

Identitary Displacement of Periphery Dwellers in Brazil: A Game of Images as the Effect of Subjectification

Abstract: The aim of this article is to discuss Brazilian urban periphery dwellers' possibilities of constructing identitary places when they join the world of work, notably in companies located in places that, according to the official discourse, are considered to be better. An empirical survey was thus undertaken - using systematized observations and interviews - of masters of administration students at a university, whose main campus is located in the "Baixada Fluminense" in Rio de Janeiro's urban periphery, and who work in state and private-sector medium-sized and large firms in the center of the city. The construction of this study's theoretical framework drew on studies in the fields of urban sociology, cultural anthropology, psychology, philosophy and administration in order to understand the periphery's social and historical construction as socio-geographic, cultural and symbolic spaces, and also how these precarious spaces, their natives, inhabitants and cultural manifestations are perceived and portrayed in the imagination of holders of social capital. Our study is underpinned by a subjectivist ontology, given that observer and observed cannot be separated. In the anthro-social sciences the former is not merely an observer-conceptualizer, or abstract subject, but a subject who is situated *hic et nunc*, the bearer of the cultural values of a class and therefore of a specific society. Moreover, we believe in the existence of multiple simultaneous realities, whose construction is based on the language and accounts of personal experiences, thus making an individual indissociable from his world. Methodologically, we opted for a phenomenological approach, because only by "borrowing the gaze" of the study's subjects - periphery inhabitants - would we be able to understand their identitary displacement, whose meaning can only be apprehended through social (inter) actions, which in this case were constituted by work relations. This methodological option was justified by the fact that human action is essentially the expression of consciousness, the product of values, the result of motivations. The data collected in the field was submitted to the French version of automatic discourse analysis. It revealed that an identitary displacement indeed existed as these professionals, due to their social origin, encountered barriers to professional integration and development in their work environments and moreover, on returning to their place of origin, were rejected by their family and circle of friends because they had acquired habits and behavior that were typical of the "South Zone" (upper-class area of Rio de Janeiro). This dilemma of self-identity that revolves around the concepts of *place*, *non-place* and *between-place*, resulted in three emerging categories: *shame*, *revolt* and *resignation*. These feelings revealed that, in reality, this is effectively a question of alterity, as the "peripherals", due to an asymmetrical power relation, introject the dominant norms, standards and culture. Thus, the central axis of our analysis is the critique of the Cartesian Enlightenment concept of the autonomous subject because, in the case of the individuals who were the object of this study, the construction of their identitary place was the result of a subjectification process, in Foucault's sense, that is, they only existed in the space that was reserved for them and where they were allowed to exist.

Introduction

The aim of this article is to discuss Brazilian urban periphery dwellers' possibilities of constructing identity places (Foucault, 1991, 1995) when they join the world of work, notable in companies located in places that, according to the official discourse, are considered to be better.

This study arose out of the researchers' continuous contact with students of the masters of administration program of a university located in the Baixada Fluminense, an urban periphery of Rio de Janeiro's metropolitan area. These students systematically recounted that they felt discriminated in their work relations due to the fact that they came from the periphery and lived there. On the other hand, they were also clearly aware that they were rejected when they returned to their place of origin because they had acquired "the elite's" ways of speaking and behavior. How does this identity displacement manifest itself in work relations? This is the question that was investigated in this research.

The peripheries of large cities have already been depicted in novels, songs and television programs. They also serve as an electoral base for some politicians and provide themes for party programs (Caldeira, 1984). The protagonists of this process have come to be identified by their geographical position in big cities – dwellers of the periphery, invariably portrayed as socially underprivileged. They have already been the object of sociological and anthropological studies, but have been neglected by researchers in the field of administration. We believe that this study's importance lies in its attempt to fill this gap. We do, however, recognize its limitations: it is restricted to the university students who live in the Baixada Fluminense, whose perceptions were apprehended by us between March 2008 and April 2010. In addition, by resorting to the symbolic as an analytical tool, on account of our recognition that it cannot be dissociated from the social (Castoriadis, 1982), we run the risk of interpreting it according to a rational logic, which, whether or not desired, entails certain consequences (Castoriadis, 1982, p. 142) that would reveal a functionalist interpretational bias that conflicts with this study's ontological premises.

