The Production, Recontextualization and
Popular Transmission of Religious Discourse :
THE CASE OF LIBERATION THEOLOGY AND
~~Eight~~ Basic Christian Communities
in ~~Urban~~ Santiago, Chile

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To my parents,
John and Kathryn

Abstract

Since 1968, Basic Christian Communities (BCCs) have been promoted by the Chilean Catholic hierarchy as a defensive institutional response to increased religious disaffection and increased political radicalization among marginalized catholics, within a wider context which has featured both institutional reform of the Catholic Church and reformist social change in Chile. This climate of reform within the Catholic Church has given rise generally to increased flexibility in institutional and pedagogic contexts, and has given rise more particularly to a positive appreciation of popular religious discourse and practice, as seen in the emergence of liberation theologies and BCCs. Against this historical background, the aim of the thesis is to describe and understand the informal means of transmission of religious culture realized by a range of pedagogic practices in a highly selected sample of BCCs.

In the opening section, the object of this research is introduced, and the main research perspectives are discussed. The main concepts of a language for a sociological analysis of the production, recontextualization and informal popular transmission of religious culture are defined. Significant theoretical issues are discussed in the light of pertinent research literature. A brief historical account of the field work and a wider discussion of methodology closes Part I.

Part II considers the three fundamental fields: the Field of Production of Theological Discourse, the Recontextualizing Field and the Field of Pedagogic Practice of the BCC. An analysis is made of the deep level rules (theological codes) in institutional and pedagogic contexts within each field, together with a discussion of the role of the animator. A discussion of the interrelatedness of the fields will conclude Part II.

Part III focuses on an analysis of eight Bccs selected as examples of types varying according to the social class position of the members and previous religious socialization. This analysis takes the form of a detailed description of twenty-two (22) meetings of the BCC which examines the theological orientation of forms of participation, of the representations of social relations and of strategies for change.

A concluding chapter discusses similarities and differences among theological codes, and the relation of these to religious discourse and popular practice in contemporary Chile.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

Part I: Research Focus, Theory and Method

Chapter One

Introduction to the BCC

Chapter Two

Toward a Theory of BCC Pedagogic Discourse and Practice

Chapter Seven

BCC Secondary Discourses: Procedures of Their Analysis   189

Chapter Eight

Domestic Discourse   206

Chapter Nine

Church Discourse   234

Chapter Ten

Economic Discourse   263

Chapter Eleven

Part IV: BCCs and their Religious Discourses

Chapter Twelve

Chapter Thirteen

List of Diagrams

List of Tables

Key to Transcripts

[   ]   Text is included in "[   ]" in order to make
                sense of sentence or to make explicit pronoun
                references

...   Small amount of material edited out

:
:   More than one intervention edited out

(a)   Intervention by an animator

italics   Italics signal BCC talk about strategies

{   }   In the exemplary sequences, "{   }"
                designates strategy type

General Introduction

The Basic Christian Community (BCC) is a novel development of the Catholic Church in Latin America. Briefly, a BCC is a grassroots voluntary church group loosely affiliated with a local chapel in areas of urban and rural social marginality. It consists of between 6 and 20 members who meet regularly between two and four times a month under the guidance of an animator. It is significant that this development occurs among the socially marginalized. Official Catholic policy is that BCCs meet to revivify their faith as a practice in dealing with members' everyday problems and dilemmas.

I became interested in these groups during my initial stay in Chile as part of my training as a Jesuit (1980-83). During this period, I attended BCC meetings in Osorno and Santiago in Chile, where I noticed the autonomy of these groups, and their patterns of biblical interpretation, and the commitment of members to these groups. It was clear to me that BCCs were some kind of pedagogic context with some form of pedagogic practice. When I read the literature, I was surprised to discover that this view of the BCC was not reflected in the research. Indeed, there was not a study of what went on in the meeting and how it went on in the meeting despite the intense interest of the Catholic Church in popular education.

As a consequence of viewing the BCC as a pedagogic context, I considered it necessary to try to understand what specific pedagogic discourse was formed and realized in pedagogic practices. This in turn directed me to the relation between the various theological discourses in Chile and the theological bases of BCC talk and practice. It was my impression that the contour of BCC talk and practice was shaped by the social composition of the members and by their previous religious experience.

My fundamental concerns were:

(1) to examine the relation between official Church policy toward the BCCs and their actual practice;

(2) to match the picture of the BCCs in research with a detailed case study of selected types;

16

(3) to see how orthodox-conciliar and liberationist
theological discourses as theological positions affected
the discourse and practices of selected types of BCCs.

General Organization of the Chapters

This thesis is a study of the complex processes through which
theological discourses become pedagogic practices in a sample of eight
Basic Christian Communities. Part I is concerned with theory and
method. Chapter One introduces the BCC phenomenon and reviews
relevant research. Chapter Two contains a succinct outline of the
conceptual language which underlies the descriptions of the field of
production of theological discourse, recontextualizing field and the
field of pedagogic practice. This discussion is succinct because it
will be filled out in the subsequent chapters in Part II of the thesis
which deal with the fields. Chapter Three sets out the investigative
methods for the research.

Part II is concerned with theological discourses and their
transformations into pedagogic discourses. Chapter Four explores the
positions in the field of production of theological discourse in Chile
and its recontextualizing as pedagogic texts. This chapter also
reviews BCC policies as they have been set out by Catholic regulatory
agencies. We have discussed the field of production at some length
because little may be known of the diversity of the positions in the
specific national context of Chile. Further, we have gone into a
discussion of the policy discourse of Catholic regulatory agencies at
some length because these agencies and their policy discourse is
particularly germane to the study of the BCCs. Chapter Five presents
a detailed account of the theological discourses as these give rise to
a range of pedagogic practices which constitute the regular meeting of
the BCCs.

Part III focuses on BCCs and their talk. Chapter Six offers a
detailed presentation of the BCCs in our sample, their members and
animators, and their activities. The association between the data
assembled here and the BCC talk will be discussed later. In Chapter
Seven we introduce our language of description of BCC secondary
discourses in terms of social representations and strategies. The
rest of Part III focuses on exemplary sequences of BCC talk according

tc its four secondary discourses: domestic (Chapter Eight), church (Chapter Nine), economic (Chapter Ten) and political (Chapter Eleven).

