present situation with regard to the role of women that has notably changed. They propose doing a survey in the school as a small reality to find out if there are still mothers who are housewives. Alluding to the fact that there are not, the teacher interrogates the students, as fragment 6.3.c shows:

Fragment 6.3.c: The role of women then vs. now 2

	TEA	… troveremmo tante mamme casalinghe oggi? ((waiting for reactions)) NO (-) quasi tutte le vostre mamme (.) non è che le casalinghe sono sparite ma quasi tutte le vostre mamme oltre a occuparsi di voi lavorano hanno un lavoro (-) e questo perché (.) solo perché c'è bisogno di soldi perché i figli costano? (.) anche (--)	*… would we find many mums today being housewives? ((waiting for reactions)) NO (-) almost all of your mums (.) it is not that housewives have disappeared but* **almost all of your mums in addition to taking care of you work have a job (-) and this is only because money is needed because children cost? (.) also (--)**
110			
115			

Emphasizing a deep contrast to nowadays, the teacher enacts a participant example (e.g., Müller-Kuhn et al., 2021), involving the students who themselves become a reality that possibly confirms the argumentation that the "profession" of the housewife has become less. After a direct question about

the number of mothers being housewives, to which the teacher replies by themselves (line 109), the students are engaged to reason about their own situation at home, where mothers, beyond taking care of them, probably also "have a job" (line 114). This suggests that taking care of children is no longer a real job compared to the past where it actually seemed to be a "profession" (*supra,* line 76 in fragment 6.3.b), and tends, at a first sight, to legitimise a lower consideration of a mother's commitment to their children, by questioning its potential social prestige and esteem compared to a "real" job. The teacher ends their turn by addressing the listeners directly through a question and asks if women have a job "in addition" only because money is needed (lines 112-116), finishing the phrase with "also" and inducing the assumption that there are other reasons as well. This leads to the examination of a specific phenomenon why women nowadays, compared to the generation of the teacher's mother, would have less time for having children. On this matter, the teacher asks the class and gets a response from Valeria who states that women want to have success. The concept of moving up in the job or climbing the corporate ladder is subsequently presented by the teacher as a "new" concept (in relation to women) and generally necessitates some clarifications. After the teacher asked for possible definitions for the here paraphrased concept of 'Women want to have a career' may signify, in the exchange below, the participants try to co-construct the phenomenon with regard to women. At the question of the meaning of having success/a career, Arianna (ARI), Ramon (RAM), Marco (MAR), and Valeria (VAL) intervene:

Fragment 6.3.d: Women and success

	ARI	che (voglio) la lavorare *omissis four turns, students trying to answer, teacher calls one by one*	*that (i want) to w- work* *omissis four turns, students trying to answer, teacher calls one by one*
	RAM	vuole essere speciale	*she wants to be special*
210	TEA	cosa vuole dire fare carriera? (.) non vuol dire hai lavorato (---) ((calling marco))	*what does that mean to have a career? (.)* ***it does not mean that you worked*** *(---)((calling marco))*
	MAR	vuole essere il capo di un'azienda	***she wants to be the head of a company***
215	TEA	((confirming)) per esempio vuole essere capo di un'azienda oppure	*((confirming)) for instance she wants to be the head of a company*
	VAL	e: vuole diventare importante [((not clear for 0.5 seconds))]	*and:* ***she wants to become important*** *[((not clear for 0.5 seconds))]*
	TEA	[vuole] diventare importante nel lavoro che fa (--) quindi non si accontenta di fare l'insegnante per esempio (.) alla [((naming the school))]	***[she wants]*** ***to be important in the job*** *she does (--)that means that* ***she is not satisfied with being a teacher for example*** *(.) at [((naming the school))]*
220			
225	RAM	[(vuole essere la migliore)]	***[(she wants to be the best)]***
	TEA	vuole fare (.) la dirigente (-) o vuole fare l'insegnante universitaria ad esempio (-) o non si accontenta di fare il medico della mutua (.) vuole diventare un primario ospedaliero vuole	***she wants to be (.) the principal (-) or she wants to be a university professor for example (-) or she doesn't settle for being a family doctor(.) she wants to be a chief physician she wants***
230			

diventare un manager di un'azienda (---) e abbiamo visto *omissis, a teacher enters the classoom and they all talk about a trip and several formalities related to it*	***to be a manager of a company (---) and we have seen*** *omissis, a teacher enters the classoom and they all talk about a trip and several formalities related to it*

Arianna initially suggests that having a career is equivalent to having a job (line 208), and Ramon adds that she (the woman) "wants to be special" (line 209). The teacher ignores Ramon's intervention and turns back again on the intervention made by Arianna by objecting her suggestion, affirming that having a (successful) career does not mean that someone has worked (lines 211-212). Marco subsequently proposes with regard to it that a woman "wants to be the head of a company" (lines 213-214), a notion also confirmed by the teacher. Valeria translates the concept of having a successful career with the notion of becoming important (line 217). The teacher answers the suggestions in the affirmative by repeating them, and ignores another statement made by Ramon who claims that women want to be "the best" (lines 225-226). In particular by reclaiming the connotation of importance, the teacher completes that perspective by highlighting that a woman does not settle for being a teacher at school or a family doctor[28], but "wants" to become a principal or a chief physician, or a company's manager (lines 227-234). The recurrent deontic verb "to want" (*volere*) implied by all participants in this exchange is attributed to a third entity. It conveys a desire presented as a personal will of an individual, finally collectively adopted by a whole social group. This reinforces the previously evoked view on women as a group with a specific role, where the individual as deciding instance moves in the background. Insisting on the repetitive use of the verb *to want* in a volitive modality ascribed to the group, and highlighting that a woman is not satisfied with jobs perceived as less important in terms of social prestige, the teacher implies once again a desire in the women that simply arose, without questioning what parameters had an impact on the changes. The logical assumption created is that the women's decision to pursue a career has always been a possibility, yet the phenomenon has intensified and has established a new normality, entirely dependent on "simple" decisions based on a woman's desires. Not only are the perceived subversive actions of a group of people socialised as woman a central point in these fragments. The term "important" is used by the teacher (line 220), and presumably also by Valeria in line 217, not in the matter of useful or necessary, but in the context of a person who occupies a higher position on a socioeconomic, hierarchically constructed ladder. Importance in the students' and the teacher's use can be read as synonymous to powerful and authoritative, inherent to a managing position with

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[28] The Italian term *medico della mutua* indicates a doctor affiliated to a welfare institution, in the case of Italy to the country's National Health Service (*mutua*). The term has been widely replaced by *medico di famiglia/di base* ('Mùtua', n.d.)*,* a figure that in English is comparable to family doctor or general practitioner.

delegating and administrating roles traditionally exercised by men in a patriarchal society. Thus, the use of this notion of importance also concerns vertically placed positions in jobs and workplaces, where the constant comparison of important and less important positions outlines divergences in terms of a classist view on society.

In the illustrated fragments, the changing of norms for and through women explicated through the spatiotemporal opposition of their conditions between then and now based on the creation of chronotopic references (Bakhtin, 1981), serves as visual and cognitive timeline for the audience and is able to highlight generational and societal differences. The role of women with their success actually becomes a topos both speaker and audience can relate to, with the teacher as witness of the changes of the spatiotemporally determined role of women, where the time component is predominant and majorly responsible for the mutating image.

At some point, the class is interrupted by another teacher who enters the classroom to solve bureaucratic issues related to a school trip (see fragment 6.3.d). After their colleague has left, the teacher insists on recapitulating the main points the class has focused on and continues:

Fragment 6.3.e: Emancipation and desires

235 240	TEA	QUINDI (-) cosa stavamo dicendo AH che la donna (--) non si accontenta ((not clear)) vuole diventare magari protagonista del suo lavoro vuole fare carriera e abbiamo visto (-) quanti passi da giganti hanno fatto le donne negli ultimi cinquant'anni	*SO (-) what were we saying AH that the woman (--) is not satisfied ((not clear))* **she wants to become let's say the protagonist in her job she wants to have a career and we have seen (-) how many giant steps women have made in the last fifty years**
	RAM	tipo georgina rodríguez	*like georgina rodríguez*
245 250	TEA	((ignoring ramon)) perché primA! shhh non era così adesso guardiamoci intorno vediamo: donne dirigenti scolAstiche donne che sono in politica donne che dirigono aziende con migliAIA di di impiegati le donne che pilotano gli aerei le donne astronaute ingegneri della nASA (.) hai voglia! (1.0)	*((ignoring ramon))* **because beFORE! shhh it wasn't like that** *now we look around and see: women as head teachers women who are in politics women who run companies with THOUusands of employees women who fly aeroplanes woman astronauts engineers working for nASA (.) too many to list! (1.0)*
255 260	TEA	meloni prima premier donna nella storia d'italia (-) cose impensabili fino a trent'anni fa (-) per fortuna (.) c'è ancora tanta strada da fare perché qui sulle pari opportunità avremmo molto da dire (-) (però) è un altro discorso (-) però diciamo che qualche passo l'abbiamo fatto (.) GIUSTAmente (.) le donne sono in grado (.) giusto? *omissis six turns, turning back to the discussion on demographic evolution*	*meloni first woman prime minister in the history of italy (-)* **things that were unthinkable thirty years ago (-) fortunately (.) there's still a long way ahead of us because on equal rights we have a lot to say** *(-) (however) it's another matter (-) but let's say that we have taken some steps (.) RIGHTly (.)* **women are capable (.) right?** *omissis six turns, turning back to the discussion on demographic evolution*

The teacher highlights in a list-like format the emancipation of women in forms of examples of socioeconomically prestigious areas in which women have had success, namely all jobs and positions primarly in the hands of men. On this matter, Ramon names the example out of his own set of knowledge and experiences, that is Georgina Rodríguez (line 243). The comment on the Argentinian model (and partner of the football player Cristiano Ronaldo) and her success as producer of her own Netflix-series (Michallon, 2022) can be considered as symbol standing for an empancipatory success of a woman in a pop-cultural environment, probably perceived as such by Ramon. However, the student's intervention is simply ignored by the teacher. Globally, having success in the job is again presented as choices in vogue (due to the use of "to want"), and seemingly outlined as personal decisions as independent from surrounding preconditioned circumstances. Although the teacher mentions that "before" (line 244) or "thirty years ago" such things were unthinkable (lines 255-257), no concrete comparisons on a sociohistorical scale and circumstances to the situations of decades ago are made. The lack of explications with regard to sociotemporal phenomena and/or the causes for societal changes that actually led to the possibilities of choosing and the emancipation of women, are not taken into consideration. Additionally, it is suggested that equal opportunities between men and women remain nonetheless an important point of debate (lines 257-260): The teacher concludes their reasoning by asking the question if women are capable (probably in doing all jobs), expecting an affirmative response to a projected awareness-raising rhetorical question (lines 263-264). Despite of recapitulating emancipation as fundamental, at the end of the analysed excerpt, the teacher turns back to the identitarian reduction of women to their role, among others as the birthing resource in society, as the last fragment shows:

Fragment 6.3.f: Career or family?

	TEA	<<cresc> QUINDI (-) il ruolo della donna> per fortuna anche per fortuna è cambiato negli ultimi cinquant'anni (--) la donna studia ((calling student for attention)) la donna studia la donna si vuole le si vuole realizzare anche nel lavoro o SOPRATTUTTO nel lavoro e rinuncia a farsi una famiglia o rinuncia a fare dei figli oppure ne ha uno perché sa che non può dedicare più tempo ad altri ipotetici figli (.) sicuramente	*<<cresc> SO (-) the woman's role> fortunately also fortunately has changed in the last fifty years (--) women study ((calling student for attention)) women study women want to they want to fulfil themselves also at work or ESPECIALLY at work and give up having a family or give up having children or have just one because they know that they cannot devote more time to other hypothetical children (.) for sure*
360			
365			
370			

Conclusively, women's condition have fortunately changed. However, the options a woman has seem to be two: either having children and a family, or a successful career. If women want to fulfil themselves "especially" in their job (line 365), it is plausible that they give up having children and a family. The latter is transmitted as acknowledged goal or objective in a woman's life, as it were an act of renouncing

in terms of giving up having children (line 366) and a family to the advantage of a successful career. It is thus communicated here that the result of women's emancipation is the impossibility of reconciling work and family life but, notably, does not make any reference to men.

6.4   Summary

Data chapter two stands for the creation of social roles and the intended socialising processes brought forth by actors as representatives of institutions. The topoi of economic wellbeing, the pledge to norms, and the created "role" for a part of society, here women, become part of the educational curriculum and contribute to the socialising interpellation (e.g. Althusser, 1971) of students, as well as the creation of an idealised image on and about reality. Throughout the analysed transcript, the teacher as interpellating actor adopts as main argumentation scheme the concept of norms, reproducing them, reiterating or readapting them, by aiming at awareness for the respect of some prefabricated norms. The social role students are supposed to take on seems to correspond to a series of already normed steps that ideally normalise the students' social conduct through (pre-) legitimised, naturalised norms (e.g., Krzyżanowski, 2020). These aim, among others, to acknowledge the fact that a certain engagement in society is needed. However, a dual representation of what the *norm* or the *normal* is, takes place: On the one hand, based on the understanding of a disciplinary power (e.g., Foucault, 1977a), the mentioning of ideal timelines and steps to be completed in life, as well as the prestige of social positions, evokes norms that establish the normal. These references ideally try to bring socialised subjects "into conformity with some pre-existing standard" (Taylor, 2009: 50). On the other hand, the discursive design of a changing role of women and the implication this evolution has, is drawn as deviance from a no longer objective standard or norm, establishing it as new norm out of the normal, but not as ideal. In other words, this means that based on the whole interaction, the population decline linked to (and notably caused by) the changing role of women because of their new roles is built as normal but not as ideal.

This geography-history class evoked narrated chronotopes which strengthen the teacher's discursive position, and are able to give insight into a sociocultural system that both concerns the present and the past, becoming an optic for the analysis of cultural patterns (see section 2.2.4; Holquist & Emerson, 1981). With the mentioning of ideal timelines and steps to accomplish them, as well as gender-related phenomena, the interaction of the teacher and students collaboratively creates a reality by the sharing of statements thought to comprise a collective consciousness. The discourse is directed by the teacher as animator of the dominant discourses found, among others, in statistical databases, documentaries, textbooks, and news media, as well as her own self-authored experiences which legitimate and are

legitimated by these same discourses in this *société de discours* (Foucault, 1971). These dominant societal discourses remain the principal of the interaction even when students take the floor, since they are invited to fill in known-answer gaps in the teacher's performance: that is, not with their personal experiences or beliefs, but with utterances that sustain the principal of the interaction.

7   Religion and traditions as figurehead for identity

This third and last chapter of analysis is outlined based on two recordings in the preschool (see section 3.2). The two excerpts, one from a meeting among teachers and one excerpt from a ritualised morning circle time, will be examined separately. The first two of the following three subchapters were thereby taken out from the former (full transcript in 10.2.3, Transcript 1), while the last topos refers to a classroom interaction registered in the period after the teachers' meeting (full transcript in 10.2.3, Transcript 2).