Our study was underpinned by a subjectivist ontology given that, like Morin (2003), we believe that observer and observed cannot be separated because in the anthro-social sciences the former is not merely an observer/conceptualizer, or abstract subject, but a subject situated *hic et nunc* (Fortin, 2005), bearer of the cultural values of a class and therefore of a given society. Moreover, we believe in the existence of simultaneous multiple realities (Baudrillard, 1971), whose construction is based on the language and accounts of personal experiences, thus making an individual indissociable from his world (Boje, 2005). An understanding of the meaning of social actions should be based on the perspectives of the subjects themselves and not on the researcher's viewpoint (DaMatta, 1979).

In order to reply to the question posed by the investigation, we conducted an empirical survey of 17 individuals who were born, raised and lived in the Baixada Fluminense, were university graduates and had work experience in large and medium-size companies located in the center of Rio de Janeiro. Using a phenomenological approach, the data collected was submitted to a discourse analysis.

This article is divided into five sections, besides this introduction. The second section discusses methodological issues and the third presents the context of the object of study, which is constituted by the Baixada Fluminense and its inhabitants. In the fourth, we

analyze the empirical data, using the theoretical tools that were evoked during the field research itself and finally in the fifth and final section, we present some final considerations.

Methodological Development

In the research presented here, it was by analyzing the gaze of the subjects – inhabitants of the periphery – that we sought to understand their identity displacement, whose meaning can only be apprehended through social (inter) actions, which, in this case, were constituted by their work relations. This methodological option is justified by the fact that human action is essentially the expression of a consciousness, the product of values and the result of motivations (Calás & Smircich, 1999).

Data collection was performed through simple observations and 17 semi-structured interviews. These subjects were selected by convenience sampling (two classes of masters students). As this is a qualitative study, it is the different representations of the subject, not the number of people interviewed, that is important (Gaskell, 2002). As regards the sample's psychographic profile, the researchers interviewed 9 women and 8 men, aged 27 to 38 (average 31.3), of which 8 defined themselves as being white, 5 black and 4 as mulatos. These individuals had worked on average for 12 years.

The interviews were composed of five sections. The first section dealt with psychographic and categorical data. The second sought to gather data regarding the interviewees' personal and professional trajectories. The third section used the data obtained in these preliminary surveys to formulate specific questions relating to the social identity of being "periphery" and its perceived consequences. The fourth section went into greater depth regarding affective and social interactions with family and friends. The fifth and last section dealt with work relations: relationships with work colleagues, superiors, subordinates, as well as the perception of barriers related to job or professional growth opportunities.

All the interviews, as well as the annotations related to the simple observations made in the field, were transcribed and generated a final report. The methodological option of undertaking a discourse analysis of interviewees' life stories was justified by the fact that they enabled the researchers to access social structures and their functioning, given that narratives of more personal difficulties, of tensions and contradictions that appear to be the most completely subjective, in fact express the deepest structures of the social world and its contradictions (Bourdieu, 1999). Through discourse analysis, researchers apprehend verbal and non-verbal enunciations (Putnam; Fairhurst, 2001), which are, essentially, communicative behavior, the constituent elements of a group's identity (Charaudeau & Maingueneau, 2004).

In this study specifically, the researchers used the French version of automatic discourse analysis (Pecheux, 1969). This version is the method's most critical version and is based on a global theory of interpretation, that articulates linguistics, psychoanalysis and historical materialism. Pecheux denounces the illusions of the speaking subject (Charaudeau & Maingueneau, 2004), as well as those of the semantics that reduplicates them, and considers that a discourse can be apprehended through a combinatory analysis of its components. According to this view, discourse analysis allows one to affirm the idea that meaning depends on the discursive formation to which the discourse belongs (Charaudeau & Maingueneau, 2004).

At the end of the empirical work, we had gathered a great volume of data – field annotations, transcriptions – for analysis. In order to undertake this, we chose to use

dialogical maps (Spink, 2005), which proved to be an extremely useful tool for data categorization.

In the next section, we present the contextualization of the Baixada Fluminense as a socio-geographical space and in terms of its symbolic dimensions.