Part IV is concerned with religious discourse. Chapter Twelve sets out the specific language of description of BCC religious discourse in terms of register and level of mastery. This is followed by Chapter Thirteen with the exemplary sequences of religious discourse in each BCC. Chapter Fourteen consists of a discussion of the relation between religious discourse in each BCC and its local chapel.

The overview chapter is necessarily repetitive because it is an attempt to bring together the most important findings which are distributed across the thesis.

Part I

Research Focus, Theory and Method

Chapter One

Introduction to the BCC

This introductory chapter has two purposes: to introduce and define generally the phenomenon under study in this thesis, Basic Christian Communities (BCCs), and then to provide a general review of research on BCCs in order to indicate the basis for our own research.

1 Basic Christian Communities (BCCs)

During the first meeting of the Latin American Bishops' Conference (*CELAM* I) which took place at Rio de Janeiro in 1955, threatening themes like the expansion of protestantism, communism and secularism dominated the agenda. Even though the principal preoccupations of the Latin American bishops seemed to centre on the breakdown of Catholic religious hegemony in Latin America, this meeting also marked an initial recognition by the Catholic Church of the importance of social changes in Latin America, as well as of the relation of the Catholic Church to those changes. At *CELAM* I, the categories used to describe that relation arose from a largely defensive perspective. The impetus given to grassroots organizational reform by the Catholic hierarchies in Latin America has been widely reported in the a diverse literature (Campero 1987a, 1987b; Cusianovich 1987; Dodson 1979a, 1988; Fontaine 1987; Lehmann 1990; Levine 1984, 1986a, 1990; McNamara 1979; Menanan 1979; Moser 1987; Poblete 1979; Rammsy 1987; Sanders 1982; Smith 1982).

The Catholic hierarchies in many Latin American nations began to search for strategies to counter the double threat of communism and protestant expansion. When we turn to Chile,[1] significant research projects of the Centro Bellarmino in Santiago focused on these phenomena as a service to the Chilean Catholic hierarchy which sought means of grassroots organizational reform (Galilea 1977; Lalive D'Epinay 1968; Van Dorp and Berger 1972). In the eyes of the Chilean

hierarchy, the marginalized have been perceived as especially vulnerable to this double seduction, since many Church reforms have targeted church structures, not among the other classes, but among the marginalized. In the case of marxist-inspired political groups, the appeal to the marginalized was based on a radical political ideal, and in the case of protestantism, on a brand face-to-face intimate christianity. In Chile, as in other nations of Latin America, the National Conference of Bishops turned its attention to the problems in the marginalized sectors, promoting social change at the macro level to benefit the poor and reforming church structures to respond to current needs at the grassroots level.

In Chile, Smith (1982) reported that rank-and-file Catholics across the social classes seemed to embrace a progressive agenda of social change promoted by the Catholic Church. Empirical research suggested that while religious practice (i.e., mass attendance) remained low during this period, 1955-62, the vast majority of Chileans, irrespective of their religious practice, knew about the Catholic Church's position on social change and seemed to support it (Smith 1982:116). For the clergy, the programmes of training of priests began to promote a new reformed clergy by incorporating experiences in working class parishes in Chile (Smith 1982:112) and training in rudimentary social analysis. For the Catholic hierarchy, the focus on an agenda for change in society and in the Church gave rise to the first declarations by the Chilean Bishops' Conference at Chillán (1968) and La Serena (1969) which promoted a highly general idea of Base Communities which could be applied at different levels: parochial or sub-parochial.

As we shall see in Chapter Four, declarations of the Chilean Bishops' Conference and other regulatory agencies have focused until recently (1989) on imprecise notions of communities at the parochial level, that is, on Basic Ecclesial Communities (BECs), an alternative parish structure which organizes a full range of local chapel services and organizations (more typical of Brazil). In contrast to these BECs which operate as alternative "parishes", Basic Christian Communities (BCC), as they have developed in Chile, are located at the sub-parochial level in marginalized sectors. Our research shall be focusing on the BCCs.

20

Güell recognizes that symbolic importance of the "sub-parochial" grassroots organizations in the Catholic Church.

> "The boom of Church groups at the grassroots level in marginalized sectors obeys the need of the participants to search for alternative sites of meaning and identity, or refuges, in the face of the decomposition of social identities, which has been one effect of the imposition of the markets as the anonymous regulator of human existence" (Güell 1987:107).

Güell goes on to point out three types of sub-parochial grassroots organizations in the Catholic Church: catechetical, solidarity/service and reflection groups. One type of grassroots group in the Catholic Church which Güell categorizes as a "reflection group" is the BCC.

2 An Initial Definition of the BCC

We are now in a position to offer an initial definition of the BCC. Under the guidance of an animator who is responsible for the conduct of its regular meetings, the BCCs gather regularly in members' homes to reflect on selected biblical texts, to consider the serious problems they encounter in their marginalized existence and to develop strategies for their solution. BCCs emerge generally (a) from among unorganized local chapel members, or (b) as a continuation of diverse non-educational groups within the chapel whose programs have ended, or (c) as a continuation of highly structured educational programs within the chapel which have ended. In terms of membership, these BCCs have generally between 10 and 20 members who come from the same neighborhood; in terms of gender distribution, more than two thirds of of members tend to be women, and in terms of social class, BCCs tend to be found by an large in areas of marginality. We shall set out a more detailed description of the BCCs, their membership and activities in Chapter Six.

In terms of its social function, the BCC is a relatively stable and autonomous grassroots church context characterized by a set of demarcations which specialize its discourse and practice. The range of benefits which accrue to members through the BCC is quite diverse. Within this context members display and revivify their faith, establish a sense of belonging, promote shared cultural identity, and share their concerns and problems as they face and make bearable the

multiple challenges of their marginalized existence (symbolic and material). The BCCs have developed over 20 years in Chile having evolved into a stable context whose boundaries have been sustained autonomously by their animator and members without much training or intervention by local religious personnel.