7.1   Territorialising faith and traditions

In the first excerpt, teachers from the preschool discuss celebrations of pre-Christmas festivities, Christmas and/or other Christian traditions within the space of the kindergarten. In the recording, the celebration of the following events is discussed: Saint Martin's Day on November 11th, Christmas, Easter, as well as Father's Day on March 19th (as St. Joseph's Day) and Mother's Day in May. Throughout the transcribed part of interaction, the teachers discuss the appropriateness of all those festivities in an educational space as is the kindergarten, inserted in a predominantly Catholic society, by creating a clear link between territory, Christian faith and traditions. The discussion is brought up as the teachers are aware of the different religious faiths represented among the children. The teachers Barbara (BAR), Elisabeth (ELI), Judith (JUD), Maria (MAR), and Sonja (SON) are discussing whether religious festivities and/or traditions should be lived and transmitted in the preschool and its educational practice or not. A first argumentation scheme concerns the mentioning of taken-for-granted assumptions that state and acknowledge divergences in culture and identity, seeing identitarian traits as linked to the place one lives in. As soon as the question on the celebration of religious festivities is posed, Elisabeth asks about what her colleagues think about it:

Fragment 7.1.a: Opposition Here-There 1

10	**ELI**	wia isch dou insre holtung?	*what is our position to it?*
	SON	[mhm]	*[mhm]*
	BAR	[jo] (---)	*[yes] (---)*
	BAR	[weil] meine persönliche ebn weil i so erzogn wordn bin (.) kerts	*[because] my personal one, you know, **because i was raised that way***
15		[dozua]	***(.) it's [part of it]***

27	**SON**	iatz go:nz [wos] [gonz aufgebn tat i net weil es isch jo die kultur] fa dou	*well* **I would not** ent:irely *[something]* **[entirely give up because it's the culture] from here after all**

With regard to Elisabeth's question on the celebration of Saint Martin's Day, Barbara and Sonja make a contribution and highlight their personal opinion by endorsing the celebration of those traditions (lines 13-15, 27 ff.). They state that they "grew up with it" and that it is thus "part of it" (lines 14-15), probably intending the together of traditions they are used to. The expression "kerts dozua" ("it's part of it") conveys a concept that is inalienable and essential part of something, and one cannot imagine going without it. The teachers express a clear personal involvement and a sense of emotional connection to those celebrations, and don't want to give them up "entirely" (line 28), also highlighting the matter of course of those traditions, because they themselves grew up with them (Barbara in lines 13-15). The personal experience works as legitimising factor in that the teachers consider the space they are responsible for (the preschool) as appropriate for transmitting the values they are debating, being themselves spokespersons of the celebration of those events. Beyond the individual connection and experiences related to the festivities, in lines 27 ff., Sonja extends the belonging of the celebration to "the culture from here", creating an implicit dichotomy *us-them* through spatial division, yet without mentioning a potential "there". This opposition is taken up several times, starting with Sonja who attributes festivities to the *Us:*

Fragment 7.1.c: "Our festivities"

38	**SON**	SEL miasat mor net lei INSRE feste feiern	*we should not only celebrate* **OUR festivities**

Sonja attributes festivities again to the instance *We,* but embraces an implicit possibility of including *them,* by proposing to focus not only on "our festivities" (line 38-39). Further on, the connection between territory and culture is taken up again by Elisabeth with reference to the celebration of St. Martin's Day:

Fragment 7.1.d: "Our cultural area"

	ELI	weil hem geats oanfoch ums teilen es isch eine geschichte eine (.) legende net und es isch holt de: dei isch holt wias in insern kulturraum dou voronkert	*because it's about sharing it's a story a (.) legend right and it's that one the legend it's the one* **how it is anchored here in our cultural area**
95			

Then, the concept of traditions and festivities related to a spatial dimension persists and is mentioned again toward the end of the excerpt:

Fragment 7.1.e: Giving up festivities

	MAR	[jo obor] olle feschte weglossn ingaling es sein holt decht pa ins tra[dition]	*[yeah but] giving up all festivities i mean* **they are part of tra[dition] here**
215			

The concept of culture and traditions as "anchored here" (line 95) is underlined through the use of the "here" and the underspecified indexical *we* with their derivates as deictic references to a reality that belongs to the speaker as animator. The act of "taking possession" over (religious) traditions by one group implies the existence of at least one other group. There is a clear stance-taking in the teachers who designate a space and attribute it to the *here and us* (lines 38, 216)*,* a concept to regroup people around those traditions, opposed to cultures of the *there and them*, or, translated to the context of the preschool, children and families not from "here". It is interesting to notice that the *We* is employed as universally valid instance for the teachers in a meeting in which also the researcher is present. However, it remains debatable if the researcher is included in the *We,* if they are already potentially part of it or not. The debate on the locally and historically anchored traditions (line 215) identifies other traditions as relatively "new" phenomenon, especially in what concerns religious pluralisation in the area where the kindergarten is located. The new presence of the *other* is taken up several times and turns out to be interdependent, once again, on the characterisation of the *us*:

Fragment 7.1.f: Defending identity 1

| 60 | **ELI** | [ähm (-) obor obor i find schun: dass] woasch dass [wenn mi:r zu insren stian] … | *[eh (-) but but i find: that] you know that **[if we: stand by ours]*** … |
| 67 | **ELI** | hel hoaßt [net (--) hel] hoaßt für mi net wianiger offn sein fürs O:n[dre] | ***it does [not (--) it] does not mean for me to be less openminded for the O:th[er]*** |

In the ongoing discussion among the teachers, an identity emerges that needs to be reinforced in the context of a society that is becoming highly diversified in terms of religions and cultures. Traditions are something you "stand by" (line 61-62), states Elisabeth and standing by them does not necessarily mean to be less openminded (lines 67-69). Defending an identity also means reinforcing it, as Elisabeth in the following fragment suggests:

Fragment 7.1.g: Defending identity 2

| | **ELI** | lei obor i denk a mir miasn insre identität solln mir a: st woasch dei soll (---) | *only, **I also think we should also st our identity you know it should** (---)* |
| 75 | **ELI** | des soll: (-) ge dei soll gestörkt sein weil donn konnsch du a: in ondorn offn begegnen (1.4) | ***it should: (-) st it should be strengthened because then you can: also: meet others with an open mind (1.4)*** |

Identity is something that needs to "be strengthened" (lines 61-62, 76). Both traditions and identity (or better, traditions as perceived fundamental part of an identity) are presented as something to be defended, which implies that identity is a concept that can be weakened. The conclusion is that once the own identity is strengthened it can permit to adopt an openminded spirit toward others. In creating an opposition between a local and claimed to be one's own (religious) traditions, and the customs that

come from outside, Catholicism is reproduced as norm. The "others" (lines 75 ff.) are part of the *them* in the *here*, and are portrayed as entity that is encountered by strengthening the own values against a hypothetical influence from outside. This can be read as the possibility given by the other to break down the mentioned traditions from the "here". This normative content is useful for creating a collective memory in a group, even by expanding this memory to the *other*, to the advantage of the creation of a bigger and stronger collective whole. However, as any other norm, also the affirmation and transmission of Catholic values can be object of discussion.

7.2 Pluralism

In the matter of designing and organising the lessons in the preschool, the responsible education directorate provides a "quality framework" ratified by the local government (Autonome Provinz Bozen, 2017). It includes a section named "Religiosity and orientation to values" and cites the following:

> Religious and ethical education are embedded in children's everyday experiences. The questions asked by girls and boys about the meaning and purpose of life enable them to *engage with faith* on the basis of the religious and ideological traditions of their environment.[29] (*ibid*.: 18)

The framework also states that the "the educational specialist gives the girl/boy an insight into biblical content, images and symbols" and "[...] enables the girl/boy to participate in and help organise customs of the community, festivities and religious activities"[30] (*ibid*.). All these points are listed as criteria and are part of this official policy document intended as regulating the organisation and parts of the contents conveyed in the environment of the preschools. "Engaging with faith" is presented as one aim in the section on religiosity. It is not further justified what type of religious festivities and traditions are intended, neither which "faith" is addressed. What faith is intended can however be evinced out of the reference to biblical content. Catholicism seems to be constructed ass the norm, which corresponds to the numerical majority of Catholics who characterise the environment the preschool is located in. This hypothesis is confirmed by a fifth criterion: "The educational specialist encourages the girl/boy to treat other religious beliefs and world views with respect"[31] (*ibid*.). Other religious beliefs are the ones in opposition to the normal one, and consequently, values that deviate from Christianity and Catholicism. With regard to the previously analysed interaction, the guidelines function as hypothetical principal of

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[29] Translation and emphasis mine.

[30] Translations mine.

[31] Translation mine.

interaction because of the document held responsible for the reiteration of discourse in the matter of religious content, subsequently animated by the educational specialists in educational practice.

However, in the teacher meeting, the topic of communicating traditions and religious aspects is introduced in such a way that it is not regarded as an uncontroversial framework guideline, but that it can be negotiated by stakeholders in a specific discursive space. Mentioning the period before Christmas, Barbara asks:

Fragment 7.2.a: Negotiating values 1

20	**BAR**	obor i hon mor sel ebn dou [aufgschriebn wia viel sinn hot ADVENT] odor weihnachtn dou [in dein] kindergortn?	*but in fact i [made a note of it here **how much sense do ADVENT] or christmas have here [in this] preschool?***

This question raised by Barbara expresses her awareness of a diversified society and a group in her daily reality which is an indicator for shifting social and cultural landscapes with increasing religious diversity: The questioning of the suitability of the celebration of religious traditions in "this" (22) kindergarten already suggests the willingness to negotiate the transmission of specific content in a classroom with a not homogeneously Catholic group of children: The specificity of "this" kindergarten and the elements composing it links back to the individual nature of each social setting in which interaction occurs, and the highly specific spatiotemporal circumstances in which discourses can emerge (Bakhtin, 1981). Also, the consciousness expressed by Barbara questions habits and postulates that seemingly are transmitted and several times remain unquestioned in guidelines (e.g., Foucault, 2005a)). In this regard, Sonja and Judith open up and add:

Fragment 7.2.b: Negotiating values 2

35	**SON**	wos man obor MEHR miasat isch die ondern einer[bringen a]	*what one should do MORE is to bring [in also] the others*
	JUD	[zin bei]spiel is zuckerfest	*[for example] **also eid-al-fitr***

Indeed, in the lines 34-37, teachers are arguing whether festivities from other faiths should be celebrated as well, in line with the diversified environment in terms of religious identities. In reflecting on this matter, the teachers create a conflict area between their statements and what is stated in the guidelines and the regulatory framework as prevailing discourse with its powers (e.g., Foucault, 1980). They are authoring their speech in contrast to the quality framework as principal of their expected actions. Another option seems to be the focussing on non-religious aspects of traditions, as in the fragments that follow:

Fragment 7.2.c: Negotiating values 3

165	**BAR**	[odor OSTERN eben hel] kimpmor fir hel isch (---) so: schwierig	*[or EASTER indeed that's] i have the impression that's (---) so: difficult*
	SON	[mhm]	*[mhm]*

	BAR	ostern zin [beispiel hel tuat man]	*easter for [example you celebrate it]*
170	**ELI**	[obor hem hon i ehrlich gsog in religiösn aspekt sowieso aus]geklammert	*[but there to be honest i already ex]cluded the religious aspect*
	SON	[hel isch eh schun (normal)]	*[that is already (normal)]*

As soon as the focus is placed on Easter, Elisabeth says that the religious aspect has already been excluded (lines 170-172). There is also a discussion about whether the custom of the Easter bunny makes sense at all. The norm of celebrating those festivities is questioned again and a conscious reflection on how to deal with them in a pluralistic religious environment occurs. The educators actively create discourse by not only presenting their discursive position, but by consciously deciding to exclude religious aspects and to see customs as a factor for an inclusive involvement of all children in the kindergarten. With regard to Easter, a parallelism between that festivity and Christmas is subsequently created through an intervention by teacher Barbara who highlights that the Easter Bunny does not exist and that it would have no sense to state that there is one. Elisabeth and Judith object by saying that Christmas is different and affirm:

Fragment 7.2.d: Negotiating values 4

	ELI	jo obor [des isch] holt des MAGISCHE denken wo mir fir[kimp]	*yeah but [this is] like the MAGIC thinking where i [believe]*
	BAR	[net?]	*[no?]*
200	**JUD**	[is] christkindl [kimp pa mir dohoam] a olm [nou]	*[the] baby jesus[32] [always comes by] at my home [still]*
	MAR	[i find jo]	*[i find yes]*
205	**BAR**	[na] hel schun obor hel isch wos i in meine kinder hel [isch an on]ders paarl schuach	*[yeah] but that is something i do with my children [it is an]other thing*

There seems to persist a hierarchy between traditions to be transmitted in the preschool, with Christmas seeming to be more relevant than Easter. Judith refers to personal experiences and takes a clear stance with regard to Christmas, where the custom of baby Jesus bringing the presents is tradition in her family (lines 200-202). This communicates that personal involvements in traditions are a legitimising factor for transmitting those traditions to others. The intervention by Barbara, however, can be read as a contrastive attitude by separating the role of Christmas at home where it is "another thing" because she does it with her own children (lines 205-206), and distinguishes this clearly from her praxis in the preschool as public space with other children. In doing so, the teacher excludes the personal level of

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[32] In the Southern German-speaking area and alpine region, it is traditional for presents to be brought on Christmas Eve, not by Santa Claus, but by the figure of baby Jesus, a child-version of Jesus Christ as found in the manger scene.

experiences from the organisation of the daily routine with the audience and interlocutors in the preschool, designating a border between private and public spheres.

The active discussion and final "exclusion" of religiousness and the only teaching of *seemingly* purely secular customs without reference to their religious layer (such as the Easter bunny) can become an option. This does not seem to be the case with Christmas due to a high grade of importance attributed to the festivity by some teachers, with the event having another degree of norm, i.e. its celebration seems more *normal* with the religious aspect being more central. This assumption of Christmas being more central automatically attributes to the festivity a higher degree of importance which turns into the legitimation of being actively transmitted, as the last section will show.

7.3   Religious homo(hetero)geneity

The discourse fragments below are intended to provide insight into parallel or contrasting elements with regard to the meeting of educators analysed in the previous point, by passing from reflections on a discursive meta-level to the active educational praxis in the classroom. The fragments that will be analysed are part of the morning circle time (see 3.2.1) recorded on the first day of December 2021. The morning circle time is a very vivid and tumultuous moment in the preschool's daily routine. Several children constantly intervene, shout, ask questions, and sometimes are very curious about the stories and events the teachers narrate. In the chosen excerpt, two teachers are present in the room, Elisabeth (ELI) Agnes (AGN), and the researcher (RES). At the beginning of the encounter, the teacher Elisabeth introduces the month that has just begun. Then, she involves the children as participants in the interaction and begin to talk about Christmas:

Fragment 7.3.a: A unifying "We"

15	**ELI**	sehr gut (.) deZEMBER und IM <<p> dezember hassan feiern (.) wir (.) ein (.) fest (.) ein besonderes fest>	*very good (.) **deCEMBER and IN <<p> december hassan we celebrate (.) a (.) festivity (.) a special festivity>***

Elisabeth wants to know what festivity is going to be celebrated, and a child named Francesco replies that December is his month because he celebrates his birthday. Francesco is convinced that Elisabeth intends his birthday with that famous festivity, and that the class will celebrate him, but the teacher clarifies, responding first to Francesco in explaining to him who they are going to celebrate:

Fragment 7.3.b: "We celebrate Christmas"

35	**ELI**	dich? (-) na: ((chuckles)) du hast im dezember geburtstag das stimmt (1.0) aber (.) im dezember am vierundzwanzigsten	*you? (-) no: ((chuckles)) your birthday is in december that's right (1.0) but (.) **in december on the twenty-fourth <<whispering> we celebrate***
40		<<whispering> feiern wir WEIHnachten (1.0) weihnachten>	***CHRISTmas (1.0) christmas> (.) right AND (.) on [christmas]***

		(.) gell UND (.) zu	
		[weihnachten]	

Whereas in the teacher meeting the unmentioned consciousness of a parallelism between Catholic faith/traditions and the *others* prevails, in the interaction between teacher and children a clear homogeneous group is created, aiming at including all children through the use of the referential *We*. As a typical event in the preschool, the morning circle time aims to bring together all children and create exchanges among them. The physical setting and organisation of the scene contributes to the creation of a homogeneous group expressed through the pronominal construction in lines 15, 49), as the latter automatically includes all social actors present in the room. Also, it is taken for granted that the festivity is a matter of common interest:

Fragment 7.3.c: Religious knowledge

80	**ELI**	zu weihnachten feiern wir den geburtstag von (.) von wem wer w[eiß das]	*on christmas **we celebrate** the birthday of (.) whom who kn[ows that]*
	FRA	[gesù::]	*[jesus]*
85	**ELI**	von je:sus (.) genau francesco von jesus (-) vor ZWEITAUSENDundeinundzwanzig jahren ist jesus geboren vo seine mama war maria und sein papa war jo:sef(.) gell (und) am VIERundzwanzigsten dezember (-) also in VIERundzwanzig tagen (-) feiern wir den geburtstag von jesus und da erzähl ich euch auch noch einmal die geschichte dazu von jesus wie er geboren wurde (.) gell (.)	*of je:sus (.) exactly francesco **jesus' birthday (-) TWO THOUSAND twenty-one years ago jesus was born his mum was mary and his dad was joseph (.) right (and) on the TWENTY-fourth of december (-) this means in TWENTY-four days (-) we celebrate jesus' birthday and then i will tell you again jesus' story of how he was born (.) right (.)***
90			
95			

During the morning circle time, Elisabeth asks whose birthday "we" (line 79) celebrate on Christmas, and Francesco (FRA) responds: "Jesus" (line 82). Indeed, Elisabeth confirms that Christmas consists in celebrating Jesus' birthday (line 83 ff.) who becomes a taken-for-granted figure apparently known to all children in the room. The teacher continues and states that Jesus was born "two thousand twenty-one years ago" and that "his mum was Mary and his dad was Joseph" (lines 85 ff.). The nativity of Jesus is treated as a "story", which may suggest that it is rather treated as a tale-like event happened in the past, something interesting for the audience. Christmas is reiterated as a moment that the "we" wait for, as Elisabeth explicates. To this, Hassan then replies as follows:

Fragment 7.3.d: Opposed voices

125	**ELI**	[auf was (.) das (.)auf den geburtstag von je:sus] gell?	***[we are waiting for(.) the (.) for je:sus' birthday] right?***
	FRA	[((not clear, talking about christmas))]	*[((not clear, talking about christmas))]*
	HAS	non (s)esiste il jesus (.) non esiste	***jesus does not (s)exist (.) doesn't [exist]***
130	**ELI**	eh ja je:sus ist schon gestorben (.) gell aber zu WEIHnachten	***[eh] yes je:sus is already dead (.) right but on***

69

| 135 | | wenn wir WEIHnachten feiern hassan dann denken wir an jesus (-) wie er geboren wurde gell (.) das erzähl ich euch aber ein anderes mal | *CHRISTmas when we celebrate CHRISTmas hassan then we think about jesus (-) about how he was born(.) but i will tell you another time* |

In the teacher's contributions, Christmas itself is rather represented as episteme, i.e. certain knowledge, than as a common belief. The celebration of Christmas based on common beliefs but conveyed as common knowledge induces a process of socialisation the children ideally undergo as part of a homogeneous group in a majorly Catholic environment. However, the apparent religious homogeneity in the chronotope of the interaction between the preschool teacher and the children is broken down by an intervention that comes from Hassan who simply states the non-existence of Jesus (lines 128-129): The teacher reacts to Hassan's suggestion and directs her answer at him specifically. The teacher continues their speech without taking the child's comment as a challenge or as an invitation to debate the existence of Jesus as a religious entity. The teacher treats the use of "exist" (line128) as "live", and thus just as a declaration for Christ to be physically inexistent (lines 130-136). After Hassan's intervention, the teacher immediately goes on and pre-announces that Jesus' story will be told, sanctioning it as event of a normal process in the period before Christmas. The fragment above thus contains two concurring discursive positions in the sense of world views, but only one position "survives", namely the teacher's, who reiterates the content as unquestionable "norm", exposing and transmitting it as valid in a ritualised environment.