Peripheries: historical contextualization of these socio-geographic spaces

Brazil, like the other countries of the so-called third world, underwent an intense urbanization process, especially during the second half of the 20th century. In 1940 the urban population accounted for 26.3% of the country's total population and at the turn of the 21st century, this proportion had increased to 81.2% (IBGE, 2010). In absolute numbers, 18.8 million people lived in cities in 1914 and this number had risen to around 138 million in the year 2000. This new reality has made it increasingly necessary to formulate public policies oriented towards providing this population with housing, as well as satisfying their water, energy, transportation, health, goods supply, education and work needs. In practice, however, we have witnessed a veritable Brazilian urban tragedy: floods, landslides, pollution of water resources, land-surface impermeabilization, deforestation, housing congestion, the return of epidemics, violence and unemployment (Alves, 2003).

This growth has resulted in the expansion of extremely poor areas around the cities – the peripheries –, which, in the final analysis, constitute the reification of the social exclusion of free workers. As Joaquim Nabuco, had predicted, the weight of slavery continues to be felt in Brazilian society, long after its abolition. The workers who have not managed to find places in the formal labor market, or progress within it, have to resort to subsistence expedients to provide themselves with dwellings in the city. This means that a large part of the population, including those that are regularly employed, build their own houses in irregular or simple invaded areas. However, a large part of the labor market, and thus the hope of prosperity, continues to be concentrated in the large centers.

This socio-spatial reality of working class segregation and violence are the main characteristics of the region – the Baixada Fluminense – where this study was conducted. This name denotes a socio-geographical confluence, constituted by the space located between the coast and the Serra do Mar (the mountains that form a backdrop to the coastline in the State of Rio de Janeiro), as well as eight municipalities with nearly three million inhabitants that have gained nation-wide notoriety for their high levels of violence. *Space*, in this case, does not merely refer to a geographical region, but also to the concrete reality of a society that maintains the relations between the natural and the artificial and the natural and the political untouched (Santos, 1996).

In the dimension of the collective and palpable, the Baixada Fluminense can be described by its socio-economic performance indicators, (lack of) urban planning and architecture. But how does this tangible reality impact subjects and their social identity?

The Periphery's Social Construction of Identity

Society is composed of individuals who share multiple identities, which may be superimposed, and can be subdivided basically into visible (gender, ethnicity, physical aspects) and invisible ones (chronic disease, sexual orientation, place of origin). As soon as they have been perceived they generate expectations from the very first social interaction. And then, as Goffman (1963, p.42) asserts: “we cannot be unaware of the

impressions we cause and our virtual social identity may not reflect our true one". In any case it is based on these impressions, beliefs and paradigms that stigmas develop.

Research in the field of social psychology, whose objects of study were the negroes (Brigham, 1974); women (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz, 1972), people with facial deformities (Edwards & Watson, 1980); the handicapped (Newman, 1976); obese (Harris, Harris & Bochner, 1983); mentally retarded (Foley, 1979); homosexuals (Herek, 1984) and the blind (Scott, 1969), shows a strong correlation between stigmatization and psychosomatic costs. Therefore we believe that the same applies to the inhabitants of Brazilian peripheries, given that these individuals suffer discrimination and are stigmatized on account of their origin.

In Brazilian society, to have been born, raised or live in the suburbs is an identity factor (Brandão, 2004) and a reason for social stigma (Gohn, 1985). In the imagination of the dwellers of large urban centers, the periphery is a poor, dirty place where only unskilled workers and criminals live, individuals who are invariably uncultured, have bad taste, are black or mestizos and most probably Pentecostal evangelicals (Zaluar & Alvito, 2006).

This imagination, composed of symbolic and significant aspects, permeates the process that structures daily life, the whole social tissue and work relations. It goes beyond the product of the imagination, referring to a cognitive dimension (Lapierre, 1989, p.7). By definition, the imagination is composed of the set of images that concentrates and develops all the creations of human thought, given that the object is not constituted by physical elements that could appeal to the senses, but appears to be present in the spirit, as in perception or a simple sensation (Durand, 1993, p.7)

This imagination regarding the Baixada Fluminense has a strong impact on the identity construction of its inhabitants and natives, as well as on their social interactions, such as their work relations, that are the object of this research. The field findings are presented below.