What can we learn from the policies of the Catholic Church which might help to focus further this initial definition of the BCC? The policies of Catholic regulatory agencies toward the BCCs have focused on the expected functions of an idealized BCC, especially in terms of their catholicity. BCCs are set out in the policies generally as a site for greater access by the poor to the Bible, a proposal which sought to increase interaction between the marginalized and the Bible. BCCs are a site for serious reflection on the problems faced by members so that BCC members might become workers for social change. The Chilean policy proposes generally that increased knowledge of their social context is vital in order that BCC members might fulfill their purpose of being "a transforming force in the world." The Catholic hierarchy expected the BCC to be flexible, that is, the BCC was expected to be a specialized religious site for bringing into relation the marginalized classes, the Bible and the analysis of their social context, a site to fulfill the twin needs for socio-political change and for face-to-face religious experience.

3 Liberation Theology and BCCs

The policies of Catholic regulatory agencies tend to represent the BCC as a site in which a range of theologies are locked in competition for the souls of the marginalized. Liberation theology tends to be perceived negatively as leftist by BCC policy makers and with an unrealistic optimism in more journalistic sociology as being the ideological motor of the BCCs. What is probably more accurate is that the basis of the solidarities created among BCC members has been a source of tension within the Catholic Church. BCCs demand the commitment of members, and thus become sites generating a range of solidarities among the members. BCCs may be sites with a predominantly expressive function which ensures group cohesion and social order on the basis of class or religion, a function which causes little tension in the wider Church. BCCs may be sites with an

22

instrumental function where members exercise power through the pursuit of concrete aims based on class interest (social action units), a function which may bring a BCC into tension both with local religious personnel and with local political organizations. Tension may be most acute where the Catholic Church perceives that a BCC has become a site which would enshrine what Martin refers to as "the militarized version of organic solidarity".

> "Radical theology can make the cross a sign of the
> suffering endured by the despised and outcast, but it is
> not easily deployed as a sign of guerilla warfare and
> proliterian victory. So theologians turn to Moses and the
> Exodus from bondage. Moses rings the liberty bell and
> sends the people to the promised land. Moreover, once *en
> marche*, the impetus to militancy is very difficult to
> halt, and liberation theologians will find themselves
> behind what Ian Davies has nicely called the militarized
> version of organic solidarity" (Martin 1980:29).

None would argue that militarized solidarity in a BCC would give rise to tension in the Catholic Church. But since no systematic empirical research has been carried out on the relation of liberation theology to BCCs, discussion of such links can only be speculative. In this thesis one of our concerns will be to explore the relation of liberation theology to a small sample of BCCs.

4 A Review of Research

In the last twenty years since the emergence of BCCs, this specialized context has been subjected to different types of analysis, giving rise to a small body of research literature. It has been produced by independent centers in the intellectual field both in Chile and in North America and Europe, as well as by Church-affiliated research centers contracted by the formal and informal regulatory bodies within the Catholic Church.

We should remark that some research has been intensely empirical and quantitative (for example, Hewitt 1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1989; Mainwaring 1984; Van Dorp and Berger 1972). However, this research focuses, for the most part, on the development of Basic <u>Ecclesial</u> Communities, which must be distinguished from Basic <u>Christian</u>

23

Communities which exist exclusively at the sub-parochial level, are alternative chapel structures.[2]

4.1 Research Literature on the BCC in Chile

The first empirical research undertaken in Latin America specifically on BCCs focused on them as an institutional response, as part of the renewal of the Catholic Church in the face of three factors: an increasingly "secularized society", protestant recruitment gains among Catholics and the attraction of the communist party among the marginalized (Van Dorp and Berger 1972).[3] The investigative method was highly quantitative, and it sought to provide a reading of the perception of agents/agencies with respect to possible BCC functions. It was quantitative research which sought to gather information on BCCs from the perspective of the participants. The history of research on BCCs in Latin America began at the Centro Bellarmino, under the direction of Renato Poblete, S.J. As Poblete's own research indicates, he saw the BCC as (1) an institutional response to the double threat which secularization and modernization posed to the Catholic Church, and (2) as a response to a growing pentecostal threat. In its first major project on BCCs the research design and aims were guided by concern for the institutional interests of the Catholic Church. Through the Americans represented by Inkeles (1968),[4] McIver (1936),[5] and Fichter (1966),[6] this study sought to develop church models which could counter the rising tide of pentecostalism. Thus, Van Dorp and Berger of the *Centro Bellarmino* generated formal definitions of community, in the hopes of evaluating the BCC as a 'face-to-face' community experience. Community as closer social relations was an important notion in this early research, since it was perceived generally as the most appealing feature of the 'pentecostal offer' to the marginalized urban poor. In a sense, Van Dorp and Berger "spoke the first sociological word" on BCCs in Chile, where they formed a perspective which responded to the concerns of the Catholic hierarchy which sought new ways to promote participation in the Catholic Church in the face of growing pentecostalism.

In the later Bellarmino quantitative research (Valdivieso 1989),[7] although depending on the questionnaire method, the research problem expanded and moved beyond the original American functionalist

24

paradigm which provided the framework for the original Bellarmino
research with its concentration on improving macro institutional
performance in the wake of cultural shifts (Van Dorp and Berger 1972).
In this more recent research, Valdivieso recognizes the following
features of BCCs which are related indirectly to our notion of the BCC
as a highly specialized pedagogic context: the fundamental distinction
between BCCs and the local chapel, the an initial but unsophisticated
recognition of the animator as a pedagogic agent, the range of
responsibilities of the animators to the BCC, the process of selection
of the animator, the preparation of the topic for the BCC meeting, the
pedagogic relation between animator and members, and the overall
pedagogy of the regular meeting. Findings from this research will be
incorporated throughout the thesis, especially in Chapter Six where
the BCC participants will be presented.