7.4 Summary

The last data chapter showed several elements in common with chapter one and the (re)production of collective identities through the creation of groups and the designation of the *other,* this time identified based on religion and traditions. The linguistic devices used on a word- and propositional level are linked to the creation of a personal and spatial dimension that regards the *Us* and the *Here.* Through these references, religious and traditional identities stipulate a sense of belonging. They are first and foremost debated through the topos of territorialisation, designating those identitarian traits as ownable concepts. Religion and tradition are related to an area in which a religious norm is not only represented by individuals in interaction, but also in policies with regard to educational practice. However, in the teachers meeting, religion and traditions are treated as negotiable values in terms of world view or as careful observance of rituals, behaviours and dogmata. Although the preservation of cultural cultural traits from the *here and us* is not put into discussion in view of educational practice, some religious aspects recede into the background and the educators are ready to open up for the *them and there,* specifically talking about the relevance of some festivities in a religiously diversified space. The

discourse fragments from the teacher meeting showed that religious values, as they should be transmitted according to several statements in official policy guidelines, are forwarded, but with the religious content as less relevant. Linguistically expressed, the educators recognise the pluralistic constellation of the kindergarten and its children that unites both the *Us* and the *Them.* This reinforces the impression of a progressive secularisation taking place within a social space such as the kindergarten, in which Catholicism is not lived as a reality, yet still considered as a norm, as the last discourse fragments stemming from the educational practice shows. The creation of a homogeneous group in educational practice through a unified *We* with regard to religion and traditions is opposed to what has been previously conveyed in the meeting about the same topics, even if some weeks before. The "big D discourse" (see section 2.2.3; Gee, 2005, 2015) of religion and the transmission of traditions was diachronically analysed in two different spatiotemporal settings. The topos of pluralism and its consciousness as an argumentative scheme that considers both the *Us* and the *Them* singularly stands in opposition to the one of religious homogeneity, such as is represented in the actual practice in the preschool, through the creation of a unified *We* and the imposition of religion as socialising norm. This norm is disputed through an objection in an intervention from a child who does not see themselves in relation to the prevailing norm which aims to unify all participants by establishing how they should act. The intervention is, however, overpowered by another voice in the interaction.

8 Conclusions and Implications

In this work, I investigated how and through what content teachers as authorised speakers and students/children as ratified participants discursively and collaboratively (re)create collective identities through knowledge corresponding to "big D discourse", and via linguistic interaction ("small d discourse"). Looking at the recreation of those identities, the aim was also to find out how the discursive actors align with or distance themselves from school as institution. Answers to this were searched throughout the exploration of changing discourse constituted by power and simultaneously constituting power and knowledge in Foucault's sense, as well as the performative and symbolically valuable concept of the subject in language in Bourdieu's sense. A third dimension regarded the social actors who map and structure reality of a respective culture or epoch throughout spatiotemporal settings, namely chronotopes such as specific classroom settings or meetings. These combined perspectives helped to analyse the circulating of macrosocial phenomena in schools thanks to the power of the single actors and the polyphony of their interactions, and how they define and are defined by people and the setting. The following figure recapitulates the main premises I adopted at the beginning of this work, connecting it to the analysed data and the paradigm of discourse that emerged out of the interactions:
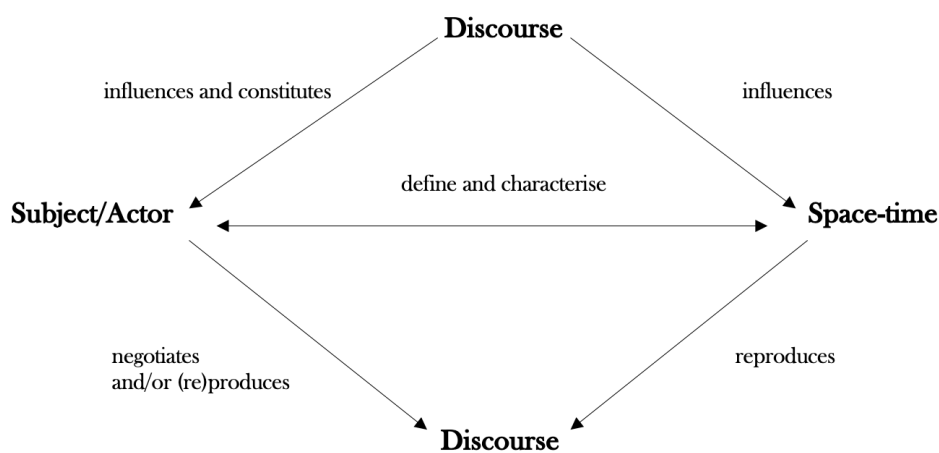
Figure VI: Discourse, actors, and space-time

On the one hand, discourse ("big D discourse"; Gee, 2005) as macrosocial phenomena is always circulating in institutional spaces, influencing both the subject formation of the individual, as well as the individual as actor in educational discourse. However, the latter is able to negotiate and/or reproduce discourse which previously influenced them in their interactions ("small d discourse"), building and reiterating new discourse. The actors and their authoritative speech character are the fundamental entity in doing so. On the other hand, discourse also influences the spatiotemporal coordinates that define and characterise the actors, who, in turn, determine with their roles, behaviours and contributions the

space-time through their individual actions and thus produce newly generated space-time configurations. This is also based on the single designs and the development of the interactions in those social settings which in their turn, permit the reiteration of discourse. This interplay of discourse as content, actors, and chronotopes was the leitmotif of this thesis and contributed to the analysis in the three data chapters.

The creation of collective identities as part of "big D discourse" regarded three different macro areas that all treated the concept of identity in singular and different ways throughout the oral interactions. Teachers and students created and rebuilt those identities based on national affiliation and/or belonging, the (re)affirmation of social roles, and the transmission of religious and traditional values (respectively one chapter for each area).

As far as collective identities in terms of national affiliations and belongings are concerned (first chapter of analysis), three collective groups were identified as corresponding to three distinctively created identities. These were 1) *We*/Italians, 2) France and the French, and 3) the category *Others.* The creation of those identitarian images happened through a plurality of contributions by all social actors, with singularly valid ideas in form of the attribution of different historical, social, and stereotypical qualities to the mentioned groups. The emerging images were mainly reinforced and confirmed through a teacher holding the skeptron as qualified speaker. In order to regroup all identities in- and outside a universally adopted *We*, which counted as an established, taken-for-granted-identity adopted by teacher and students, *necessary and apparently indispensable characteristics* to designate the identity of all of the groups involved were used. This stands for an essentialist world view on the concept of identity as static, immutable, ascribed heritage (concerning all groups), and difficult to acquire when it comes to the categories *We*/Italians and the French, whereas it is more fluid and less articulated with regard to the category *Others.* In fact, the mentioned European national identities demand a set of well-defined, sociohistorical, cultural, and biological traits in order to count as "real" and genuine. Despite several interventions from the students, the monologic design of the class left a small amount of space for reflections and reasoning processes in the students. Different statements by the teacher could thus be affirmed as axioms in form of idealised content and objectively acceptable knowledge out of their own experiences, never questioned by the students during the lecture. In this context, within the chronotopic constellation of the specific history or geography class, the teacher animated discourse and evoked other space-time constellations that are simply transposed to the here and now as unquestionable and immutable facts, serving as means of analysis of cultural patterns and argumentation schemes in discourse. Opposed to several omissions, the contextualisation of historical and political phenomena (e.g., colonialism), and the illustration of their genealogical development throughout time, would supply useful instruments for the students in interpreting the teacher's

statements that become discourse. In contrast to the mainly monologic structure of the class with the teacher as authorial and authoritative voice, an actual dialogic interaction would contain high potentials for an awareness-raising speech from which the students could highly benefit.

With regard to the second chapter of analysis, the creation of collective social groups was more collaborative between students and teacher, and aligned with the socialising function an educational institution has. The excerpt showed the mechanisms of the rebuilding and the transmission of mainly two social roles: 1) the human being as subject and future generation who follows different norms and 2) the woman's role. As to point 1, the overloaded statements in the chapter can be aligned with what Louis Althusser calls the *always-already* subject, in this case constituted through the transformation of the individual into their role as subject through *interpellation.* The socialising creation of identities (interpellation) was exercised by an ensemble of ideologies ("big D discourse"), guaranteed and executed by the school as ideological state apparatus (Althusser, 1971) through qualified speakers and ritualised speech (Foucault, 1971). The concept of interpellation in data chapter two and evoked by Althusser is not just understood as the creation of identities ad hoc, but involves the socialising process as a whole, aiming at stabilising how a subject should evolve in order to guarantee the functioning of society, based on the respect of different norms. This perspective represents the human being as a cog in the societal mechanism and for the relationships with others. Not only is the teacher administrating the students throughout their discourse, but the teenagers' predesigned roles in society are established, ideally leading, through the lens of a *biopolitical* perspective (see Foucault, 2010)[33], to a better political and socioeconomic efficiency, that understands the need to administrate the successful evolution of the single person for guaranteeing the positive development of a prosperous whole. In this mechanism translated to a macro-context, and applied through the school as apparatus (*supra*), the population is fundamental part of a state's interest, and the political aim is reflected in the biological, the human being. As to the role of women, a more dialogical structure with several interventions from all social actors could be examined. The created role *for* women elicited a spatiotemporally fluid identity with regard to that part of the population. Searching for the causes of population decline in the modern era and in economically well-developed countries, again the women's role was mentioned as provoking instance of that negative phenomenon. Comparisons between the *now* and *then* were made by the teacher through chronotopes as narrated content *within* discourse. They functioned as indexical forms

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[33] Biopower in Foucault's sense combines two mechanisms of power in neo-liberal, modern (Western) societies: On the one hand, the regulation and optimisation of the population through the intersection of power/knowledge (*biopolitics*), on the other hand the respect of the norms through self-discipline in the individual (*technologies of the self*). In this section, the population composed by idealised subjects is considered as central point for political and socioeconomic interests (biopower). Further readings: Foucault, 2010; Lemm & Vatter, 2014.

that undermined techniques in the speaker's argumentation. In particular, social evolution related to women was perceived as a new normative order presented to the audience that the teacher outlined by positioning it as deviance (to their lived past). Women as a collective whole were reduced to their identitarian traits and, indeed, their role, and not perceived as individuals. Compared to the creation of roles *for* people and potentially also the listeners, the dialogic creation of roles for specific categories (women) can also be read as an element out of a view on biopower (Foucault, 2010; Taylor, 2009), in this context an individually or collectively established norm out of the normal, and not vice versa: The new norms in relation to the role of women are seen as "interplay of differential normalities … the normal comes first, and the norm is deduced from it" (Foucault, 2007: 63).

A contrast to the first two chapters of analysis was created in the (re)building of identity based on religious and traditional aspects, where an evident negotiation of the transmission of discourse was taking place. Through a contrastive approach to linguistic interaction, and its comparison with official policy guidelines, I could state to what extent the teachers align with or distance from the institutional sphere and how they could individually reiterate or neglect teaching content in form of religious and traditional, identitarian values. The focus lied on 1) the negotiation of the content by teachers as stakeholders in a meeting and 2) the actual reproduction of discourse in educational practice. In this regard, a clear discursive power in the individual (the educators) emerged, capable of rejecting world views regardless of a system's prescriptions. Taking up Ilse Porstner's connotation of actor (*supra*, Porstner, 2017), a role able to reproduce ideologies offered by the system through *individual actions*, especially the last chapter revealed that discourse is not only recruiting individuals subjected to systems of order and beliefs (such as it is majorly the case in classroom interactions and students in the first two analysis chapters). A single person or a group *actively* contributed with their potential to action to the creation of reality that further influences other individuals. Teachers and educators could debate on the transmission of "big D" discursive content in the matter of cultural paradigms that are part of a culture-traditionally shaped *We* situated in the space *Here,* opposed to the *Them* and an implicitly mentioned *There.* In the educational practice, the construction of groups and norms was not omitted. An established hierarchy of voices in an institutionalised environment has shown that the construction of an ideal homogeneity by an authorised and recognised entity in discourse can be opposed in a dialogised event. Nonetheless, it cannot be overpowered by a single different, but less legitimate voice in interaction built up on different prevailing postulates.

The analysis in this study has worked with linguistic methods combined with socio-theoretical considerations, both contributing to the elaboration of a critical attitude toward mechanisms in education as politicised environment. A critical attitude in this matter is grounded on scepticism toward

statements claimed to be fully valid and necessary, and ideologically charged knowledge in the examined circumstances. Regardless of Foucault's division of discursive and non-discursive spheres, the interest in this work relied on the level of practices on which our comprehension of the world and the subjective construction of identity are grounded. Such is the aim of a critical work in the matter of an institutionalised context, through which researchers and authors themselves are able "to find out on which knowledge, habits and acquired but unreflected ways of thinking the accepted praxis is based"[34] („heraus[zu]finden, auf welchen Erkenntnissen, Gewohnheiten und erworbenen, aber nicht reflektierten Denkweisen die akzeptierte Praxis beruht") (Foucault, 2005b: 222). My personal attitude in the sense of criticism was therefore based on the assumption to

> [...] requestion the self-evident and the postulates through the analyses carried out [...], to shake up the habits and the ways of acting and thinking, to disaggregate the assumed familiarities.[35] (durch die [...] durchgeführten Analysen die Selbstverständlichkeiten und die Postulate neu zu befragen, die Gewohnheiten und die Handlungs- und Denkweisen zu erschüttern, die übernommenen Vertrautheiten zu zerstreuen). (Foucault, 2005a: 834)

Especially in a time that experiences an upswing of nationalist, misogynous, anti-Muslim, and antisemitic tendencies also due to tensions on a broader societal and geopolitical level, the constitution of knowledge and groupness in a hierarchically organised educational space, as the pre-divisional school system, is a construction site for the creation of consciousness to the benefit of a socially equal and prosperous surrounding. This is reached through

> criticism [that] analyses the processes of rarefaction, consolidation and unification in discourse; [and] genealogy [that] studies their formation, at once scattered, discontinuous and regular. (Foucault, 1971: 26)

Crucial is therefore the critical investigation not only of interaction and the observation of participants in an ethnographic project, but also of the structural foundations that regulate those interactions, such as official documents and guidelines. The critique on the use of language also implies the genealogic examination of discourse, which in turn helps to investigate the constitution and the development of the latter. Educational practice can develop several mechanisms in the reiteration of discourse, especially in what concerns the direct exchange between students and teachers. To guarantee the conscious transmission and negotiation of "big D discourse" in those interactions, they have to be dialogic, interactive, and encourage confrontation. This concerns majorly the exchanges between a

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[34] Translation mine.