Field findings

Shame+ Resignation + Revolt = Subjectification

By analyzing the interviews it was possible to apprehend how periphery dwellers recognize themselves. The greatest difficulty encountered by the researchers was to interpret the language used by their subjects, given that it constitutes a historically constructed social practice, in the sense used by Foucault, and can only be understood as a social and interactional context (Authier-Revuz, 1995). In other words, we sought to interpret language in action, that is, the ways the interviewees produced meanings and positioned themselves in quotidian social relations.

The discourse analysis of the interviewees' life stories, observations and social interactions revealed that Baixada Fluminense dwellers suffer an identity displacement when they enter the labor market. This process occurs because the periphery and its culture are denigrated and systematically stereotyped as a mere precarized place by the dominant discourse in cultural productions: books, newspapers, films and soap operas. Thus in an attempt to minimize the social discrimination they perceive they are victims of, as well as enter, integrate themselves socially and progress in the corporate world of large firms, the "natives" and "residents" of the periphery seek to conform to socially imposed identity standards by incorporating the tenets of mainstream culture regarding consumer and behavioral habits, as well as those related

to the control of their own bodies such as ways of speaking and gestures (Foucault, 1995).

However, this strategy of social acceptance based on conforming to norms of ascetic conduct is flawed and painful because, on the one hand, work relations impose a continuous process of body disciplining and normalization, constituting a social mimetism that is perceived by work colleagues who belong to the “center” as a simulacrum, a farce, a pantomime. On the other hand, the family and circle of friends, that still live in the place of origin, reject the “prodigal son’s” new social stance, which they consider to be arrogant and ungrateful, because it signifies a rejection “of origins, family and friends”. There is also the psychological cost of failure, as is clear in the following fragment of an interviewee’s discourse:

(01) *”It was hard to get a good job, in a good company here in Rio. You know, in the Baixada Fluminense, there is only the REDUC (an oil refinery) and even so it’s not that attractive. I always wanted to work in a top company, a multinational company, work in the marketing area (..) it was very difficult to get the job, they always said I lived too far, that I would arrive late, wouldn’t be able to work after hours (..) it was also difficult to be accepted, there were always little jibes about living outside Rio, they said I didn’t pay IPTU (urban land tax) but paid ITR (rural land tax) (..), I got married and moved to Rio, but it doesn’t make much of a difference, you know what I mean, don’t you? **You** may leave Nova Iguaçu, but Nova Iguaçu will never leave **you**”.* (E4)

This particular interviewee was the most ambitious of them all and several times during the conversation she said she wanted to leave the Baixada, move to Rio, work in a multinational company and develop her career. In this professional trajectory, living in the periphery constituted the reification of the “glass ceiling”, as evidenced by the lexical selection “I had really hard time getting the job” (Translator’s note: in Portuguese - “*para entrar foi um sufoco*” - this difficulty is associated with the idea of almost “suffocating” in the process).

Nova Iguaçu is one of the largest municipalities of the Baixada Fluminense and is invariably referred to as a source of domestic servants and cheap labor (we deliberately use the functionalist term) for Rio de Janeiro (Zaluar & Alvito, 2006). More than a geographical discrimination, the work barrier, the segregation in work relations, disguised as humor (Saraiva & Irigaray, 2009), reveal Brazil’s urban social formation. This can be characterized as a confrontation between social classes, which implies the existence of “political and ideological positions that are not made of individuals but which maintain relations of antagonism and domination between them” (Althusser, 1965).

These historically constructed relations of domination can be perceived on two levels: a) in the linguistic forms themselves b) in the production and circulation of meaning. The first case involves the historical imposition of a language, the imposition of a gender, the practice of a language (Charaudeau & Mainguenu, 2004). In the second case, we can observe that some objects of the discourse, or referents, have an important social legitimacy and generate numerous discourses (Ebel & Fiala, 1983), that are situated on the “social horizon” (Baktin, 2010). Language as an instrument of discrimination was the central axis of the following testimony:

(02) *“I’m even ashamed of opening my mouth, I realized I don’t speak correctly, I say “tamém”(also) and not “também”. I’ve become the butt of jokes. If they don’t take me seriously how am I going to get a promotion?”*
(E1)

The lexical selection *“even ashamed of opening my mouth”* indicates, from an empirical viewpoint, that these subjects’ languaging practice (Charaudeau & Mainguenu, 2004) is determined and governed by the social and that speaking is not just a representational activity but an act through which the order of things and social relations are instituted or modified. More than an instrument of communication and representation of the world, language in fact exercises a function of control (Foucault, 1995) and reification of power asymmetry in work interactions, given that it constitutes a closed structural space as it is systematically invaded by elements that come from other places (Pêcheux, 1983); and lies, fundamentally, in the ideology of the society of which it is a part (Foucault, 1969).