4.2 Evaluation of BCC Research

        Research tends to focus (a) either on the conditions for the
emergence of BCCs or (b) on their specialized outputs in terms of the
degree of transformation detectable in the everyday or political
practices of the members. 'Output-focused research' has linked itself
with 'emergence-focused research' thereby by-passing the BCC context
itself. This trend establishes a 'short-circuit' between conditions
of emergence of the BCC and real or imagined outputs of members'
practice. We consider that this argument rests on the fundamental
principle which claims that a determined set of conditions of
emergence of the BCC leads inexorably as if by law to 'new
radicalized' practices. This type of argument ignores the BCC itself
as a pedagogic context. To what degree can an account of BCCs be
descriptive if it fails to account for internal relations and talk of
the weekly BCC meeting? By definition, 'emergence-focused' or
'output-focused' research ignore what happens in a BCC meeting and are
by definition incapable of explaining the relation of pedagogic
features of the BCC meeting either to members' life conditions or to
their practices outside the BCC.

5 Conclusions: BCC as Pedagogic Context

Our position is that the BCC is first and foremost a specialized pedagogic context. The BCC meeting is a grassroots discursive site constituted by clearly discernible pedagogic practices which shall be described in this thesis. We shall be examining the BCC as a pedagogic context in which members discuss and fashion in their talk a wide variety of strategies to respond to the severe conditions of marginality. This thesis is the first to set out findings based on systematic empirical research into the complex processes of how the underlying principles of diverse theologies become sustained pedagogic practices in a stratified sample of BCCs.

The next chapter sets out the language we will use to describe the BCC as a pedagogic context and to show how its pedagogic discourse is constructed in its wider theological and institutional context.

NOTES for Chapter One

[1]Beyond this point we shall refer only to the national context in Chile, as discussions of pan-Latin American Church developments tend to distort actual trends.

[2]Basic Ecclesial Communities are local chapels. Research into this phenomenon has focused on organizational practices, class origins of the BEC members and strategies of local neighborhood change. For example, Hewitt (1987a, 1987b) evaluates activity preference and strategies employed for social change of Basic Ecclesial Communities and their dependent organizations.

[3]For a brief and clear description of parish sociology, see Wallis and Bruce 1989:491-520. The original study of BCCs in Chile (Van Dorp and Berger 1972) was carried out by the Department of Sociological Investigations of the Centro Bellarmino in Santiago, a research sponsored by the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in Chile under the direction of Fr. Renato Poblete, S.J. This first study on the BCC was sponsored by the NGO of the Lutheran Church of Germany, ADVENIAT. Based on a lengthy questionnaire, the study tried to argue that the BCC was an ingenious way for the Catholic Church to cope with the trend of secularization and protestant recruitment.

[4]See Inkeles 1968 where the author offers formal definitions of community in terms of concentration of members in a geographic area, interaction of members, and sense of belonging.

[5]See McIver 1936 where the author refers to the self-sufficiency as a feature of community, however he does not see territoriality as essential.

[6]See Fichter 1966 where the author defines primary and secondary groups, where the primary group has a stronger sentiment of solidarity, commonly held values, and frequent personal encounters, and the secondary group a less united collectivity and regulated by law and justice.

[7]Valdivieso 1989.

Chapter Two

Toward a Theory of BCC Pedagogic Discourse and Practice

Introduction

We have seen that our perspective on the BCC will be radically different from the research we have discussed. Our interest is precisely in the BCC as a pedagogic context with its own modes of pedagogic regulation. From this point of view, we could simply select BCCs and analyze the talk together with selected interviews with the members. If we were to restrict our investigation in this way, then we would have abstracted the BCCs from their theological and institutional contexts from which they had originated and which had given them their significance.

Our perspective necessarily requires us to set the BCC in a broader context. As the BCCs were essentially religious contexts we need to know something about the type and distribution of religious discourses in Chile. Further, we need to know the nature of the church regulation over the BCCs as such regulation issues in BCC policy.

Given that the BCCs are a pedagogic contexts we need to know whether there are any specialized pedagogic texts distributed to or circulating among BCCs, and if so, what are their distinguishing features. Within the BCCs we must have some means of describing their pedagogic practice and the discourse in such a way that our principles of description are capable of distinguishing between BCCs. Further, the theory from which we can derive a language of description ought to be able to deal with the various levels of the research within the same conceptual language.

1 General Requirements for a Theory of Description

We need a system of concepts which will allow us to describe the complex process whereby a theological discourse becomes an informal theological context. We initially turned to theories of cultural reproduction of class relations in education, for although we were not

28

directly concerned with class relations, these theories focus upon the

discourse, contexts and processes of education, albeit in formal

institutions.[1] However, it soon became clear that these theories did

not generate a conceptual language which enabled strong descriptions

of specific discourses, specific contexts or specific processes.

These theories did not attend to the process whereby pedagogic

discourse is constituted, given a particular form and relayed through

a variety of practices.[2] The focus of these theories is upon the

reproduction of class relations rather than upon the production and

reproduction of pedagogic discourse and practices. There are of

course studies of particular pedagogic practices both formal and

informal, but it is difficult to find a systematic conceptual language

which permits a description of the construction of modes of pedagogic

discourse, modes of pedagogic practice in such a way that macro and

micro levels can be integrated into the analysis. Further, the

research in Chile which deals with popular education where one might

expect to turn, does not in fact provide much assistance.[3] The two

strong theories in this respect are the theories of Bourdieu in his

later work and Bernstein. We shall utilize these theories so that

their strengths and weaknesses complement each other. From the point

of view of our thesis Bernstein rather than Bourdieu offers a

systematic conceptual language for the analysis of pedagogic

discourse, contexts and practices but, in our particular case, offers

little purchase on the analysis of the contents. Bourdieu, on the

other hand, offers little purchase on the analysis of pedagogic

discourse, contexts and practices but, in our particular case, offers

means for analyzing the talk as emerging from class and religious

specialization of the speakers. In this chapter we shall discuss

Bernstein's theory and the modifications our particular study

requires. We shall similarly discuss Bourdieu in Chapter Seven when

we introduce the language of analysis of BCC talk.