[35] Translation mine.

teacher and an audience composed by young teenagers who are just introduced in topics about social issues and the working of current sociopolitical and/or cultural phenomena. So is the focus on institutionalised discourse in schools meant to be a subversive critique on language and discursive practices in education (e.g., Reisigl, 2019). Doing critique also means to outline the implication of alternative negotiations of discourses and inducing the involved figures to act differently (*ibid.*), i.e., to gain a more conscious control over the reproduction of the investigated social phenomena. With regard to this, the teachers could notably encourage critical thinking in the students. In doing so, the listeners would not passively but actively react to appropriated discourses: They could scrutinise the appropriateness of circulating language, question it and eventually induce their teachers by themselves to alternative actions. Critical thinking stemming from scientific outcomes and the intensive demand for the development of an analytical, sceptical lens in all participants in educational interaction is thus a necessary contribution to the process of change. Education, in turn, is the most important instrument for that change, especially in what concerns language, where all said can be said differently.

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9.1   Figures and Images

Figure I: Angermuller, 2014: 26.

Figure II created by Andrea R. Leone-Pizzighella.

Figures III, IV, V, VI created by the author.

10 Appendices

10.1 Transcription Conventions (based on GAT-2)

The transcription conventions were applied to the original transcriptions subsequently translated into English.

[utterance]	overlapping utterances
(utterance)	assumed utterance or word(s), not clearly intelligible
( )	not intelligible passage without further annotation
UTTerance	main stress of intonational phrase
Utterance	side stress of intonational phrase (only vowel in capital letters)
UTT!erance	strong stress of intonational phrase
(.)	estimated micropause of up to 0.2 seconds
(-)	short pause estimated between 0.2-0.5 seconds
(--)	medium long pause estimated between 0.5-0.8 seconds
(---)	long pause estimated between 0.8-1.0 seconds
(1.5)	measured pause of 1.5 seconds
äh, ähm, eh, ehm	filled pause
u:tterance	lengthened sound (0.2-0.5 seconds)
u::tterance	lengthened sound (0.5-0.8 seconds)
u:::tterance	lengthened sound (0.8-1.0 seconds)
?	pitch movement strongly raising (questions)
°h	audible breath in
((description))	nonverbal actions, e.g. ((laughs)) if integrated into utterance line
<<description>utterance>	nonverbal actions with utterance, e.g. <<whispering>utterance>
<<:-)>utterance>	utterance produced with smile voice
<<cresc>utterance>	crescendo
<<dim>utterance>	diminuendo

<<p>utterance>	piano, quietly produced utterance
description	description of annotated nonverbal actions if annotated in a separate line, e.g. omissis-parts
((...))	omission in the transcript
omissis	omission from the original transcription in the discourse excerpts inserted in the thesis (with explanations)
...	omission of parts in the single discourse fragments throughout analysis

10.2 Data excerpts

10.2.1 Excerpt 1: Fluid and static (national) identities

01	**TEA**	la francia (-) è il paese in eurOPA	*france is (-) the country in eurOPE*
		omissis four turns, the teacher tells students to go to their seats, students chat	*omissis four turns, the teacher tells students to go to their seats, students chat*
	TEA	[ha accolto negli anni] attenzione (-) più immigrati non	*[has welcomed in the years] listen please (-) not surprisingly most*
05		a caso (-) più emigrati nordafricani e: (2.0) quelle quegli stati quelle nazioni dell'africa che una volta sono state colONIE	*immigrants (-) most north african emigrants and: (2.0) those those states those nations of Africa that were once colonies*
10		[(1.5)] della francia	*[(1.5)] of france*
	PIE	[di della francia]	*[of of France]*
	TEA	il se:negal la costa d'avo:rio (.) dove ancORA! (-) il francese è la seconda lingua (-) oppure tutta la fascia del del nordafrica il marocco l'algeria la tunisia dove il francese è ancora oggi la seconda lingua (-) ufficiale (3.0)	*se:negal ivory coast (.) where french is stILL! (-) the second language (-) or the whole part of of north africa morocco algeria tunisia where french is still today the second (-) official language (3.0)*
15			
20	**Ss**	((indistinct chattering))	*((indistinct chattering))*
	TEA	raccoglie il maggior numero di immigrati soprattutto maghrebini (--) ma non solo [se voi andate in]	*it gathers the largest number of immigrants mainly maghrebis (--) but not only [if you go to]*
		omissis three turns, the teacher tells students about Maghreb and shows them its geographical position	*omissis three turns, the teacher tells students about Maghreb and shows them its geographical position*
25	**TEA**	vi rendete conto veramente TANto girando per le strade di quanto veramente parigi come marsiglia come AL!tre grandi città francesi siano veramente cosmopolite cioè siano veramente (-) abitate da popolazioni che arrivano da tutte le parti del mondo (-) dimmi [valeria]	*you REALLY realise walking around the streets just how much paris like marseille and like OTH!er major french cities are really cosmopolitan like are really (-) inhabited by people from all over the world (-) tell me [valeria]*
30			
	VAL	[ma] infatti	*[but] in*
35		anche tipo:: (.) ai mondiali quest'anno	*fact also during the world championships this year*

	PIE	[ho notato] (per)che (.) [son tutti:]	*[i realised] (because) (.) [they're all:]*
40	**VAL**	la squadra di calcio della francia [sono]	*the french national football team [are]*
	NAB	[è la più forte è troppo forte]	*[is the greatest they're really the greatest]*
	VAL	tutti [tutti::] africani così	*all [all::] africans yes*
45	**PIE**	[di colore]	*[people of colour]*
		omissis one turn, not clear	*omissis one turn, not clear*
	TEA	sono tutti ( ) afric[ani] no ma anche se voi andate [(3.0)]	*they're all ( ) afri[cans] no but also if you go [(3.0)]*
		omissis seven turns, students begin to talk about football and teacher interrupts them, they call for attention	*omissis seven turns, students begin to talk about football and teacher interrupts them, they call for attention*
	TEA	(–) se guardate la nazionale di calcio francese di francesi veri doc (.) con un cognome francese con con una fisionomia (.) ce ne sono veramente pochi no? però sono tanTIssimi di colore tanTIssimi africani	*(–) if you look at france's national football team there are really few genuine (doc)[36] french (.) with a french family name and with with a physiognomy right? but there are a LOT of people of colour a LOT of africans*
50			
		omissis three turns, Nabil and other students name football players	*omissis three turns, Nabil and other students name football players*
55	**TEA**	(0.5) e se girate (.) e poi son cittadini francesi STANNO in francia (1.0) ovviamente se stanno nella nazionale <<cresc, as if something very interesting follows> se andate a parigi e girate certe strade> (–) io veramente ho fatto fatica a riconoscere un francese come mi aspettavo di trovare	*(0.5) and if you go around (.) and yes they are french citizens they LIVE in france (1.0) of course if they are in the national football team <<cresc, as if something very interesting follows> if you go to paris and walk around in certain streets> (–) i really had a hard time recognising a french person as i expected to find*
60			
		omissis two turns, students chatting	*omissis two turns, students chatting*
65	**TEA**	tantISSIMI di colore (–) e tantissimi nordafricani maghrebini maghrebini (1.0) e a differenza però dell'italia (.) che si nota questa differenza no a differenza dell'italia dove (–) l'immigrato maghrebino (1.5) a parte qualche raro caso ma magari l'immigrato maghrebino di prima o di seconda di PRIma generazione no ((not clear)) trovi a fare magari lavori umili	*a LOT of people of colour (–) and a lot of north africans maghrebis maghrebis (1.0) and unlike in italy (.) like you notice this difference no unlike italy where (–) a maghrebi immigrant (1.5) apart from few rare cases but maybe a maghrebi immigrant of first or second generation right ((not clear)) you maybe find them doing menial jobs*
70			
75			
	TEA	(1.0) perché il suo titolo di studio non è riconosciuto perché non sa la lingua ci mette un po' ad impararla quindi deve fare un po' quello che gli capita (–) invece gli immigrati che poi alla fine sono cittadini francesi a tutti gli effetti occupano anche (cioè) ne vedi	*(1.0) because their title of study is not recognised because they don't know the language it takes them a while to learn it so they have to do a bit of whatever (–) on the other hand immigrants who are in the end french citizens to all intents and purposes also (like)*
80			
85			

[36] see 5.2

		tantissimi anche nella pubblica amministrazione	*you see many of them also in the public administration*
90	TEA	ne vedi tantissimi anche negli ospedAli (1.2) sono cittadini francesi a tutti <<dim> gli effetti> (--) quindi c'è una grande differenza con l'italia e soprattutto la cosa più sconvolgente che noi italiani facciamo fatica a considerare l'immigrato	*you can see a lot of them also in HOSpitals (1.2) they're french citizens to <<dim> all intents and purposes> (--) so there persists a big difference to italy and above all the most upsetting thing is that we italians find it hard to consider the immigrant*
95			
	REM	<<sure and convinced suggesting what teacher is going to say> un italiano>	*<<sure and convinced suggesting what teacher is going to say> as italian>*
100	TEA	italiano (1.6)	*italian (1.6)*
		omissis six turns, teacher names as example a famous Italian volleyball player and racist attacks, then goes over to football again	*omissis six turns, teacher names as example a famous Italian volleyball player and racist attacks, then goes over to football again*
	TEA	pensate con balotelli (.) quando stava nella nella nazionale italiANA (.) che gli urlavano (che) gli buttavano le bucce di banana gli urlavano tu non devi stare qua perché tu non sarai mica italiano (.) questo adottATO da una famiglia bresciana quando apre bocca ce l'ha scritto di fronte BRESCIA	*just think about balotelli(.) when he was in the itALIAN football team (.) that they were shouting at him (that) they were throwing banana peels at him they were shouting at him you can't stay here because you are not Italian (.) this one was adOPTed by a family from brescia when he opens his mouth he has written in front of it BRESCIA*
105			
110			
	Ss	((students repeating brescia))	*((students repeating brescia))*
	TEA	<<cresc> ah non sarai mica italiano> perché è di colore (0.5) in francia queste cose non esistono	*<<cresc> ah you are not italian> because he is black (0.5) in france these things don't exist*
115			
	Ss	[((*PIE and RAM commenting, not clear for 4 sec*))]	*[((S2 and S6 commenting, not clear for 4 sec))]*
	TEA	[d'altrONDE] (.) sono quelli che hanno fatto la rivoluzione francese quindi qualcosa ci insegneranno anche a noi italiani (-) questa cosa <<emphasizing> non c'è in francia> (1.0)	*[after ALL] (.) they are the ones who made the french revolution so they will teach us italians something too (-) this does <<emphasizing> not happen in france> (1.0)*
120			
125	TEA	non c'è questa differenza cioè loro si (si) ritengono tutti (.) cittadini francesi (.) e tu sei degno di stare nella nazionale francese esattamente come me	*there is no such difference like they consider themselves (themselves) all (.) french citizens (.) and you are just as worthy to be in the french national team as i am*
130			
		omissis one turn, students chatting	*omissis one turn, students chatting*
	TEA	non ci sono questi episodi di razzismo di intolleranza che ti buttano le bucce di banana quello lo facciamo solo noi italiANI (.) che facciamo (…) in francia questa cosa non esiste (0.8)	*there are no such episodes of racism of intolerance that they throw to you banana peels only itALIans (.) do it (…) in france it does not exist (0.8)*
135			
		omissis one turn, not clear for four seconds	*omissis one turn, not clear for four seconds*
	RAM	[siamo degli animali]	*[we are animals]*

		omissis eleven turns, discussion about citizenship, ius soli and ius sanguinis in Italy and France, and about the fact that acquiring the Italian citizenship is a longer path than it is in France	*omissis eleven turns, discussion about citizenship, ius soli and ius sanguinis in Italy and France, and about the fact that acquiring the Italian citizenship is a longer path than it is in France*
	PIE	ma noi siamo arretrati	*yeah we are backward*
		omissis four turns, the teacher names list-like some prerequisites for the Italian citizenship: language, knowledge about laws and the constitution, etc.	*omissis four turns, the teacher names list-like some prerequisites for the Italian citizenship: language, knowledge about laws and the constitution, etc.*
140	**TEA**	quindi noi (arriviamo) con un percorso lungo e faticoso a dare la cittadinanza (.) in tanti paesi invece del mondo tu lo acquisisci alla nascita (-)	*so we (arrive) with a long and laborious process in giving citizenship (.) in many countries of the world you acquire it at birth instead (-) so you understand that there is (-) a big difference also (.) CULtural (.) the french are light years (-) ahead of us in this regard also the english are light years ahead of us*
145		quindi capite che c'è (-) una grande differenza anche (.) CULturale (.) i francesi in questo sono anni luce (-) avanti a noi anche gli inglesi sono anni	
150		luce avanti a noi	
		(2.18)	(2.18)
	TEA	perché forse sono arrivati con un altro percorso (.) noi: siamo stati più una terra di <<cresc> E!migranti> che non di (-) immigra immigrazione siamo stati noi ad andare (-) per decenni a fare gli emigranti in giro per il mondo quindi quando qualcuno no (-) arriva da noi facciamo più fatica (gli mettiamo) una serie di (paletti) di difficoltà	*because maybe they arrived by another path (.) we: we have been more a land of <<cresc> E!migrants> than of (-) immigrants we were the ones who went emigrating around the world (-) for decades as emigrants around the world so when someone right (-) comes to us we make it more difficult (we put) a series of difficulties*
155			
160			
		(1.16)	(1.16)
	TEA	°h veramente vediamo che la francia è uno stato cosmopolita (.) girando per le strade anche oltre a vedere la nazionale di calcio (girare per le strade) a parigi fai fatica a trovare un francese che dici questo è sicuramente francese	*°h really we see that france is a cosmopolitan state (.) also walking around the streets apart from seeing the national football team (walking around the streets) in paris you struggle to find a french person and say this person is definitely french*
165			
170			
		(1.11)	(1.11)
	TEA	vedi <<chanting, enumerating voice> tantISSimi di colore tantISSimi nordafricani> (1.0) e poi [(-)]	*you see <<chanting, enumerating voice> SO so many people of colour SO lots of north africans> (1.0) and then [(-)]*
175			
	PIE	[(il che) è un bene (.) no cioè]	*[(which) is a good thing (.) no i mean]*
	TEA	è un bene certo che è un bene sono cittadini francesi a tutti gli effetti	*it's a good thing of course they are French citizens to all intents and purposes*
180			
	TEA	e li trovi anche in posti di nei posti di lavoro di responsabilità li trovi anche nell'amministrazione pubblica	*and you also find them in jobs of in positions of responsibility you also find them in the public administration*
185			

		Italian	English
		omissis three turns, not clear for three seconds	*omissis three turns, not clear for three seconds*
190	TEA	CERto (.) ce ne sono TANti ovunque (.) no (.) quindi questa cosa a noi italiani (in verità) mi ha fatto specie io l'avevo notato subito è una cosa che ((not clear for 1.5 seconds)) fatto specie no perché noi non siamo abituati (-) chiaramente	of COURSE (.) there are LOTS of them everywhere (.) no (.) so this thing for us italians (in truth) I was impressed I noticed it immediately it's something that ((not clear for 1.5 seconds)) I was amazed right because we are not used to it (-) clearly
195	TEA	e andiamo a vedere i dati sono il paese (a) in europa che (-) mmmh ha: (--) la più alta percentuale di immigrati soprattutto maghrebini	and we look at the data it's the country in (a) europe that (-) mmmh has: (--) has the highest percentage of immigrants especially maghrebis
200	TEA	CERto (.) se io dalla tunisia devo emigrare (--) VOGLIO emigrare perché non ho lavoro perché (-) ho una situazione economica che non mi consente di vivere bene se devo scegliere un paese dove andare è ovvio che io scelga la francia	of COURSE (.) if i have to emigrate from tunisia (--) i WANT to emigrate because i have no work because (-) i have an economic situation that does not allow me to live well if i have to choose a country to go to it is obvious that i choose france
205		*omissis two turns, ramon tries to speak french*	*omissis two turns, ramon tries to speak french*
	TEA	che non solo era una mia ex colonia (-) ma (.) ((correcting)) era la mia ex madrepatria ma io conosco il francese quindi capite (.) l'ostacolo della lingua che è l'ostacolo più grande per un immigrato (1.5)	which was not only my former colony (-) but (.) ((correcting)) was my former mother country but i know french so you understand (.) the language barrier which is the biggest obstacle for an immigrant (1.5)
210		*omissis four turns, teacher highlights that knowing a language is a great advantage for an immigrant*	*omissis four turns, teacher highlights that knowing a language is a great advantage for an immigrant*
215	TEA	mentre (.) pensate al percorso che fanno tanti nostri immigrati che arrivano [(---)] che non sanno una parola (--) di italiano	while (.) think about the route taken by so many of our immigrants arriving [(---)] who do not know a word (--) of italian
220	PIE	[(è vero)]	[(right)]
	PIE	(ed) è un casino (2.0)	(and) it's a mess (2.0)
		omissis four turns, teacher recapitulates that maghrebis choose France as their new home country	*omissis four turns, teacher recapitulates that maghrebis choose France as their new home country*