Indeed, in social interactions within the work environment, E1 perceives that his origins are betrayed by his way of speaking, as shown in the lexical selection *“eu falo tamém e não também”*. This contextualization of his discourse is due to the fact that children from more favored social classes are more quickly and sooner exposed to de-contextualized statements (elaborated code), whereas children from popular classes are educated in contextualized discourses (restricted code).

The analysis of the interviewees’ discourses led us to retrieve the concept of “languaging formation” (Pêcheux, 1983), given that the latter considers that language is simultaneously an instrument of societal coercion and pressure on that same society. If we opt for a Marxist analysis, we can assert that the economic organization of societies (infrastructure) determines and conditions language and languages, which are ideological elements that, in fact, belong to the superstructure. Thus, the social determines the linguistic, which is its reflection. However, by restricting our analysis to the identity displacement of periphery dwellers - our original proposal - we verify that the former’s main axis is the concept of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1982), given that the latter focuses on the correlations observed between language and cultural practices and social belonging, thanks essentially to the concept of “social habitus”. These are constituted by sets of dispositions that are incorporated during the moment of socialization and which configure or predispose cultural practices.

The fragments of interviewee E1 and E4’s discourses indicated the first emerging category in our analysis: shame. This shows that the construction of these individuals’ identities is based on a game of images whose dominium (in the sense used in optical physics) is bourgeois society’s dominant norms, values and standards. Herein lies the principle of alterity, as these subjects use difference to define themselves as “a being”, that is, in Ricoeur’s words (1990, p.13) “the ‘ego’ cannot become conscious of its being-ego unless a non-ego exists that *is* the other, who is different”.

Social differences are systematically marked and reinforced because they serve as a basis for control, rejection and ridicule, which are attitudes that tend to be masked and attenuated by humor (Saraiva & Irigaray, 2009). In fragment (02), the lexical selection *“became the butt of jokes”* reveals the occurrence of an autonimic modalization (Authier-Revuz, 1995), that is, the tension between the *Other* and the *One* explicitated in the “real discourse of irreducible and permanent non-coincidences of

speech (acts), where they affect speech (acts), which produces meaning” (Authier-Revuz, 1995, p.804),

The same humor that represents a barrier to interviewee E1’s professional growth, as shown by the lexical selection “If they don’t take me seriously how am I going to get a promotion?” is also a barrier to social interaction with his family and childhood friends, as revealed by the following discourse fragment:

(03) “*I always thought that I had to be successful in order to give my parents a better life, I put up with spending hours in traffic jams, facing all kinds of problems at work, as I have already told you, but when I get home I also hear jibes such as: “you’re becoming stuck-up”, “now you’re posh you’re even looking like a South Zone kid”. My childhood friends, when we play football, ask if I’m going to play with high heels or posh trainers. I swear I don’t know who I am anymore, when I’m at work I’m the guy from the Baixada, who lives in a rundown house, is tacky and has drug dealer friends – which I don’t. When I’m at home people think I’m a preppy kid. I don’t have a home anymore, I’m an eternal tourist” (E1)*

In this discourse fragment, E1 denounces the psychosomatic costs of periphery dwellers. Physically, living far from the center means experiencing the pain of an arduous urban trip. Psychologically, these subjects lose their identity references. In the work environment, they are categorized and discriminated on account of the bourgeois imagination of the periphery as a place that is socially and economically precarized (Alves, 2003). In their place of origin, they are no longer recognized as members of that community and are rejected because they represent the dominant elite, as evidenced by the irony that exists in the lexical selections “*South Zone kid*” and “*preppy kid*”. This identity dilemma refutes the Cartesian-Enlightenment paradigm of the *a-historical* and *a-social* autonomous subject. The E4 individual represents a multitude of individuals that are, in reality, subjectified by serializing power structures that govern and drill (Foucault, 1991).