2 Bernstein's Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse

In his paper "On Pedagogic Discourse" (1987b, 1990) Bernstein

argues that general theories of cultural reproduction tend to be more

concerned with what is reproduced than with the medium of that

reproduction and the nature of the specialized discourse of

education.[4] It is as if the specialized discourse of education is
only an empty voice through which others speak (class, gender,
religion, race, region). It is as if pedagogic discourse is itself no
more than a relay for power relations external to itself; a empty
relay whose form has no consequence for what is relayed (Bernstein
1987b:2; 1990c:166). Bernstein outlines a structure for the relay
which makes pedagogic discourse possible. He distinguishes between
what he calls the field of production of discourse from which a
specific discourse is derived, the recontextualizing field in which
specialized agents selectively construct pedagogic discourse, and the
field of pedagogic practice where the process of transmission and
acquisition takes place. This is a very elemental account of
Bernstein's model, but it will serve to orientate our discussion.

2.1 Informal Pedagogic Discourses and Practices: A Model

As we set out our model of informal pedagogic discourse and
practice, significant departures will be made from Bernstein's model
of Pedagogic Discourse as developed in "Social Construction of
Pedagogic Discourse" in *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse: Class,
Codes and Control 4* (1990). The differences between the constitution
of the fields of our concern, religious discourse, and the level of
complexity of their agents/agencies and practices, give rise to this
initial cautionary note. Modifications are necessary because of the
particular features of the field of religious discourse and the
special characteristics of its informal pedagogic practices.

In this thesis we are concerned with the production,
recontextualization and popular transmission of <u>religious discourse</u>.
Whereas Bernstein focuses exclusively on the processes and contexts
which constitute the formal educational relay as such, we are
concerned with religious discourse, the processes and contexts for its
production, its dislocation and relocation through its
recontextualization as a pedagogic practice for its popular
transmission in Basic Christian Communities.

If we are to understand these practices and forms of talk in the
BCC we shall need to describe the origin and forms of theology which
are expected to be actualized in the talk, practices and contexts of

the BCC. This will require the specification of the distinctive discourses of the various theological positions, their organizational contexts and forms of transmission.

We shall also need to describe the process whereby the discourses in what we shall call the <u>field of production of theological discourse</u>[5] are transformed into specific pedagogic texts available to be used in BCC meetings. This process of transformation of theological discourse into specific pedagogic texts is carried out in what Bernstein has termed the <u>recontextualizing field</u>. Here we shall be concerned to discern the rules which regulate this process and the discourse it constructs.

This specific focus leads to a crucial departure from Bernstein's formulation in the development of our model (See Diagram 2.1). This departure from Bernstein arises because of the specificity of our research context which produces a narrowing of the focus of Bernstein's model. In Bernstein's model the State and its relation to educational systems and their discourses is at the highest level of the model. His model attempts to describe the construction and reproduction of educational discourses across the full range of educational agencies controlled essentially by the State.[6] In our case, the Catholic Church is located at the highest level of the model where it legislates the rules for the construction of legitimate theological discourse according to precise orderings of valid meanings called dogmas (Diagram 2.1). Here, we are only concerned with the relation of the Catholic Church to one pedagogic context, that of the BCC. The relation of the Catholic Church to religious discourse and its various practices should not be seen as entirely analogous to the State and its relation to the specialized discourses of educational systems.

In our description of the model of reproduction of religious discourse, its <u>levels</u> are important both in terms of the logic of our exposition and in terms of the actual relations between the levels (See Diagram 2.1). In terms of the logic of the thesis, our discussion will begin with the levels of production and recontextualization of religious discourses, and then we will focus our principal attention on the level of pedagogic practice of the BCC. In terms of the actual relations between the levels in the model, it

31

will become apparent, if it has not already, that a discourse cannot be recontextualized unless it is first produced. And subsequently, a discourse cannot be reproduced pedagogically in the field of pedagogic practice until it has been recontextualized. The levels of our model then are production, recontextualization, pedagogic practice of the BCC.

2.1.1 Field of Production of Theological Discourse

In the field of production of discourse (intellectual, expressive and craft), Bernstein refers to the process whereby legitimate texts are developed and positioned, to the way in which new ideas are created, modified and changed and where specialized discourses are developed, modified and changed (Bernstein 1990a). Here, we are concerned to describe the process whereby a range of theological texts are developed and positioned in a field which we shall call the field of production of theological discourse. We shall describe this field its agents/agencies, their functions, practices and discourses, in terms of their external relations to other fields, as well as in terms of the relative autonomy of their texts from external regulatory control of the Catholic Church. The creation of theological texts must be seen as a product of field relation of the field of production of theological discourse to the international theological field. Further, the field of production of theological discourse must be related to the intellectual field of the social sciences and the field of symbolic control of the Catholic Church in Chile.

In the field of production of theological discourse we are interested especially in the new orderings of meaning which have arisen out of a relation between the esoteria of theological discourse and the orderings of the social sciences as introduced in the liberation theologies. The theological positions in the diverse centres for the production of theological discourse enshrine different fundamental principles: orthodox-conciliar (OC), and two modalities of liberation theology, political (PL) and cultural (CL) which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

We shall distinguish these positions in terms of the extent to
which they draw upon or exclude non-theological discourses in the
social sciences and/or upon marginalized cultural practices.[7] The
field positions have different physical locations. OC is located at
the Catholic University of Chile, and PL and CL theologies are located
in peripheral informal centres.

A description of these theological discourses, as products of
the Chilean field of production of theological discourse, cannot be
understood fully except as produced in relation to the international
theological field, the intellectual field of the social sciences, and
the field of symbolic control of the Catholic Church. We shall now
discuss briefly these three fields and their relation to the field of
production.

In the Chilean theological field, the relationship with the
international theological field is crucial since progress and
development in the Chilean field occur partially through the range of
specialized publications originating in Latin America, in the United
States and in Europe. The intellectual field of the social sciences
is of interest only in relation to the two liberation theologies. The
field of symbolic control of the Catholic Church regulates the power
relations in the Chilean theological field between OC and liberation
theologies (PL and CL), and what is legitimate to appropriate from the
social sciences. The importance of the field of symbolic control of
the Catholic Church and the regulatory relations of its multiple
agencies to the international and Chilean theological field must not
be underestimated. In the case of the agencies of symbolic control of
the Vatican and of the Chilean Catholic Church, their relation is
analogous to the relation of the State and local authorities as
arbiter (exercising regulatory control over the educational system).