10.2.2 Excerpt 2: Identity and social roles

		Italian	English
01	TEA	abbiamo fatto una differenza tra nord e sud del mondo (0.7) <<cresc> come nord del mondo> che cosa intendiamo? (1.0)	we made a difference between the global north and the global south (0.7) <<cresc> as global north> what do we understand?
		omissis eight turns, students have to locate the Global North geographically on the map; on the upper part of the equator	*omissis eight turns, students have to locate the Global North geographically on the map; on the upper part of the equator*
05	TEA	più ricca ai paesi più ricchi con qualche eccezione perché nel sud	wealthiest wealthiest countries with some exceptions because in

10		del mondo c'è l'australia per esempio o il sudafrica che possono costituire delle eccezIONI (-) però al di là di questo diciamo che il nord del mondo (-) è la parte più ricca (-) sono i paesi economicamente più forti (1.2) dove per assURDO	*the southern hemisphere we find australia for instance or the republic of south africa which both can be considered as exCEptions (-) but beyond this we can say that the northern part of the world (-) is the richest part (-) the economically strongest countries (1.2) where by absurdity*
15		*omissis students suggest that in the global north many children are born, teacher objects*	*omissis students suggest that in the global north many children are born, teacher objects*
	TEA	non stiamo parlando del sud (.) NORD del MONdo (-) più economicamente soldi (--) nascono meno bambini perché abbiamo detto è quasi un assurdo?	*We are not talking about the south (.) GLOBAL NORTH (-) economically more money (--) less children are born why did we say that it is almost contradictory?*
20	**TEA**	((calling laura))	*((calling laura))*
	LAU	perché eh era cambiato il eeeh ruolo della donna ((not clear for 1.0 second))	*because eh the eeeh women's role changed ((not clear for 1.0 second))*
25	**TEA**	non ti sto chiedendo le cause (.) ascoltate eh avete dei problemi di comprensione (1.2) io ti ho chiesto perché è un assurdo perché è un paradosso?	*i am not asking for the causes (.) listen eh you have problems of comprehension (1.2) i asked you why it is an absurdity why is it a paradox?*
30	**LAU**	ah perché dato che ci sono più soldi il nord in realtà riuscirebbe a far crescere	*ah because since there is more money the north would actually be able to bring up*
35 40 45	**TEA**	((interrupting)) NORD del mondo se è la parte più ricca economicamente più forte (-) le risorse ci sono per crescere i bambini VERO: (--) mentre il sud del mondo che è quello un pochettino più depresso economicamente meno forte è quello dove si registrano tassi di natalità altISSImi pensate ai paesi (.) asiatici alcuni paesi africani è è quasi una contraddizione (0.5)	*((interrupting)) global NORTH if it is the richest economically strongest part (-) the resources are there to raise children TRUE: (--) while the global south which is the one economically a little bit more depressed less strong is the one where the birth rates are VERY high think of the asian countries (.) some african countries it's it's almost a contradiction (0.5)*
		((...))	*((...))*
50 55	**TEA**	molto bene (-) torniamo al nord del mondo? (1.0) paesi ricchi forti dove potrebbero sicuramente provvedere ai bambini anche tanti (-) che nascono (.) ci sono le risorse per crescerli perché che cosa vuol dire non è che io a un bambino non gli do solo da mangiare VERO?	*very good (-) should we go back to the global north? (1.0) rich and strong countries where they could certainly provide for the children even many of them (-) that are born (.) there are the resources to raise them because what it means is not that I just feed a child TRUE?*
		omissis twenty turns, discussion about the different costs of having children: education, clothing, food, etc; some students suggest that they are spoiled and teacher confirms that their parents look after them in many different ways	*omissis twenty turns, discussion about the different costs of having children: education, clothing, food, etc; some students suggest that they are spoiled and teacher confirms that their parents look after them in many different ways*
	TEA	cioè noi sp- possiamo provare a spiegare il nostro fenomeno (1.0)	*like we ex- can try to explain our phenomenon (1.0) which is provoked*

60		che è provocato e causato da fattori molto diversi tra di loro (--) ((naming laura)) prima diceva (0.9) è cambiato il ruolo	and caused by very different factors (--) ((naming laura)) previously said (0.9) that the role has changed
	LAU	della donna	the woman's role
	TEA	benissimo (-) allora su questo (---) insistiamo un po' ((begins to write on the blackboard)) (1.9) allora abbiamo fatto il confronto (3.0) negli ultimi cent'anni ma anche io direi anche bastano settanta ottanta guarda forse anche sessant'anni (2.1)	very good (-) well on this (---) let's insist a little ((begins to write on the blackboard)) (1.9) we have made the comparison (3.0) from the last hundred years but also I would say seventy eighty look maybe even sixty years (2.1)
65			
70			
	TEA	cioè che cosa abbiamo detto (.) sessant'anni fa le nostre nonne	okay what did we say (.) sixty years ago our grandmothers
	PIE	[erano casalinghe]	[were housewives]
	LAU	[(facevano) le casalinghe]	[worked as housewives]
75	TEA	la maggior parte (-) delle donne (---) faceva di professione la casalinga (--) io penso a mia mamma (--) che non era una mosca bianca cioè era molta diffusa questa cosa (-) le donne si sposavano giovani facevano le casalinghe si occupavano dei mariti DEL marito del marito (.) dei figli (-) e (.) io mi ricordo mia mamma ci portava al parco ci portava al lido ci faceva fare i compiti ci preparava la nutella pane e nutella di merenda (3.1) la casalinga (1.0)	the majority (-) of women (---) were housewives by profession (--) i am thinking of my mother (--) who was not a black swan I mean it was very common (-) women got married young and worked as housewives and took care of their husbands of THE husband the husband (.) of their children (-) and (.) i remember my mother would take us to the park would take us to the public swimming pool would have us do our homework would make us bread and nutella for snacks (3.1) a housewife (1.0)
80			
85			
90	PIE	invece adesso	but now
	TEA	OGGI invece (.) è cambiato moltissimo negli ultimi cinquanta sessant'anni il ruolo della donna	NOWADAYS instead (.) the role of women has changed a lot over the last fifty to sixty years
	RAM	babysitter	babysitter
95	TEA	cioè oggi [(--)] valeria	so nowadays [(--)] valeria
	VAL	[((not clear for 1.2 seconds))]	[((not clear for 1.2 seconds))]
	TEA	sono pochissime (.) cioè se facciamo un sondaggio (.) dovessimo fare un sondaggio nella nostra scuola la nostra scuola potrebbe essere una piccola realtà vero (.) si potrebbero fare dei sondaggi sarebbero significativi di quella che è anche una realtà più grande se noi facessimo un sondaggio (--) troveremmo tante mamme casalinghe oggi? ((waiting for reactions)) NO (-) quasi tutte le vostre mamme (.) non è che le casalinghe sono sparite ma quasi tutte le vostre mamme oltre a occuparsi di voi lavorano hanno un lavoro (-) e questo perché (.) solo perché c'è bisogno di soldi perché i figli costano? (.) anche (--)	they are very few (.) like if we do a survey (.) if we did a survey in our school our school could be a small reality right (.) we could do surveys and they would be significant of what is also a larger reality if we did a survey (--) would we find many mums today being housewives? ((waiting for reactions)) NO (-) almost all of your mums (.) it is not that housewives have disappeared but almost all of your mums in addition to taking care of you work have a job (-) and this is only because money is needed because children cost? (.) also (--)
100			
105			
110			
115			
	TEA	anche (.) <<enumerating> c'è il mutuo da pagare i figli costano:	also (.) <<enumerating> there is the mortgage to pay children cost

91

		Italian	English
120		ci sono le spese> (.) ma non è solo quello (--) la donna oggi	money> (.) but it is not only that (--) today a woman
	TEA	[dicevi valeria]	[valeria suggested]
	VAL	[vuole fare carriera]	[wants to have a career]
	TEA	vuole (.) innanzitutto studia(re)	wants (.)first of all to study (-
125		(--) giusto? prima (-) sessant'anni fa quando sono nata io l'età dell'obbligo scolastico era quattordici anni (.) adesso è?	-) right? before (-) sixty years ago when i was born the compulsory school age was fourteen (.) now it is?
	Ss	((several students responding together)) sedici	((several students responding together)) sixteen
130		*omissis six turns, teacher mentions the hypothesis of highering mandatory school age to eighteen, some students are not happy with that. the teacher jokes and responds that hopefully it will happen when the students in the class will already have reached sixteen years*	*omissis six turns, teacher mentions the hypothesis of highering mandatory school age to eighteen, some students are not happy with that. the teacher jokes and responds that hopefully it will happen when the students in the class will already have reached sixteen years*
	TEA	*quindi vuol dire che (.) quando si finisce di studiare? (--) allora se finisci al diploma diciannove anni (-) se vuoi fare l'università ci devi mettere altri cinque anni sei (2.6) giusto se finisci a sedici finisci a sedici vai a lavorare e fai un favore alla alla comunità (.) giusto (come una volta) SE NO finisci a venticinque ventisei anni (---) o (se) i più bravi? (1.0)*	*so that means (.) when do you finish studying? (--) well if you finish high school at nineteen (-) if you want to go to university you have to take another five or six years (2.6) right if you finish at sixteen you finish at sixteen and go to work and doing a favour to the community (.) right (like in the past) OTHERWISE you finish at twenty-five twenty-six (---) or (if) the best ones? (1.0)*
135			
140			
	LAU	((not clear for 1.8 seconds))	((not clear for 1.8 seconds))
145	TEA	*perché vi faccio fare questo ragionamento? c'entra anche l'età? l'altra volta non ne abbiamo parlato (--) non c'entra l'età con l'età in cui ci si sposa e si fanno i figli?*	*why am i asking you these things? does age have something to do with it? we didn't talk about it last time (--) does age have something to do with the age at which you get married and have children?*
150			
		omissis four turns, students joking, class laughs	*omissis four turns, students joking, class laughs*
	PIE	*se uno (--) se una persona fa il primo figlio già tardi poi non ne può fare un altro cioè potrebbe*	*if one (--) if a person has their first child late in life, then they cannot have another, i mean they could*
155	TEA	((interrupting))allora rispetto a sessant'anni fa quando le donne si sposavano giovanissime (--) oggi (.) se guardiamo le statistiche	((interrupting)) well compared to sixty years ago when women married very young (--) today (.) if we look at the statistics
	PIE	trent'anni (qu[e)]	thirty years (tha[t)]
160	TEA	[ci si] sposa (.) già trent'anni sei giovane (3.2) già dici caspita (-) a trent'anni (ti sei sposata/sei sposata) giovane (3.2) un figlio (-) magari lo fai a trentadue trentatre ma se andiamo a vedere anche a trentasei trentasette anni il primo figlio (--) sempre più in alto (---) e allora è chiaro che (come dice) ((naming pietro)) se io faccio il	[you] get married (.) at thirty you are already young (3. 2) already you say jeez (-) at thirty (you got married/you are married) young (.) a child (-) maybe you have it at thirty-two thirty-three but if we have a look also at thirty-six thirty-seven you have the first child (--) it's getting later and later (---) and so it's clear that
165			
170			

		mio primo figlio a trentotto (-) a trentotto anni (-) o ne faccio uno subito l'anno dopo massimo due poi (insomma) divento un po' vecchietta (-) sono quasi la nonna di quel bambino hm? (1.0)	*(as ((naming pietro)) says) if i make my first child at thirty-eight (-) at thirty-eight (-) or i have one immediately the year after maximum two then (i mean) i become a little old (-) i am almost the grandmother of that child hm? (1.0)*

175

omissis five turns, coming back to the women's role and the teacher asks if marriage is still an option for a woman after their studies, students say no because of their career

omissis five turns, coming back to the women's role and the teacher asks if marriage is still an option for a woman after their studies, students say no because of their career

TEA non solo vuole fare carriera ma prima di fare carriera cosa devo trovare?
not only wants a woman to have a successful career but before doing that what do i have to find?

180

VAL un lavoro
a job

TEA eh: se mi laureo (.) può essere che io abbia già un lavoro che mi chiama già l'azienda perché sono un (genio) (.) se no devo mettermi (a) cercare lavoro (.) giusto? (---) e quindi devo avere una sicurezza e poi posso pensare a un figlio (-) quindi capite che l'età sale rispetto a mia mamma (--) che mi ha avuto a ventidue anni (2.0) o il mio o mio nonno che a ventun'anni era già padre (.) capite (.) cent'anni fa
eh: if i graduate (.) it can be that i already have a job that a company already calls me because i am a (genius) (.) if not i have to (a) look for a job (.) right? (---) this means that i need a security and then i can think about a child (-) so you understand that the age goes up compared to my mother (--) who had me at the age of twenty-two (2.0) or my or my grandfather who at twenty-one was already a father (.) you see (.) one hundred years ago

185

190

195

REM <<astonished> cent'anni>
<<astonished> one hundred years>

TEA mio nonno cent'anni fa (veramente) (---) benissimo (.) ma non SOLO (--) la donna ha detto ((naming valeria)) oggi spesso vuole fare carriera cosa vuol dire chi mi spiega questo concetto (-) ((calling arianna)) che cosa vuole dire che la donna vuole fare carriera?
my grandfather a hundred years ago (really) (---) very good (.) but not ONLY the woman (--) said ((naming valeria)) wants to move up in her job what does it mean who can explain this concept to me (-) ((calling arianna)) what does it mean that women want to move up?

200

205

ARI che (voglio) la lavorare
that (i want) to w- work

omissis four turns, students trying to answer, teacher calls one by one

omissis four turns, students trying to answer, teacher calls one by one

RAM vuole essere speciale
she wants to be special

TEA cosa vuole dire fare carriera? (.) non vuol dire hai lavorato (---) ((calling marco))
what does that mean to have a career? (.) it does not mean that you worked (---) ((calling marco))

210

MAR vuole essere il capo di un'azienda
she wants to be the head of a company

TEA ((confirming)) per esempio vuole essere capo di un'azienda oppure
((confirming)) for instance she wants to be the head of a company and:

215

VAL e: vuole diventare importante [((not clear for 0.5 seconds))]
she wants to become important [((not clear for 0.5 seconds))]

TEA [vuole] diventare importante nel lavoro che fa (--) quindi non si accontenta di fare l'insegnante
[she wants] to be important in the job she does (--)that means that she is not satisfied with being a teacher for

220

		Italiano	English
		per esempio (.) alla [((naming the school))]	example (.) at [((naming the school))]
225	RAM	[(vuole essere la migliore)]	[(she wants to be the best)]
	TEA	vuole fare (.) la dirigente (–) o vuole fare l'insegnante universitaria ad esempio (–) o non si accontenta di fare il medico della mutua (.) vuole diventare un primario ospedaliero vuole diventare un manager di un'azienda (–––) e abbiamo visto	she wants to be (.) the principal (–) or she wants to be a university professor for example (–) or she doesn't settle for being a family doctor(.) she wants to be a chief physician she wants to be a manager of a company (–––) and we have seen
230			
		omissis, a teacher enters the classoom and they all talk about a trip and several formalities related to it	*omissis, a teacher enters the classoom and they all talk about a trip and several formalities related to it*
235	TEA	QUINDI (–) cosa stavamo dicendo AH che la donna (––) non si accontenta ((not clear)) vuole diventare magari protagonista del suo lavoro vuole fare carriera e abbiamo visto (–) quanti passi da giganti hanno fatto le donne negli ultimi cinquant'anni	SO (–) what were we saying AH that the woman (––) is not satisfied ((not clear)) she wants to become let's say the protagonist in her job she wants to have a career and we have seen (–) how many giant steps women have made in the last fifty years
240			
	RAM	tipo georgina rodríguez	like georgina rodríguez
	TEA	((ignoring ramon)) perché primA! shhh non era così adesso guardiamoci intorno vediamo: donne dirigenti scolAstiche donne che sono in politica donne che dirigono aziende con migliAIA di di impiegati le donne che pilotano gli aerei le donne astronaute ingegneri della nASA (.) hai voglia! (1.0)	((ignoring ramon)) because beFORE! shhh it wasn't like that now we look around and see: women as head teachers women who are in politics women who run companies with THOUusands of employees women who fly aeroplanes woman astronauts engineers working for nASA (.) too many to list! (1.0)
245			
250			
	TEA	meloni prima premier donna nella storia d'italia (–) cose impensabili fino a trent'anni fa (–) per fortuna (.) c'è ancora tanta strada da fare perché qui sulle pari opportunità avremmo molto da dire (–) (però) è un altro discorso (–) però diciamo che qualche passo l'abbiamo fatto (.) GIUSTAmente (.) le donne sono in grado (.) giusto?	meloni first woman prime minister in the history of italy (–) things that were unthinkable thirty years ago (–) fortunately (.) there's still a long way ahead of us because on equal rights we have a lot to say (–) (however) it's another matter (–) but let's say that we have taken some steps (.) RIGHTly (.) women are capable (.) right?
255			
260			
		omissis six turns, turning back to the discussion on demographic evolution	*omissis six turns, turning back to the discussion on demographic evolution*
265	TEA	[perché] spiegami un po' <<naming an example>(.) perché se la donna diventa astronauta>	[because] let me know (.) <<naming an example> because if the woman becomes an astronaut>
	PIE	o diventa un manager di una filiale (.) di tante filiali cioè devi (dei) tu vuoi educare tuo figlio di persona ma se proprio vuoi avere un figlio che ne so a vent'anni che stai facendo la tua carriera (lo dai ad) altr(e/i) duemila babysitter e non va bene pr preferirei (–) eh: ad educarlo	or becomes the CEO of a branch (.) of many branches i mean you have to (of) you want to educate your child in person but if you really want to have a child i don't know when you're twenty years old and you're having success(you give it to) two thousand different babysitters and it's not good pr i'd rather (–) eh: educate the
270			
275			