Thus, the dwellers of the periphery are not regarded as belonging to the center’s work environments, but, as there is a break between them and the place itself, are given the role of visitor. Thus, the denominative burden of the place imposes itself on these visitors, as can be verified in the lexical selection “*I am an eternal tourist*”, in such a way that the meanings attributed by the subject do not interfere in its constituent meaning (Augè, 1994). Thus, it was clear that there were three dimensions in this identity displacement process: *place*, *non-place* and *between-place*.

Place is, by definition, part of the appropriate(d) space of life, which possesses an identity. Thus, it is a human product (re)produced in the space/society and individual/group relation. Non-place, on the other hand is the absence of (the) place itself, as the non-local subjects (visitors) do not have the prerogative of circumscribing and constituting the place’s elements (Castrogiovanni, 2007). In its manner, the role of the between-place, which has a temporal character, is to bring signifier and place together, and its representation is based on the subjects’ ability to establish relations between their place and the place of the Other (Castrogiovanni, 2007). Here we agree with Lacan who defines signifier as “that which represents a subject for another signifier, that is, that which places the subject between two signifiers, as something that slides along the signifying chain” (Lacan, 1998:45).

This sliding is present in the three categories that emerged from the discourse analysis, given that they remitted to an identity conflict: “*shame*”, “*resignation*” and “*revolt*”. The central axis of these three categories are the discussions of domination and

asymmetrical power relations. In this research, the major category (axial category) was entitled “*self-identification through subjectification*”

It was clear from their discourses that the dwellers of the Baixada Fluminense were aware that their place of origin – or home – constitutes a reason for personal and professional denigration. As evidenced in discourse fragments (01), (02) and (03), this acquiescence results in a sense of shame, which unfolds simultaneously in *resignation* and *revolt*. The first of these sentiments underpinned the following speech:

(04))“*I end up believing that people are right. When I go home I find everything ugly and tacky, but could it be any different? Things are what they are and will always be that way. At least I was able to get a job here in the center, in a big company. My childhood friends are never going to leave Caxias ” (E9)*

The discourse fragment (04) indicates that this interviewee resigned herself, not “*because things are what they are*”, but because of the fact that she, individually, managed to get a job in a big company in the center.

When cross-referencing this emerging category with interviewees’ psychographic data, we verified that most were women, married, with one child, religious and had been in the labor market for a considerable period of time. Thus, we question whether *resignation* does not in fact constitute a tactic that is used in exchange for survival in the labor market. To what extent is this humble posture being used in work relations as an instrument of defense (to inhibit attack)? To what extent is it not a footing (Goffman, 1987, p. 137), whose aim is to signal that these workers are available for any task they are requested or ordered to perform? This posture of resignation, adopted during a “social encounter”, make the “social qualities that are required of the participants” (Goffman, 1987, p. 135) visible.

When interviewee E9 uses the lexical selection “*believing that people are right*”, she ceases to be merely the speaking-subject (the person who exercises the activity of language), and becomes the subject of the discourse. The latter does not belong to himself, *he is constituted by forgetting that which determines him* (Pêcheux, 1975, p. 228), that is, the subject is super-determined by ideological pre-constructs, which Pêcheux (1975, p. 223) calls the *Münschausen Effect*.

The category of resignation also emerged through discourse deixis, that is, the location and identification of people in relation to the spatial-temporal context, created and maintained by the act of enunciation (Lyons, 1980, p. 261). This is exactly what happened in the following discourse fragment:

(05) “*I don’t feel one of them, despite working here, dressing like them and making an effort to act like them ... I have never been chosen to go on a business trip, or asked along to happy hours or to go out with them in the evening. To be honest, they’re always inviting me, but if I leave the center at 10 pm, when I get home, I have to start getting ready to come back (...) I hope they’re happy living in this world of appearances” (E16).*