In general, the field of symbolic control is constituted by
distinct agents/agencies which have normalizing functions:[8] regulators
who maintain boundaries of discourse; repairers who restore orthodoxy;
reproducers (teachers); diffusers who transmit orthodoxy through
various media; shapers who create and develop theological discourse;
and executors who administrate in all agencies of the Catholic
Church.[9] However, it is crucial to recognize that behind this complex
network of symbolic control functions, Vatican agencies are the final

33

arbiter. The *raison d'être* of these agents/agencies (international and national) is to monitor the discursive boundary between orthodoxy and heterodoxy and to control the heterodox according to a canon of established dogmas.[10]

At the international level, the Vatican is the final arbiter of the thinkable and unthinkable, and its regulatory function is mediated by the Catholic Church in Chile and its dependent agencies. In Chile, two crucial functions of the Catholic Church must be distinguished: (1) conferring legitimacy on positions, and (2) conferring different powers on theological positions by regulating their access to the Faculty of Theology at the Catholic University.[11]

2.1.2 Recontextualizing Field

Having discussed the field of production of theological discourse, we are now in a position to introduce the recontextualizing field. We must recognize that within the Catholic Church and related contexts a process of many transformations mediates between the production of theological discourses and their derived pedagogic texts and practices in the BCC. This process of transformation (ideological filtering) in Bernstein's terms becomes a process of recontextualizing by means of which pedagogic discourse is constructed. This process of recontextualizing is carried out by specialists operating in their own field of activity.

In our case, agents/agencies select and transform theological texts from the field of production to create new texts for their reproduction as a pedagogic practice. If we were to follow Bernstein strictly, the official recontextualizing field of the Catholic Church constructs pedagogic texts for schools and other formal contexts. This field determines what texts should be available, how they should be available, how agents should be trained for their pedagogic practice. In our case, we are concerned with the creation of pedagogic texts for highly informal BCCs. In the Catholic Church, the official recontextualizing field in Chile will include specialized departments and sub-agencies of the national Church as well as archdiocesan and local education units together with their research and system of regulation, all of which should scrutinize the

34

recontextualizing process. The official recontextualizing field is constituted essentially by OC principles, as is understood most clearly in the construction of the pedagogic texts for Family Catechism.[12] In the case of Family Catechism texts, the Catholic hierarchy through the National Institute of Catechism has virtually eliminated relative autonomy in the official recontextualizing field over the principles of its own discourses and of its agents, transmitters/acquirers, contexts and contents. OC principles then control the official recontextualizing field which provides the theories, practices, specific texts on which Official Pedagogic Discourse is based.[13]

The Catholic Church in Chile does not see the need, as in the case of Family Catechism, to construct, as part of its official function, specialized pedagogic texts for the BCCs. Thus, there is no official recontextualizing field for the BCC. However, there is an informal pedagogic recontextualizing field. The liberation theologies have their own recontextualizing agencies which construct their pedagogic discourse. However, these activities and the field to which they give rise are informal. These pedagogic texts carry no official moral authority in the local chapels or in the BCCs, nor have we detected a mechanism through which these texts are circulated to local chapels and to BCCs. Thus, we have an official recontextualizing field of OC theology, and what we shall call simply the informal pedagogic recontextualizing field of the liberation theologies.

Although the LT pedagogic recontextualizing field escapes official regulation in terms of their activities, these agencies may lack the marketing resources to ensure the circulation and distribution of their product and/or the moral authority and ensure their use by BCCs.

Having set out our language for the description of the production of pedagogic discourse, we must now discuss our language for the description of the discourse which it produces.

2.1.2.1 Pedagogic Discourse

Bernstein defines pedagogic discourse as the rules for embedding and relating two discourses. It is the rules of specialized communication through which pedagogic acquirers are selectively created. Bernstein defines pedagogic discourse as the rule which embeds a discourse of competence into a discourse of social order in such a way that the latter always dominates the former. He calls the discourse transmitting specialized competences and their relation to each other as the instructional discourse (ID), and the discourse creating specialized order, relation and identity regulative discourse (RD). Bernstein writes pedagogic discourse as

$$\frac{\text{ID}}{\text{RD}}$$

Pedagogic discourse is a principle for recontextualizing other discourses and bringing them into a special relation with each other for the purpose of their selective transmission and acquisition. In the case of the BCCs, their specialized theological discourses, which are derived from the field of production, form the regulatory discourse of each BCC. The instructional contents of BCCs are discourses concerning everyday practice: domestic, church, economic and political, where members discuss the application of religion to their lives.

We have described this relation of embedding in pedagogic discourse as the relation between an instructional discourse and a regulative discourse. Given the explicitly religious character of the contexts in our study we shall refer to the regulative discourse as religious discourse (RD). In addition, given the degree of informality of the context of reproduction, we shall refer to instructional discourse as secondary discourses (SD). Religious discourse in the field of production refers to the creation of theological discourse. Religious discourse in the recontextualizing fields refers to the transformation of religious discourse into an embedded pedagogic discourse. Religious discourse in the field of pedagogic practice of the BCC is the communicative, interactional and organizational practices which are related to everyday life. In the latter, animators and members discuss problems which they confront in their marginalized existence.

36

Thus, the pedagogic practice of a BCC is the religious shaping of how members deal with the practical problems of their lives. The 'instruction' is the application of religious discourse to secondary discourses which can be written as

$$\text{Pedagogic Discourse} = \frac{\text{Secondary Discourses}}{\text{Religious Discourse}}$$

2.1.3 Field of Pedagogic Practice

In this field of pedagogic practice of the BCC, "RD" will be transformed into a pedagogic practice which will be identifiable as either OC, PL and CL. We are interested in how everyday discourses enter into BCC talk, the problems they create, and how the solutions discussed are constrained by religious discourse, as "SD/RD". In other words, we are interested in 'what secondary discourses are made available, how they are made available and who makes them available.' That is, we are concerned with the underlying principles or codes.