			Italian	English
			(che lasciarlo…) ma non vogliono quindi	child (than leave it...) but they don't want to so
280	TEA		quindi	so
	Ss		((indistinct chattering))	((indistinct chattering))
	TEA		una donna che cosa dice (--) se io mi dedico alla carriera	what does a woman say (--) if i devote myself to my career
			[(---) non ho tanto] tempo	[(---) I do not have much] time
285	Ss		[((indistinct chattering))]	[((indistinct chattering))]
	TEA		per i figli magari ne faccio uno (---) o forse neanche uno (-) perché come ha detto ((naming pietro)) per lasciarlo poi alla babysitter e vederlo mezz'ora la sera (-) è anche una scelta onesta giusto? (perché) i figli vanno (-) accuditi cresciuti non messi in mano alle babysitter	for the children maybe i have one (---) or maybe not even one (-) because as ((naming pietro)) said to then leave it with the babysitter and see it half an hour in the evening (-) it is also an honest choice right? (because) children have to be (-) cared for raised not put in the hands of babysitters
	PIE		co come la donna che ci ha raccontato lei (-) che (voleva uscire)	li like the woman you told us about (-) the one (who wanted to go out)
			omissis one turn, teacher brings an example of a woman who employed several babysitters for their children	*omissis one turn, teacher brings an example of a woman who employed several babysitters for their children*
	TEA		(--) mi dedico alla carriera ho poco tempo per dedicarmi ai figli è difFIcile conciliare le due cose quando si è a quei livelli di di professione (--) perché è difficile anche per noi insegnanti ormai che siam sempre a scuola (.) <<cresc> una volta> si diceva <<imitating others with squeaky voice> ah fai l'insegnante> che hai tanto tempo libero che puoi stare con i tuoi figli una volta era così avevi dei pomeriggi liberi che stavi con i tuoi figli (.) adesso sei sempre a scuola (-) o per riunioni o preparare o per fare o per progetti eh siamo sempre a scuola quindi oggi non si può più dire che la professione dell'insegnante è una professione (-) per le mamme assolutamente no	(--) i dedicate myself to my career i have little time to dedicate to my children it's DIfficult to reconcile the two things when you're at that level of jobs (--) because it's difficult even for us teachers now that we're always at school (.) <<cresc> time ago> they used to say <<imitating others with squeaky voice> ah you're a teacher> you have so much free time that you can be with your children once it was like that you had free afternoons you could be with your children (.) now you're always at school (-) or for meetings or to prepare or to do things or for projects eh we're always at school so today you can't say that the teacher's job is a job (-) for mothers absolutely not
300				
305				
310				
315				
320	TEA		((calling pietro))	((calling pietro))
	PIE		poi anche per dire vabbè qualcuno potrebbe pensare che ne so che ((not clear)) non far figli ((not clear)) siamo tantissimi ormai nel mondo tipo: quanti siamo? nove ((billion))	and also to say whatever someone might think that ((not clear)) we don't have children ((not clear)) there are so many of us in the world now like: how many of us are there? nine ((billion))
325				
			omissis six turns, students guess the correct number of world population	*omissis six turns, students guess the correct number of world population*
	TEA		qualche alternativo c'è eh (.) io per esempio ho un amico un mio amico di infanzia che lui si è sposato invece di fare figli ne ha	there are some alternative people (..) i for example i have a friend a childhood friend of mine who got married and instead of having
330				

95

		Original	Translation
335		adottati due PUR potendo far figli perché non è che lui non poteva fare figli e allora dici beh non posso fare figli ne adotto due (.) lui ha detto ma perché devo fare io un figlio siamo già tanti ci	*children he adopted two of them EVEN IF he could have children because he could have children and if he couldn't you say well i can't make children and i'll adopt two (.) he said but why do i have to have a child we already are so*
340		sono tanti bambini abbandonati negli orfanotrofi che soffrono che sono da soli (.) io prendo due di quei bambini prendo due fratellini (.) prendo due bambini in adozione che stanno in un orfanotrofio che	*many and there are so many abandoned children in orphanages who suffer and are alone (.) i take two of those children i take two little brothers (.) i take two children for adoption who are in*
345		sono stati abbandonati dai loro genitori invece di fare (dei) figli miei (--) io prendo questi due fratellini e eh: li cresco (-)	*an orphanage who have been abandoned by their parents instead of having my own children (--) i take these two little brothers and eh: i raise them (-)*
350	TEA	per carità: eh (-) tanto di cervello (-) sei un po' alternativo io non è che ho sentito tanti fare questi discorsi	*for pity's sake: eh (-) very intelligent (-) but you're a bit of an alternative i haven't heard many people saying such things*
355		no? però rispettiamo (-) i punti di vista di tutti è (anche) un ragionamento giusto	*right but let's respect (-) everyone's points of view it's (also) a fair reasoning*
		omissis eight turns, teacher and students talk about families who show their adopted children on social networks	*omissis eight turns, teacher and students talk about families who show their adopted children on social networks*
	TEA	<<cresc> QUINDI (-) il ruolo della donna> per fortuna anche per	*<<cresc> SO (-) the woman's role> fortunately also fortunately has*
360		fortuna è cambiato negli ultimi cinquant'anni (--) la donna studia ((calling student for attention)) la donna studia la donna si vuole le si vuole realizzare anche nel	*changed in the last fifty years (--) women study ((calling student for attention)) women study women want to they want to fulfil themselves also at work or*
365		lavoro o SOPRATTUTTO nel lavoro e rinuncia a farsi una famiglia o rinuncia a fare dei figli oppure ne ha uno perché sa che non può dedicare più tempo ad altri	*ESPECIALLY at work and give up having a family or give up having children or have just one because they know that they cannot devote more time to other hypothetical*
370		ipotetici figli (.) sicuramente	*children (.) for sure*

10.2.3 Excerpts 3 and 4: Religion and traditions as figurehead for identity

Transcript 1

		Original	Translation
01	ELI	äh:: (-) mir mochn is martinsspiel	*eh:: (-) do we do the game on saint martin's day*
	ELI	odor [moch mor] sel?	*or [do we do] that?*
	SON	[mhm]	*[mhm]*
05	ELI	also hob es sel leschts johr	*i mean did you do that last year*
	BAR	hel hon i mir schun a amol aufgschriebn weil a des weihnachtn und (.) bö	*yes i already thought about it because also christmas and (.) i don't know*
	BAR	jo mir: wia:	*yeah we: how:*
10	ELI	wia isch dou insre holtung?	*what is our position to it?*
	SON	[mhm]	*[mhm]*
	BAR	[jo] (---)	*[yes] (---)*

15	**BAR**	[weil] meine persönliche ebn weil i so erzogn wordn bin (.) kerts [dozua]	[because] my personal one, you know, because i was raised that way (.) it's [part of it]
	ELI	[also]	[well]
	JUD	[jo]	[yes]
	ELI	[jo]	[yes]
20	**BAR**	obor i hon mor sel ebn dou [aufgschriebn wia viel sinn hot ADVENT] odor weihnachtn dou [in dein] kindergortn?	but in fact i [made a note of it here how much sense do ADVENT] or christmas have here [in this] preschool?
	JUD	[weil in ramadan zun beispiel odor]	[because ramadan for instance or]
25	**SON**	[jo]	[yeah]
		(1.8)	(1.8)
	SON	iatz go:nz [wos] [gonz aufgebn tat i net weil es isch jo die kultur] fa dou	well I would not ent:irely [something] [entirely give up because it's the culture] from here after all
30	**ELI**	[na]	[no]
	BAR	[sein decht vi:el:e obor (.) zin beispiel]	[they are many though(.) for example]
	SON	wos man obor MEHR miasat isch die ondern einer[bringen a]	what one should do MORE is to bring [in also] the others
35	**JUD**	[zin bei]spiel is zuckerfest	[for example] also eid-al-fitr
	SON	SEL miasat mor net lei INSRE feste feiern	we should not only celebrate OUR festivities
40	**SON**	man miasat unfongen (.) OLLE feste zi feiern [weil: pa dor ruba muas i morgn fro:gn wos heint fir a fest wor]	one should begin (.) to celebrate ALL festivities [because: i have to ask ruba tomorrow what festivity was today]
45	**JUD**	[lei kennt man sich zi wianig aus (–) i muas gonz ehrlich sogn]	[the thing is that we do not know much about it (–) i have to say that in all honesty]
	BAR	[obor ebn] wia feiersch du a fest wos du [net kennsch?]	[but exactly] how do you celebrate a festivity you [don't know?]
50	**JUD**	[genau]	[exactly]
	JUD	hem miasatn mir amol [als ersts dobei sein terfn]	we would have to be allowed to [attend one first]
55	**ELI**	[obor iatz tian dou a a bissl ondor(or)] (.) holt [i sig des] aso	[but nowadays they also do a bit differently)] (.) i mean [i see it] like this
	BAR	[((laughs))]	[((laughs))]
	JUD	[weil]	[because]
	JUD	hem miasmor [amol inglodn werdn]	we should [be invited one time]
60	**ELI**	[ähm (–) obor obor i find schun: dass] woasch dass [wenn mi:r zu insren stian]	[eh (–) but but i find: that] you know that [if we: stand by ours]
	BAR	[<<:-)> jo] ebn>((laughs))]	[<<:-)> yeah] exactly>((laughs))]
	JUD	[((laughs))]	[((laughs))]
65	**JUD**	[<<:-)> i gang schun (–) obor es: vielleicht net(obor?)>]	[<<:-)> i would go (–) but it: probably not(but?)>]
	ELI	hel hoaßt [net (––) hel] hoaßt für mi net wianiger offn sein fürs O:n[dre]	it does [not (––) it] does not mean for me to be less openminded for the O:th[er]
70	**BAR**	[(i mogs schun)]	[(i like it)]

	SON	[jo]	*[yes]*
	ELI	lei obor i denk a mir miasn insre identität solln mir a: st woasch dei soll (---)	*only, I also think we should also st our identity you know it should (---)*
75	**ELI**	des soll: (-) ge dei soll gestörkt sein weil donn konnsch du a: in ondorn offn begegnen (1.4)	*it should: (-) st it should be strengthened because then you can: also: meet the other with an open mind (1.4)*
	ELI	glab i	*i believe*
80	**BAR**	obor [obor dass du:s in kindergortn] vermittelsch moanisch du odor wia?	*but [but that you transmit it] in the preschool you'd mean or what?*
	ELI	[hel isch dor ansatzpunkt]	*[that's the starting point]*
85	**ELI**	[obor]	*[but]*
	SON	[na]	*[no]*
	ELI	obor iatz zin beispiel beim st. martin find i ä deswegn [wertvoll]	*but now for example for saint martin i find eh [valuable] because*
90	**JUD**	[ischs teilen]	*[it's the sharing]*
	ELI	weil hem geats oanfoch ums teilen es isch eine geschichte eine (.) legende net und es isch holt de:	*because it's about sharing it's a story a (.) legend right and it's that one the legend it's the one*
95		dei isch holt wias in insern kulturraum dou voronkert	*how it is anchored here in our cultural area*
	BAR	obor i so:g du muasch jo net die LEGENDE sofl [in ding] du konnsch is TOALN [odor s]	*but i'm saying that you don't have to the LEGEND so much[sort of] you can the sharing [or the]*
100	**ELI**	[na]	*[no]*
	SON	[i tats TOALN (es licht)] toaln und und o:ane wos des vorgleb hot isch vielleicht dor ma:rtin	*[i would (focus on) the SHARING] sharing (the light) and and an example for that is probably saint ma:rtin*
105	**ELI**	[genau]	*[exactly]*
	BAR	[jo]	*[yes]*
	BAR	mochsch o:a [mol dei] ge[schichte] und odor zwoa mol obor net jeden to:g und wiedor in ondere formen und so net?	*you tell the st[ory] [once] and or twice but not every day and under different forms and so right?*
110			
	ELI	[genau]	*[exactly]*
	SON	[mhm]	*[mhm]*
	ELI	jo jo	*yes yes*
	SON	i tat ehor afs TEILEN [hel het i iatz schun]	*i would rather focus on the SHARING [i would do that]*
115	**BAR**	[jo sel: obor hel homor] vorigs johr sogor in infoblattl gschriebn dass mir st. martin feiern weil hel isch a fescht wos ums teiln [geat (-) hem] homor jo net (.) iatz so	*[yes that: in fact we also] wrote that last year in the info sheet that we celebrate saint martin because that is a holiday where it is about the sharing [(-) there] we do not (.) like*
120			
	SON	[genau]	*[right]*
	ELI	[jo genau]	*[yes exactly]*
	JUD	[genau]	*[right]*
125	**ELI**	jo	*yes*
	BAR	obor zin beispiel vater muttertag hel tat i in zukunft wirklich [wecklossen (-) weil es]	*but for example father's day and mother's day i would really not*

		Original	Translation
			celebrate it in the future (–) *[because it's]*
130	**ELI**	[a familienfest]	*[a family celebration]*
	SON	hel homor jo schun VOR[kop]	*yes we already PLAN[NED] that*
	ELI	[jo]	*[yes]*
	SON	hel isch jo [schun::]	*it's [already::]*
	BAR	[es: geat] net um: wenn i des will in mein kind [dass	*[it: is] not a matter if i want that my child [that they]*
135		er] in tata epis mocht	*prepare something for their dad*
	SON	[mhm]	*[mhm]*
	BAR	odor in: do ondern mama donn ischs oans	*or their mum that's one thing*
140	BAR	obor es konn isch net fir olle passend und i woaß jo net wer dohoam gewolt (.) erleb und donn muasch dou singen mein papa isch so super toll	*but it can it's not appropriate for all and i don't know who experiences violence (.) at home and then you have to sing my dad is so super great*
145	**ELI**	[jo]	*[yeah]*
	BAR	[des:] des tat i wirklich a donn in a infoblattl erklärn	*[this:] this i would really also explain it in the info sheet then*
	BAR	brum mir des	*why we*
	ELI	hel: [find i a]	*[i think so too]*
150	**BAR**	[net feiern] odor so [woasch]	*[do not celebrate it] or like this [you know]*
	ELI	[jo]	*[yes]*
	SON	[mh]m (–)	*[mh]m (–)*
	SON	na hel homor eh in resumee drinnen wenn mor wos mochn oanfoch (.) a familienfest	*yeah we already have it in the resumee if we do something (.) a family celebration*
155	**ELI**	dou wor jo [leschts johr]	*there was [last year]*
	JUD	[hel kennmor] jo net	*[we can't] that*
		(1.4)	*(1.4)*
160	**SON**	<<f>JO> (.) [sogmor für die zukunft]	*<<f>YES> (.) [let's say for the future]*
	ELI	[i sog wennmors wiedor kennen]	*[i mean when we can do it again]*
	BAR	[odor OSTERN eben hel] kimpmor fir hel isch (---) so: schwierig	*[or EASTER indeed that's] i have the impression that's (---) so: difficult*
165			
	SON	[mhm]	*[mhm]*
	BAR	ostern zin [beispiel hel tuat man]	*easter for [example you celebrate it]*
170	**ELI**	[obor hem hon i ehrlich gsog in religiösn aspekt sowieso aus]geklammert	*[but there to be honest i already ex]cluded the religious aspect*
	SON	[hel isch eh schun (normal)]	*[that is already (normal)]*
175	**JUD**	[na (--) sel]	*[no (--) that]*
	MAR	[hem isch hel:]	*[there's is:]*
	BAR	[jo pa ins erwochsene a] oft schun	*[yeah for the adults also] sometimes already*
	JUD	[(jo)]	*[(yes)]*
180	**SON**	hel isch eh schun [nia mehr betont wordn]	*that's already not been [emphasized anymore]*
	BAR	[find i a im grunde an bledsinn] dass i de: eier	*[i basically really think it's nonsense] that those eggs*