In this speech, interviewee E16 recognizes her wish to belong to the “other world”, as she thinks she is discriminated in her work relations because she lives far from the center as she denounces in the lexical selections “*I have never been chosen to go on a business trip*”, “*or asked along to happy hours or to go out with them*”. This interviewee showed she was capable of positioning herself as a subject, given that she

invariably explicitates her position using the pronoun “I”. As Beneviste affirmed (1966, p. 259): “consciousness of self is only possible when it tests itself by contrast”, and this confrontation results in self-denial and resignation, explicitated by the lexical selections “*To be honest, they’re always inviting me, but I leave the center at 10 pm*” and “*I hope they’re happy in this world of appearances*”. In this last speech fragment, by using the plural (hidden subject they), interviewee E16 explicitates a generalization of her antagonists, evidencing that both the inhabitants of the center and the periphery make mental use of social archetypes and representations.

Social representations or collective representations “organize the schemes of classification of actions and judgments, of the social being’s exhibition through rituals, stylizations of life and symbolic signs that make them visible”(Charaudeau & Mainguenu, 2004:433). In fact, they construct an organization of the real through the actual mental images transmitted by a discourse; thus, they are included in the real and are given by the real (Charaudeau, 1997). These social discourses configure themselves in an explicit fashion, through emblematic signs (Bourdieu, 1979) or implicitly through allusion or deitic gestures. Social representations, as well as the discourses that arise out of them, perform an identitary role, that is, constitute a social mediation that enables members of a group to construct a consciousness of self and which is based on a collective identity.

The existence of these two antagonistic social representations was clearly evident in the following discourse fragment:

(06) “*It’s that simple: they have their world; we have our’s. I can work in their environment; they can come here to the Grande Rio samba school and dance samba, we are together but don’t mix. It’s like oil and water, got it*” (E3)

The lexical selection “*they have their world, we have ours*” is grounded in an anaphoric expression, that is, *one whose referential interpretation depends on another antecedent one* (Kleiber, 1993, p. 22). The use of this co-referential anaphor reveals a cognitively determined relationship, whose meaning is provided by the extra-linguistic context of the word “world”.

Discourse fragment (06) was very useful because it denounced the incompatibility between two worlds, revealed by the use of polyphony (Bahktin, 2010), as interviewee E3 showed that he was able to “speak various voices” (*work and dance samba*) and made the receivers – in this case the researchers – realize the existence of conflicts (lexical selection “*you understand?*”). Thus, it was evident that two contradictory points of view existed, one positive and the other negative, with the emitter (E3) associating himself with the latter.

Besides “*shame*” and “*resignation*”, the third, and last, category that emerged from this confrontation between collective representations was “*revolt*”, which, at times, was expressed through furious facial expressions and tones of voice. Which is symptomatic, given that “*fury is definitely not an automatic reaction to suffering, but only appears when there are good reasons to believe that such conditions could be changed and are not*” (Arendt, 2010, p. 53). This was the theme of the following discourse fragment:

(07) “*We often hear these wisecracks: no-man’s land, place where there are only bandits, vigilantes, tacky, badly dressed people who go to funk parties. This pisses me off, because when these preppy girls and preppy guys dance[funk] all night long, when they go to Tati Quebra-Barraco, Deise Tigrone (popular Brazilian female*

funk singers) etc shows, it's fashionable; but when it's us, the locals, then its tacky, poor, ridiculous. A double standard”(E11).

This interviewee's revolt explicitated by the lexical selection “*this pisses me off*”, results from the perception that his culture and values are only valued when incorporated by the dominant class; the same occurs with words, whose meaning changes when passing from one discursive formation to another (Haroche, Henry & Pêcheux, 1971, p.102). It is in the discursive formation, and parallel to *the world of life* (Arendt, 2010), that subjectification or the interpellation of the subject as an ideological subject take place.