3 Classification and Framing

Bernstein's interest is in showing how the pedagogic coding of discourse and the form of its transmission relay a distribution of power and forms of control. This distinction between power and control is fundamental to Bernstein, and his concepts, by means of which he writes codes and their modalities, attempt to show that power and control are embedded in discourse as pedagogic practice, and thus attempt to shape forms of consciousness. He uses one concept to distinguish forms of boundary relations which set the limits on categories, be these categories, agencies, agents, discourses or practices; and a second concept which refers to the way in which these categories may legitimately be realized in forms of communication. Basically, we have boundary rules and communication rules. The communication rules are the means whereby the boundary rules are transmitted, reproduced and changed. In this way, Bernstein sets up a relation between power and communication in the formation of pedagogic discourse and the practices of its transmission and acquisition. The concepts he introduces are classification (boundary rules) and framing (communication rules of pedagogic practice).[14]

3.1 Classification

In the Durkheimian tradition, the notion of boundary has been crucial in theories of the constitution of social reality. Douglas (1966, 1970) and the English anthropologists and to a lesser extent Berger (1967) in the Sociology of Religion would recognize Bernstein's 'first principle' which refers to boundary as the social arrangements and practices whereby social groupings or domains of knowledge and experience are kept separate. Different kinds of power, i.e., class or religious in the case of our thesis, establish and maintain boundaries and categories; and as a result, boundary classifications constitute and maintain the religious and social structural constraints on experience.

Bernstein defines classification in terms of the relation between categories, and the relation between categories depends on the insulation between them. The stronger the insulation, the stronger the space a category has to produce for its own specialization or specialized identity - to write the rules of its own special difference. The weaker the insulation between categories the less specialized the categories, the more likely there is some integration of categories, and thus rules for the integration of categories. Bernstein first used this distinction between strong and weak classification (+C/-C) to distinguish between different knowledge codes in formal education. Thus, "-C" would be the principle of integrated knowledge codes, and "+C" the principle of what he called collection or serial codes marked by the separation and specialization of subjects. Fundamental to this formulation is the concept of insulation and the power relations which maintain and protect the insulation (strong or weak).

> "The principle of the classification is created,
> maintained, reproduced and legitimized by insulation
> maintenance. Any attempt to change the classification
> between categories, in itself will provoke the insulation
> maintainers (reproducers, repairers, surveyors) to restore
> the principle of classification and themselves as the
> dominant agents. In order for this to be accomplished,
> the insulation maintainers must have power and the
> conditions to exert it. Thus, insulation presupposes
> relations of power for its creation, reproduction and
> legitimation."[15]

In this sense, insulations as such are not circumscribed specific knowledge areas, but rather insulations are the intervals, breaks, dislocations themselves which establish categories of similarity and difference as the established and 'natural order of things'. We shall use the concept of classification to distinguish between theological discourses in the field of production of theological discourse, that is, to distinguish between OC, PL and CL theologies. We shall examine and find empirical indices of the strength of their classification and so the differing nature of their specialization of theological discourses.

We shall then use the concept of classification to determine the theological code at the level of the BCC. In this way we can compare the theological code at the level of the BCCs and its discourses with the theological code and its discourse in the field of production of theological discourse. We shall use classification at the level of the BCC to distinguish BCCs in terms of their spatial, temporal and discursive markers.

3.2 Framing

Bernstein defines framing as the principle regulating the form of communication between transmitters and acquirers and between acquirers and acquirers relations in pedagogic contexts. Through the concept of framing, we are concerned to describe the who, what, where, how and when of the communication 'within' a given context. Framing can be represented as "+/-F" where "F" refers to the principle of framing within the communicative context, and where "+/-" refers to the value of "F" with respect to strength. Strength refers to the location of the control over the distinguishing features of the pedagogic context (communicative, interactional and organizational practices).

According to the theory, where framing is strong (+F), the transmitter explicitly regulates the distinguishing features of the communicative, interactional and organizational practice. Where framing is weak (-F), the acquirer has a greater degree of control over these distinguishing features of the communicative,

39

interactional, and organizational practices in the communicative context.

Bernstein distinguishes at a greater level of delicacy between the internal value of the strengths of framing $(+/-F^I)$ and the external values of th strength of framing $(+/-F^E)$. With respect to the school, external framing refers to the features of non-school communication and practices within a school context like the classroom. If "F^E" is strong, the transmitter regulates the features of non-school communication and practice which may be realized within the school. If "F^E" is weak, greater control lies in hands of the acquirer or in the hands of some agent external to the school.

Fundamentally framing regulates the distribution of power within the pedagogic context over the social order, relation and identity (hierarchical rules) and over the competences to be acquired (discursive rules). Thus, we have:

competences -- discursive rules -- instructional discourse (ID)

social order -- hierarchical rules -- regulative discourse (RD)

In this way we can see that, in short, framing refers to the controls on the realization of "ID/RD", that is, pedagogic discourse.

In our study framing is only relevant to two fields, the recontextualizing field and the field of pedagogic practice for only in those two fields is there a pedagogic discourse and a pedagogic practice. However, classification is relevant to all three fields.

In the field of production of theological discourse we are not interested in religious discourse as a form of transmission, that is, as it becomes a pedagogic practice in the education of divinity students in faculties of theology. Rather, we are only concerned with the discourse itself and making distinctions between these discourses. Thus, we are concerned only with the principle of classification of the discourses.

However, in the recontextualizing field we are concerned with making distinctions between the pedagogic texts this field creates for use in the pedagogic practices in the BCCs. Here we are concerned both with classification and framing. We are concerned with classification in order to distinguish theological discourse transmitted, and framing to examine the form of transmission, that is, the form of the realization of the discourse as a specific pedagogic practice.