99

185	BAR	jo jo (.) (wegn sem) guat in die kinder isch jo gleich kriagn se [holt schokolade jo jo]	*yes yes (.) (because of that) well the children don't care they get [chocolate and well]*
	SON	[obor fir die kinder isch des] [wia a schatzsuche im grunde äh]	*[but for the children it's] [sort of a treasure hunt eh]*
190	ELI	[hot des eier jo]	*[the thing with the eggs yeah i mean]*
	BAR	[obor des sogn es] kimp do OSTERhase des kimp mir a net in ordnung fir weil es kim net an osterhase	*[but saying that] the EASTER bunny comes i don't think it's ok because there is no bunny*
195		(1.1)	*(1.1)*
	ELI	jo obor [des isch] holt des MAGISCHE denken wo mir fir[kimp]	*yeah but [this is] like the MAGIC thinking where i [believe]*
	BAR	[net?]	*[no?]*
200	JUD	[is] christkindl [kimp pa mir dohoam] a olm [nou]	*[the] baby jesus [always comes by] at my home [still]*
	MAR	[i find jo]	*[i find yes]*
	BAR	[na] hel schun obor hel isch wos i in meine kinder hel [isch an on]ders paarl schuach	*[yeah] but that is something i do with my children [it is an]other thing*
205			
	MAR	[jo pa ins a]	*[at our place as well]*
	JUD	[jo]	*[yes]*
210	BAR	[obor net wos] mir wos von außn	*[but not] something from the outside*
	MAR	[jo do:]	*[yes here:]*
	JUD	jo obor i glab [a::]	*yeah but i believe [a::]*
	MAR	[jo obor] olle feschte weglossn ingaling es sein holt decht pa ins tra[dition]	*[yeah but] giving up all festivities i mean they are part of tra[dition] here*
215			
	JUD	[na und a] wenner kimp es frein sich sem olle kindor	*[yeah and] when baby jesus comes all the children are happy*
220	MAR	mir kimp a fir nor ischs holt wos NOIS nor ischs holt a nois	*i also think it's something NEW it's just a new*
	ELI	[jo (.) jo]	*[yes (.) yes]*
	ELI	[jo jo]	*[yes yes]*
	JUD	[dou geats] <<:-)>(xxx)>	*[here it is possible] <<:-)>(xxx)>*
225	SON	[und die kindor nehmen] des mit wos sie von dorhoam aus [erlebt hom]	*[and the children remember] the things they [learned] at home*
	JUD	[((laughs))]	*[((laughs))]*
	BAR	[hel schun]	*[that's right]*
230	JUD	[obor mir kanntn] ins schun a me:hr interessiern	*[but we could] show mo:re interest*
	MAR	[jo mir kimp a fir]	*[yeah i think so too]*
	JUD	(-) wia af ondere feste i muas sogn i bin dou TOTAL also	*(-) like other festivities i have to say there i am TOTALLY like*
235	ELI	i [tua i find a] intressiern und hel [find i guat (--) obor obor] mir kennens	*i [do i find also] to show interest and that [i think that's good (--) but but] we can*
	MAR	[i woaß do a go:r nicht]	*[i don't know anything there]*
	MAR	[i woaß dou gor nicht mi brauchsch dou net frogn]	*[i don't know anything don't ask me]*
240	ELI	[wenn mir ebn holt net direkt aufgreifn glabi]	*[if we don't take it up directly i think]*

245	**BAR**	[na net fei:ern obor obor vielleicht wars a soffl interessant woasch]	[no not celebrating it but but maybe it would be really interesting you know]
	JUD	na hel net obor holt so mindestens [betonen]	no right but at least [outline] it
	SON	[jo bö]	[yeah i don't know]
250	**BAR**	[um] woses geat [innerbrengen]	[what's] about [including it]
	ELI	[obor man konns] man konn [sogn wenn zin beispiel an dem tog] wo so [viele] fa:hln	[but you can] you can [tell if for example on that day] where [so many] were not here
255	**MAR**	[odor in TO:G zumindest gibs dou an tog?]	[or the day at least is there a specific day?]
	JUD	[jo]	[yes]
	ELI	nor konn man sogn äh: ist [ebn]	and we can say eh: it's [in fact]
	JUD	[heute]	[today] is
260		ist das zucker[fest]	eid al-fitr

Transcript 2

01		((...))	((...))
	ELI	heute (.) ist <<whispering> ein besonderer tag> HEUte (2.0) gut denken wer es weiß hält die hand auf (.) heute fängt nämlich ein neuer MO:nat an (--) wer also novEMBER ist jetzt vorbei heute fängt ein neuer monat an und der fängt mit d an mit d wer er weiß hält die hand auf [(.) fran]cesco	today (.) is <<whispering> a special day> toDAY (2.0) please think about it if you know it raise your hand (.) today a new MO:nth begins (--) so who noVEMBER has gone today a new month begins and it starts with d with d who knows it raises their hand [(.) fran] cesco
05			
10			
	VER	[marina::]	[marina::]
	FRA	dezEMber!	decEMber!
	ELI	sehr gut (.) deZEMBER und IM <<p> dezember hassan feiern (.) wir (.) ein (.) fest (.) ein besonderes fest>	very good (.) deCEMBER and IN <<p> december hassan we celebrate (.) a (.) festivity (.) a special festivity>
15			
	MART	devo [and]armi a soffiare il [naso]	i have to [go] to clean my [nose]
20	**FRA**	[ich]	[me]
	ELI	[wer weiß es] [(.)] hand aufhalten bitte	[who knows it] [(.)] please raise your hand
	FRA	[ich]	[me]
25	**AGN**	((calling martina)) martina	((calling martina)) martina
	ELI	was FEIern wir [am] VIERundzwanzigsten dezember (2.0) francesco	what do we CElebrate [on] december twenty-fourth (2.0) francesco
30	**VER**	[((to teacher 2)) sie muss die nase putzen]	[((to teacher 2)) she hast o clean her nose]
	FRA	ich (-)	me (-)
	ELI	was fei	what do
	FRA	ich	me
35	**ELI**	dich? (-)	you? (-)
		na: ((chuckles)) du hast im dezember geburtstag das stimmt	no: ((chuckles)) your birthday is in december that's right (1.0) but

Line	Speaker	Original	Translation
40		(1.0) aber (.) im dezember am vierundzwanzigsten <<whispering> feiern wir WEIHnachten (1.0) weihnachten> (.) gell UND (.) zu [weihnachten]	(.) in december on the twenty-fourth <<whispering> we celebrate CHRISTmas (1.0) christmas> (.) right AND (.) on [christmas]
45	MART	[((calling marina))]	[((calling marina))]
	ELI	na was macht ihr martina	what are you doing martina
	VER	marina:	marina:
	HAS	ma oggi non c'è natale	but it's not christmas today
	AGN	((calling tom)) to:m	((calling tom)) t:om
50	ELI	((to hassan)) nein heute ist nicht weihnachten	((to hassan)) no it's not christmas today
	HAS	perché mancan troppi giorni per natale	there are too many days left until christmas
	ELI	[so (--) ähm]	[so (--) eh]
55	MAR	[<<cresc> ein taschentu:ch]	[<<cresc> a tissue:>.]
	CHI	[((indistinct chattering))]	[((indistinct chattering))]
	ELI	(---) marina du kommst bitte da her	(---) marina please come here
60	RES	(--) nimmst du dir das taschentuch ( ) und dann kommst du wieder	(--) take the tissue ( ) and come here again
	AGN	ja dankeschön aaliyah	yes thank you aaliyah
	ELI	danke (.) ALso (--) die martina kommt dann bitte neben [tom] (.) gell hassan du bleibst auch sitzen (1.0)	thank you (.) SO (--) martina please come next to [tom] (.) okay hassan you stay seated too (1.0)
65			
	FRA	[gesu:::] gesù	[jesu:s] jesus
	ELI	es dauert noch VIERUNDzwanzig tage <<counting> ze:hn zwanzig und vier> dann ist WEIHnachten und (.) wieso feiern wir weihnachten	there are still TWENTY-FOUR days left <<counting> te:n twenty and four> then it's CHRISTMAS and (.) why do we celebrate christmas?
70			
	VER	elisabeth hat [um hat umgetauscht]	elisabeth has [has changed the seats]
75	ELI	[ja (.) martina sitz bitte] neben florian	[yes (.) martina sitz bitte] neben florian
	ELI	zu weihnachten feiern wir den geburtstag von (.) von wem wer w[eiß das]	on christmas we celebrate the birthday of (.) whom who kn[ows that]
80			
	FRA	[gesù::]	[jesus]
	ELI	von je:sus (.) genau francesco von jesus (-) vor ZWEITAUSENDundeinundzwanzig jahren ist jesus geboren vo seine mama war maria und sein papa war jo:sef(.) gell (und) am VIERundzwanzigsten dezember (-) also in VIERundzwanzig tagen (-) feiern wir den geburtstag von jesus und da erzähl ich euch auch noch einmal die geschichte dazu von jesus wie er geboren wurde (.) gell (.)	of je:sus (.) exactly francesco jesus' birthday (-) TWO THOUSAND twenty-one years ago jesus was born his mum was mary and his dad was joseph (.) right (and) on the TWENTY-fourth of december (-) this means in TWENTY-four days (-) we celebrate jesus' birthday and then i will tell you again jesus' story of how he was born (.) right (.)
85			
90			
95			

	ELI	und (.) weil (.) heute der erste dez[ember ist]	*and (.) because (.) it is the first of dec[ember] today*
	AGN	[((calling tom twice))]	*[((calling tom twice))]*
100	**ELI**	und es noch VIERUNDzwanzig tage dauert bis wir den geburtstag von jesus feiern (.) beginnt heute der (.) der der mit dem ersten ad ist diese zeit wo wir diese zeit wo wir darauf warten auf weihnachten (.) das heißt diese zeit heißt (-) adVENT adVENT [das ist]	*and it is still TWENTY-four days until we celebrate the birthday of jesus (.) today starts the (.) the the with the first ad is this time where we this time where we wait for christmas (.) that means this time is called (-) ADvent ADvent [that is]*
105			
	HAS	[allora] perché c'è quello se se c'è ancora herbst e natale	*[but] why is it that if it's still autumn and christmas*
110	**ELI**	ja jetzt ist noch herbst und dann ehm ein bisschen vor weihnachten beginnt der winter aber jetzt ist noch herbst hassan	*yes now it's still autumn and then eh a bit before christmas winter starts but now it's still autumn hassan*
115			
	FRA	((full of joy)) e poi viene il nikolaus	*((full of joy)) and then saint nicholas comes*
	ELI	ja (.) kinder und weil wir jetzt (.) diese zeit bis weihnachten das ist eine beSONdere zeit (.) das ist die adVENTSzeit (.) das ist die zeit des wartens gell (.)da warten wir	*yes (.) children and because we are now (.)this time until christmas is a sPEcial time (.) it is the period of advent (.) this is the time of waiting right (.)*
120			
	ELI	[auf was (.) das (.)auf den geburtstag von je:sus] gell?	*[we are waiting for(.) the (.) for je:sus' birthday] right?*
125	**FRA**	[((not clear, talking about christmas))]	*[((not clear, talking about christmas))]*
	HAS	non (s)esiste il jesus (.) non esiste	*jesus does not (s)exist (.) doesn't [exist]*
130	**ELI**	eh ja je:sus ist schon gestorben (.) gell aber zu WEIHnachten wenn wir WEIHnachten feiern hassan dann denken wir an jesus (-) wie er geboren wurde gell (.) das erzähl ich euch aber ein anderes mal	*[eh] yes je:sus is already dead (.) right but on CHRISTmas when we celebrate CHRISTmas hassan then we think about jesus (-) about how he was born(.) but i will tell you another time*
135			
	ELI	so (.) also beginnt mit heute (---) die zeit des wartens	*so (.) with today begins (--) the time of waiting*

10.3 Abstract

This work explores the discursive construction of collective identities in the context of educational spaces, drawing on Michel Foucault's concept of discourse and a poststructuralist approach to language able to deconstruct mechanisms of the transmission of knowledge in spatiotemporally situated interactions. The foci on specific chronotopes in social action are complementary to the connection between discourse as reality-constituting entity and the capacitation of the individual with their symbolically powerful language in negotiating discourse.

Through methods of ethnographic participant observation, this work examines how teachers as authorised speakers and students/children as ratified participants collaboratively (re)create collective identities via linguistic interaction, aligning or distancing themselves from school as institution. The analysis relies on an ensemble of discourse fragments inherent to the construction and negotiation of (1) national identities and belonging, (2) social roles, and (3) polarising religious-traditional values, in the reality of two educational contexts in Northern Italy. The polyphonic constellation of the interactions in which discourse emerges gives rise to a critical and sociolinguistic view on language, where 'sociolinguistic' is understood as a meeting point between social practices, structures and actors that fuse with the force of language, by determining it and being determined through the latter. The aim is to unmask the selection of different discourses in Italian institutions that condition communication, question them, and investigate how we can gain a more conscious view on the process of building and (re)creating reality.

10.4 Riassunto in italiano

Questo lavoro esplora la costruzione discorsiva di identità collettive all'interno del contesto educativo. Si basa sul concetto di discorso studiato da Michel Foucault e su un approccio post-strutturalista al linguaggio in grado di decostruire i meccanismi di trasmissione di sapere e conoscenza in diverse interazioni spazio-temporali. L'attenzione posta su specifici cronòtopi (Bakhtin, 1981) che rivelano e permettono diverse azioni sociali evidenzia la connessione tra il discorso come istanza che costituisce realtà e soggetto, e l'abilità dell'individuo stesso di influenzare i discorsi.

Un'ambiente di istruzione in un contesto spazio-temporale, attenendosi alla linea di Foucault (cfr. 1971, 2021 [1970]), viene influenzato da discorsi macrosociali contestualizzati che esercitano il loro potere sugli individui, plasmando il loro pensiero e la loro relazione con gli altri. Mentre Foucault illustra l'influenza costante sul soggetto tramite strutture e meccanismi esterni ad esso, qui viene aggiunta l'idea che la (ri)produzione di discorsi macrosociali nelle scuole sia fortemente ancorata nell'interazione portata avanti dagli attori/dalle attrici discorsivi/e. Ciò rivela infine una forte caratteristica legata agli/alle agenti nella produzione del sapere (Bourdieu, 2009).

Questo lavoro esplora attraverso metodi etnografici come insegnanti, in veste di portavoce autorizzati/e di un sistema, e studenti, riconosciuti come destinatari, costruiscono discorsivamente e collaborativamente identità collettive attraverso interazioni linguistiche, allineandosi o discostandosi dalla scuola come istituzione. Lo studio si divide in una fase di raccolta dati e una fase di analisi. La raccolta e l'analisi dei dati combinano diversi approcci. Partendo da un approccio dalla ricerca etnografica (*linguistic ethnography*) (cfr. Pérez-Milans, 2016) che si integra con il quadro teorico, si

procede all'analisi, basata a sua volta ancora sulla continua interazione tra concetti teorici e risultati dell'osservazione empirica nel contesto educativo. Ciò rappresenta uno dei legami chiave tra metodi/teoria e ricerca empirica, seguendo un approccio *abduttivo* nella ricerca sociale/sociolinguistica (Rawolle & Lingard, 2022) tramite cui si applicano approcci sia induttivi (dati che portano alla teoria) che deduttivi (teoria che porta ai dati) al contesto analizzato. L'analisi dei dati si basa su un insieme di frammenti discorsivi raccolti in due contesti educativi dell'Italia settentrionale. I discorsi analizzati forniscono spazio alla creazione e alla riproduzione di (1) schemi di identità nazionali e senso di appartenenza, (2) ruoli sociali e (3) la trasmissione di valori religiosi e tradizionali: Gli estratti trascritti esaminati, da cui emergono i singoli frammenti, consistono in due registrazioni audiovisive durante due lezioni di geografia e storia presso una scuola media, e in due registrazioni audio di interazioni in una scuola d'infanzia. Queste ultime includono una registrazione di una riunione tra insegnanti e un estratto che documenta momenti di pratica educativa con i bambini. I vari corpora di interazioni con i relativi frammenti di discorso sono soggetti a un'analisi critico-strutturale orientata all'uso delle singole parole e alle proposizioni, e inoltre a un'esaminazione dei ruoli e proprietà inerenti ai singoli attori /alle singole attrici nel discorso (cfr. Warnke & Spitzmüller, 2008; Goffman, 1981). Queste prospettive convergono in un'analisi più ampia orientata al discorso e basata sull'esaminazione di *topoi* come schemi argomentativi (cfr. Wengeler, 2017), culminando infine in un approccio *transinterazionale*. La polifonia delle interazioni in cui il discorso si sviluppa offre una prospettiva critica e sociolinguistica sul linguaggio, dove 'sociolinguistica' si riferisce a un continuum di pratiche sociali, strutture e agenti che determinano e vengono a loro volta determinati dalla lingua. L'obiettivo è smascherare, interrogarsi e indagare la selezione di discorsi che circolano nelle istituzioni educative, al fine di ottenere una visione consapevole sui processi di costruzione e (ri)creazione della realtà.