However, it would be mistaken to think that this behavior of revolt is the manifestation of a class struggle. This Marxist phenomenon is only present in E11's more politicized discourse. In the four other speeches in which this category emerged, the revolt was caused by non-acceptance in the world of the “elite” and, specifically, because they felt this had a negative impact on their work relations. This situation was explicitated in the following discourse fragment:

(08) “I was educated in the best school in Caxias, but I went to university and work in Rio (...) When I am here [in Rio] I find that people behave differently and they also treat me as if I were a foreigner; but not an expatriate one; they treat me as if I were one of those illegal Africans that live off odd-jobs in the Lapa district. I can assure you that I live in a better place and have a lot more money than many of my work colleagues; but it seems that none of this matters for my boss and colleagues (...) they studied at the same school, frequent the same places, have the same friends, it's the famous networking, get it? I don't have a chance. Isn't that a good reason to be revolted. Makes you feel like giving someone a good punch in the face.”
(E9)

Once again, fury, made explicit in the lexical selection “*makes you feel like giving someone a good punch in the face*”, is present. However, in this case, the interviewee's revolt lies in the fact that, despite having the same economic level as his work colleagues and, consequently, able to accompany them on their outings and events, E9 feels that he is excluded from work relations (“*I don't have a chance*”), because he does not share his peers' social capital social (Bourdieu, 1999), which, in this case, is reified by common environments and friends (“*they studied at the same school, frequent the same places, have the same friends*”).

But, is it really that simple? Is the fact of being from the Baixada Fluminense, or living there, a uniform, solid and homogenous identity category? Or is this common identity trace merely the backdrop that masks a much more complex social dynamic? This constituted another of the field's findings.

The periphery's multiple facets

Analyzing individuals according to a single homogenous characteristic shared by them, whether it be a physical, social or behavioral characteristic, results in simplistic and mistaken analyses (Irigaray, 2008). This proved no different in this research.

Our sample included men and women of different ages, ethnic groups and length of time in the market. All these individuals reported having suffered discrimination

encountered by E6 to integrate and interact (Goffman, 1973) in the office in which he worked. In reality, he suffers a second order discrimination (being negro and poor).

Place of origin and residence proved to be only one of the components that structure the identities of individuals, so it would therefore be wrong to isolate it. Therefore, to answer this study's investigative question, or, how identity displacement manifests itself in work relations, we sought to identify the axial category that permeates all discourses. This was called *self-identification through subjectification*.

This main category emerged because we used automatic discourse analysis as a methodological tool. Although this method is grounded in historical materialism, this does not mean that we adopted a strictly Marxist view of industrial society, in which the production of wealth is underpinned solely by the antagonism between capital and labor in social hierarchies, organized responsibility and scientific rationality (Gramsci, 1971). In this research, we incorporated the concept of risk (Beck, 1998; Giddens, 1998) and post-modern society (Bauman, 1993).

Thus, the axial category arose due to reflexive modernization, which is characterized by the emergence of new lines of social conflicts and political coalitions, as well as the notion that the production of wealth is engendered through the production of risk. *Self-identification through subjectification* reveals not only the existence of a dynamic of antagonisms between capital and labor, but also a polarization inside capital (center) and inside work (periphery), and a lack of *revolutionary subjects*.

The latter statement is the result of three emerging categories: *shame*, *resignation* and *revolt*. In all of them one can perceive an acquiescence to the dominant logic, as well as the introjection of the so-called dominant class's values, norms, sense of esthetics and discourse. At no time did the interviewees show any indignation at the existing model of production, nor did they propose any alternative. What they did demonstrate – textually and also through mimetic behavior – was the frustration of not belonging to the elite or not being recognized as members of the mainstream.

The failure of their strategies regarding insertion in the dynamics of work relations or the creation of a genuine and valued social identity and mainly their perception of self through alterity, show that these individuals subject themselves to existing and acting in a space that has been previously reserved for them - so-called subjectification (Foucault, 1991). These subjects are far from being the Lacanian subject, who is there to desire, and this is the desire of the other that passes through them without asking their permission.

The natives and inhabitants of the periphery are subalternized, peripherized, socially produced social subjects. Their bodies and behavior are interpreted, accessed, disciplined and represented without their consent, through symbols, values and signs fabricated by a society that is ingeniously designed for the purpose of domination.

These symbolic, discursive, imaginary, scenic and pictorial elements permeate the whole universe of social relations and encounter, especially in the world of work, the political amalgam that serves to consolidate spaces, groups, leaders and, in the final analysis, asymmetrical and unjust work relations.

This is the challenge for administrators and academics who prioritize ethics over results: is it possible to develop policies and redesign organizational practices and processes in order to really incorporate all employees into the organizational body? This is our proposal for a future research agenda.

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