Gli estratti analizzati all'interno del contesto della scuola media riguardano la costruzione di diverse immagini di identità e di appartenenze nazionali attraverso una varietà di contributi da parte di tutti gli attori/le attrici discorsivi/e, ossia l'insegnante e gli studenti coinvolti. Questa costruzione discorsiva si compie attraverso percezioni del mondo individuali, sotto forma di attribuzioni di diverse caratteristiche storiche, sociali e stereotipate a gruppi e categorie menzionati. Le molteplici idee che associano immagini e visioni a reali condizioni vissute trovano conferma soprattutto nella figura dell'insegnante. Quest'ultimo/a, assumendo il ruolo di portavoce qualificato/a, rafforza tali idee attraverso le sue rappresentazioni idealizzate di gruppi e categorie, confrontandoli e mettendoli in relazione tra di loro. I cronotopi, oltre a costituire il contesto, emergono anche come contenuto narrativo all'interno del discorso e sono talvolta identificati come forme indessicali che fanno parte delle tecniche argomentative utilizzate: Durante le lezioni di storia o geografia, che fungono da incontri spazio-temporali, l'insegnante arricchisce il discorso evocando altre costellazioni spazio-temporali.

Questi possono essere riferimenti a fenomeni sociali passati o vissuti, immagini assorbite ed esperienze fatte (e.g., Jäger, 2001), successivamente trasferiti per gli studenti nell'*hic et nunc* come conoscenze valide e fatti incontrovertibili e immutabili.

I cronotopi fungono a loro volta, dunque, anche da strumento per la produzione di modelli culturali all'interno del discorso. La loro presenza viene gradualmente intensificata nel secondo capitolo di analisi attraverso un parallelismo ricorrente tra le attuali evoluzioni sociali (negative) e il funzionamento della società in un passato indefinito. In particolare, lo sviluppo sociale viene percepito come un nuovo ordine normativo che l'insegnante rappresenta come uno sviluppo caratterizzato da deviazioni (rispetto al proprio passato). Questi cambiamenti e deviazioni sono attribuibili principalmente alla visione sull'essere umano come risorsa per il benessere economico e politico della società (cfr. Foucault, 2010; Lemm & Vatter, 2014). Oltre alla creazione di identità sociali per future generazioni, lo sviluppo di un gruppo specifico creato nel discorso viene menzionato come uno dei responsabili della diminuzione della popolazione, ossia le donne (e la loro emancipazione) percepite come un collettivo e non come individui. I topoi del benessere economico, dell'adesione alle norme e della creazione di un "ruolo" per una parte della società, ovvero le donne, diventano parte di un curriculum didattico nascosto e contribuiscono all'*interpellanza* (*interpellation*) (Althusser, 1971, 1984) degli studenti sotto forma della loro socializzazione, nonché alla creazione di un'immagine idealizzata e idealizzante della realtà.

Le registrazioni audio raccolte nella scuola d'infanzia rappresentano un contrasto rispetto ai primi due estratti. Nei frammenti in merito alla riunione con le/gli insegnanti d'asilo, si manifesta una chiara volontà di "negoziazione" tra le/i partecipanti sulla trasmissione di specifici discorsi. Le/Gli insegnanti come *stakeholders* sono in grado di riprodurre o mettere in discussione le direttive rappresentate dal sistema tramite le loro azioni individuali (Porstner, 2017), e prendere in considerazione l'esclusione di discorsi ("big D discourse") dalle interazioni ("small d discourse") (Gee, 2015) con i bambini. In particolare, la prima parte dell'ultimo capitolo di analisi dimostra che il discorso non coinvolge solo individui formati come soggetti e in seguito sottomessi a sistemi di pensiero e credenze. Nella discussione sulla trasmissione di valori religiosi e tradizionali nel contesto educativo, singole persone o gruppi contribuiscono in modo significativo alla creazione della realtà attraverso il loro potenziale di azione. Si evidenzia un chiaro potere costitutivo del discorso nell'individuo, capace di rafforzare o negare visioni del mondo indipendentemente dalle direttive di un sistema. La discussione nella riunione può essere letta come una presa di distanza delle/dei partecipanti dalle linee guida ufficiali e riguardo alle norme e ai contenuti educativi sulla trasmissione dei valori religiosi. Le/Gli insegnanti vengono così istituite/i come autrici/autori attivi nel contesto del discorso e nell'interazione. Nell'ultimo estratto e nei suoi frammenti, si osserva che nella pratica educativa la costruzione di gruppi omogenei e norme, come viene parzialmente anche predisposta nelle linee guida, non viene omessa: Una

gerarchia stabilita (cfr. Bourdieu, 2009) di voci e punti di vista nell'ambiente istituzionalizzato dimostra che la costruzione di un'omogeneità ideale (religioso-tradizionale) può essere contrastata in una situazione dialogica (Bakhtin, 1984). Tuttavia, le obiezioni fatte si riferiscono a voci meno "valide" in questa interazione e che non sembrano poter evitare la riproduzione di sapere e conoscenze (ancora) istituiti come norma.

10.5 Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Diese Arbeit untersucht die diskursive Konstruktion kollektiver Identitäten im Bildungskontext. Sie stützt sich dabei auf Michel Foucaults Diskursbegriff und einen poststrukturalistischen Ansatz zu Sprache, der in der Lage ist, Mechanismen der Wissensvermittlung in raum-zeitlichen Interaktionen zu dekonstruieren. Der Fokus auf spezifische Chronotopoi (Bakhtin, 1981), die soziales Handeln offenbaren und solches ermöglichen, macht den Zusammenhang zwischen dem Diskurs als realitäts- und subjektkonstituierender Instanz und der Befähigung des Individuums zur Verhandlung der Diskurse explizit.

Eine Bildungseinrichtung in einem raum-zeitlichen Kontext wird, in Anlehnung an Foucault (vgl. 1971, 2021 [1970]), von kontextualisierten, makrosozialen Diskursen beeinflusst, die ihre Macht auf Individuen ausüben, indem sie deren Denken und deren Beziehung zu anderen prägen. Während Foucault die ständige Konstitution des Subjekts durch Strukturen und externe Mechanismen darlegt, liegt eine Ergänzung dieses Paradigmas hier in der Annahme, dass die (Re)produktion makrosozialer Phänomene in Bildungseinrichtungen stark in der Interaktion von Diskurs-Akteur*innen verankert ist. Dies offenbart schlussendlich eine stark akteursbezogene Eigenschaft der Wissensproduktion (Bourdieu, 2009).

Anhand ethnographischer Methoden wird in dieser Arbeit untersucht, wie Lehrende als delegierte, autorisierte Sprechende und Lernende als anerkannte Adressat*innen diskursiv und gemeinsam kollektive Identitäten durch sprachliche Interaktion (neu) schaffen und dabei der Linie einer Bildungsinstitution folgen oder sich von solcher distanzieren. Die Studie gliedert sich in einen Teil der Datenerhebung und einen Teil der Datenanalyse. Die Datenerhebung und -analyse kombinieren verschiedene Ansätze. Diese gehen von ethnographischer Feldforschung (*linguistic ethnography*) (vgl. Pérez-Milans, 2016) und einer Verbindung zwischen dem theoretischen Rahmen und der Analyse aus. Diese Verbindung beruht wiederum auf der ständigen Wechselbeziehung zwischen Theoriekonzepten und den Ergebnissen der aktiven empirischen Beobachtung im Bildungskontext. Dieser Austausch ist als eines der Elemente der engen Verbindung zwischen Methoden/Theorie und Empirie zu betrachten und gliedert sich einem *abduktiven* Ansatz in der sozial-

/soziolinguistischen Forschung an (Rawolle & Lingard, 2022). Das heißt, es werden sowohl induktive (Daten führen zu Theorie) als auch deduktive (Theorie führt zu Daten) Ansätze auf den analysierten Kontext angewandt. Die Datenanalyse stützt sich auf ein Ensemble von in zwei norditalienischen Bildungskontexten gesammelten Diskursfragmenten, die der (Re)produktion von (1) nationalen Identitätsschemata und Zugehörigkeiten, (2) sozialen Rollen und (3) religiös-traditionellen Werten Raum geben. Bei den untersuchten Exzerpten, aus denen die einzelnen Fragmente hervorgehen, handelt es sich um zwei audiovisuelle Aufnahmen im Rahmen des Geographie- und Geschichtsunterrichts an einer Mittelschule und um zwei Audioaufnahmen von Interaktionen in einem Kindergarten. Letztere sind respektiv eine Aufnahme aus einer Teamsitzung von Pädagog*innen und ein Ausschnitt, in dem Momente der pädagogischen Praxis mit Kindern aufgezeichnet wurden. Die verschiedenen Corpora mit den einzelnen Diskursfragmenten werden kritisch einer wort- und propositionsorientierten Analyse sowie einer akteursimmanenten Untersuchung der Aussagen unterzogen (vgl. Warnke & Spitzmüller, 2008; Goffman, 1981). Diese beiden Perspektiven führen dann zu einer diskursorientierten Analyse, die auf der Untersuchung verschiedener Argumentationsschemata, sogenannte *Topoi* (vgl. Wengeler, 2017), basiert und schließlich einen *transinteraktionalen* Ansatz bildet. Die Polyphonie der Interaktionen, in der Diskurs entsteht, führt zu einer kritischen soziolinguistischen Sicht auf Sprache, wobei ‚soziolinguistisch' als Bezeichnung für das Kontinuum von sozialen Praktiken, Strukturen und Akteur*innen verstanden wird, die gemeinsam Sprache bestimmen und durch diese bestimmt werden. Ziel der Arbeit ist es, die Auswahl an verschiedenen, in Bildungseinrichtungen zirkulierenden Diskursen zu entlarven, sie zu hinterfragen und zu untersuchen, indem ein bewussterer Blick auf den Prozess des Aufbaus und der (Neu)schaffung von Realität gewonnen wird.

Die einzelnen Ausschnitte aus den Aufnahmen an der Mittelschule betreffen die Konstruktion verschiedener Bilder von Identitäten oder nationalen Zugehörigkeiten durch eine Vielzahl von Beiträgen seitens aller involvierten Akteur*innen. Diese diskursive Konstruktion geschieht durch individuelle Weltanschauungen in Form der Zuschreibung verschiedener historischer, sozialer und stereotypisierter Eigenschaften an genannte Gruppen und Kategorien. Die einzelnen Schemata stellen mehrmals eine Verbindung zu persönlicher Vorstellung und realen, erlebten Bedingungen her. Sie werden vor allem seitens der lehrenden Instanz, die das Zepter des/der qualifizierten Sprechenden hält, durch idealisierende Repräsentationen von Gruppen und Kategorien verstärkt und bestätigt. Die behandelten Identitäten werden zunehmend verglichen und es werden auch Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den Gruppen gesucht. Chronotopoi kommen auch als erzählter Inhalt innerhalb des Diskurses vor und werden manchmal als indexikalische Formen identifiziert, die Techniken der Argumentation untergraben. Innerhalb der raum-zeitlichen Ansiedlung des spezifischen Geschichts- oder

Geographieunterrichts belebt der/die Lehrende den Diskurs und evoziert andere Raum-Zeit-Konstellationen in Form von Referenzen auf soziale Phänomene. Diese können Verweise auf vergangene oder erlebte soziale Phänomene, aufgenommene Bilder und gemachte Erfahrungen sein (vgl. Jäger, 2001), die in das für die Lernenden relevante *hic et nunc* transponiert werden als gültiges Wissen und objektive, unveränderliche Tatsachen.

Somit werden wiederum kulturelle Muster im Diskurs produziert, wie zum Beispiel durch persönliche Erfahrungen und geschichtliche Ereignisse. Ihre Präsenz wird im zweiten Datenkapitel durch einen rekurrenten Parallelismus zwischen aktuellen sozialen Entwicklungen und dem Funktionieren der Gesellschaft in einer unbestimmten Vergangenheit schrittweise verstärkt. Insbesondere wird die gesellschaftliche, (negative) demographische Entwicklung als eine neue normative Ordnung wahrgenommen, die dem Publikum präsentiert wird und die der/die Lehrende als Abweichung (von der selbst gelebten Vergangenheit) darstellt. Der soziale Wandel ist in erster Linie auf den Blick auf den Menschen als Ressource für das ökonomische und politische Wohlbefinden der Gesellschaft zurückzuführen (vgl. Foucault, 2010; Lemm & Vatter, 2014). Neben der (Re)produktion sozialer Rollen für zukünftige Generationen stellt sich heraus, dass die Entwicklung einer Gruppe ganz besonders für das negative Bevölkerungswachstum genannt und verantwortlich gemacht wird. Es handelt sich dabei um eine im Diskurs geschaffene soziale Gruppe, nämlich Frauen, deren Figur (mit deren Emanzipation) als kollektives Ganzes und nicht als Individuum perzipiert wird. Verschiedene Topoi, unter anderem die des wirtschaftlichen Wohlergehens, des Bekenntnisses zu Normen und jenes der geschaffenen „Rolle" für einen Teil der Gesellschaft, nämlich Frauen, werden durch die Diskussion im Unterricht „versteckter" Teil des Lehrplans. Sie tragen zur *Interpellation*, zur Anrufung (Althusser, 1971, 1984) der Schüler*innen in Form deren Sozialisierung und zur Schaffung eines idealisierten Bildes von und über die Realität bei.

Die im Kindergarten gesammelten Tonaufnahmen bilden einen Kontrast zu den ersten beiden Diskursausschnitten. In den Fragmenten aus der Teamsitzung der Pädagog*innen findet eine offensichtliche Verhandlung über die Weitergabe bestimmter Diskurse („big D discourse") in der Interaktion („small d discourse") (Gee, 2015) statt. Die Pädagog*innen als *stakeholders* sind in der Lage, die vom System vertretenen Ideologien durch individuelle Handlungen zu reproduzieren (Porstner, 2017) oder aber auch zu hinterfragen beziehungsweise aus dem Umgang mit Kindern auszuklammern. Vor allem der erste Teil des letzten Analysekapitels zeigt, dass der Diskurs nicht nur Individuen rekrutiert, die Ordnungs- und Glaubenssystemen unterworfen sind. In der Diskussion um die Vermittlung religiös-traditioneller Werte im Bildungskontext tragen einzelne Personen oder eine Gruppe mit deren Handlungspotenzial wesentlich zur Schaffung von Realität bei. Es zeigt sich eine klare diskurskonstituierende Macht in der einzelnen Person, die in der Lage ist, Weltanschauungen

unabhängig von den Vorgaben eines Systems zu bekräftigen oder zu hinterfragen. Die Diskussion in der Sitzung kann deshalb als ein Spannungsfeld zwischen Akteur*innen und offiziellen Richtlinien gelesen werden, die Normen und Unterrichtsinhalte bezüglich der Weitergabe religiöser Werte vorgeben. Lehrende werden so als aktive Autor*innen im weiteren Diskurs etabliert. Dennoch lässt sich im letzten Exzerpt und in dessen Fragmenten feststellen, dass in der pädagogischen Praxis die Konstruktion von homogenen Gruppen und Normen, so wie sie auch in den Richtlinien erwähnt werden, nicht ausgespart wird. Eine etablierte Hierarchie (vgl. Bourdieu, 2009) von Stimmen und Anschauungen im institutionalisierten Umfeld zeigt, dass der Konstruktion einer idealen (religiös-traditionellen) Homogenität in einem dialogischen Geschehen (Bakhtin, 1984) zwar widersprochen werden kann, dass diese Widersprüche dennoch auf weniger „legitime" Stimmen in der Interaktion zurückzuführen sind, die die Reproduktion (noch) vorherrschender Postulate nicht unbedingt verhindern können.