In order to place these BCC pedagogic practices (and their classificatory and framing values) in their wider context, we must take into account what Bernstein refers to as "primary contextualizing context": the context where the acquirer is initially contextualized in his/her own specific culture within the family, community and, in our case, in the local chapel (as set out in the lowest part of Diagram 2.1).

With respect to the school context, Bernstein argues that what is reproduced in the context of transmission may be affected by the power relationships of the recontextualizing field between the school and the primary cultural context of the acquirer, that is, who recontextualizes whom (Diagram 2.1). Here Bernstein has distinguished frequently between the local pedagogic practice of the family or community and the official pedagogic practice of the school (1990c:179). In our application, the power relations are quite different. The various groupings and organizations of the local chapel rest on a certain pedagogy where members are socialized implicitly into a local chapel religious discourse. In the case of Family Catechism, that pedagogic practice is highly explicit in its communicative, interactional and organizational practices.

Our model opens up the possibility that the relation between the socialization at the level of the chapel and family catechism and the pedagogic practices of the BCC may be one of tension and competition. Our model signals that there may exist a site of tension between what we have called the recontextualizing sites (Diagram 2.1). Thus, we must distinguish with great delicacy three ways that individuals become BCC members and their relation to other recontextualizing sites. (1) Individuals may join the BCC as part of their process of recruitment to the local chapel, in which case their initial pedagogic

practice has not passed through any recontextualizing site. (2) Some

members pass through some organization in the local chapel, and (3)

some BCCs emerge as groups directly from Family Catechism.[16] In 2 and

3, the local chapel and the Family Catechism course are

recontextualizing sites. Different kinds of struggles and dilemmas

might arise as these three groupings become BCCs.

3.3 Codes

In the case of the process of formation and reproduction of

discourse Bernstein's formulation offers a single conceptual frame for

dealing with production, recontextualizing and pedagogic practice. We

have used the concept of code and here we shall give Bernstein's

definition.

> "[Code is a] regulative principle, tacitly acquired which
> selects and integrates relevant meaning, the form of their
> realization and their evoking contexts."[17]

The variation in the values of classification and framing

generate different codes and their modalities.

forms of realization =	framing	= pedagogic practices
relevant meanings	= classification	= communicative practice
evoking context	$= {}^{+/-}C^{I/E}/{}^{+/-}F^{I/E}$	= communicative and pedagogic practices and context

In the field of pedagogic practice, we have a pedagogic context,

pedagogic discourse and a pedagogic practices. Their underlying code

will be given as ${}^{+/-}C/{}^{+/-}F$.

In the recontextualizing field, we expect to find a number of

pedagogic texts from which we will infer their underlying codes in

terms of ${}^{+/-}C/{}^{+/-}F$.

In the field of production of theological discourse, we have

forms of religious discourse which we will distinguish in terms of

their inclusion or exclusion of secular discourses. From this we

shall infer their classificatory values, and so, their discursive

codes which regulate legitimate (that is, relevant) meanings.

4 Overall Conclusions

We saw in Chapter One that research can be categorized as either structural accounts of the emergence of BCCs or output accounts which focused on creative religious and political practices of BCC members outside the BCC context. Neither model can generate a language of description capable of offering an account of the internal relations, practices or discourses of the BCC, nor their productions, transformations into pedagogic texts. We sought a model which could link macro and micro contexts and which could produce a language of description for the internal relations of the BCC.

We have decided to follow Bernstein's model of the construction of pedagogic discourse and his code theory, but the model had to be modified because of the particular field of discourse and the special character of the informal pedagogic practices in the BCC. We set out our language of description in terms of a model with four levels: production, recontextualization, pedagogic practice and initial pedagogic practice. These levels were described in terms of the specific field relations of the field of production of theological discourse, the recontextualizing field and the field of pedagogic practice of the BCC. Bernstein's theory of production and reproduction of discourse in pedagogic practice fulfilled the two minimal criteria for the theoretical framework given above.

Further, we followed Bernstein in formulating the codes of the various theological discourses (their principle of classification), and in formulating their codes of transmission as pedagogic practice in terms of variation in the strength of their classification and framing. We should point out that while these models lead directly to the nature of the empirical enquiry (the details of which we shall see in Chapter Three), the language of description does not pre-determine the outcome. That is, the hypotheses we offer on the basis of this language may well fail when we examine the data and the very language itself may have to be refined in order to describe the data.[18]

Diagram 2.1
        A Model of Informal Pedagogic Discourse and Practice

Levels
                                        Vatican
  Production   Symbolic
                                          │   Control
                                          ▼   Agencies
                         International Theological Field
                                                                        │
  Intellectual Field   ▼
  of the Social Sciences   Congregation for the
                                                        Doctrine of the Faith
                         Chilean Theological Field
                                                                        │
                                          │   ▼
                                          ▼   National Agencies of the
                                                        Chilean Catholic Church
                         Dominating Principles
                          [Theological Codes]
                                                                        │
  Recontextualization   │   Diocesan Agencies
                                          ▼
              Official Recontextualizing Field (OC)
                                          │
                 Official Pedagogic Discourse
                                          ▲
                                          ▼
              Pedagogic Recontextualizing Field (LT)
                                          │
                                         ID
                                         RD
                                          │
  BCC Pedagogic Practice   Local Agencies
                         ┌──────────────────────────┐
                         │   Transmitter   │   │
                         │   [Animators]   │   ▼
                         │   ▲   │
                         │   Pedagogic Discourse   │
                         │   ▼   │
                         │   Acquirers   │
                         │   [Members]   │
  Initial   └──────────────────────────┘
  Pedagogic Practice   Local Agencies

                                                                        │
  Recontextualizing   ▼
  Sites   Local Chapel ◄──┼──► Family Catechism   Local Agencies

                              Family/Community

NOTES for Chapter Two

[1]Bourdieu's early work which saw the school as a context for the reproduction of class relations from external contiguous fields (Bourdieu 1973, 1974, 1977b; Bourdieu and Passeron 1970) bore strong relation to other exponents of radical reproductionism like Bowles (1977) and Bowles and Gintis (1976, 1981). Harker (1990:98) signals the dangers in facile adoption of Bourdieu's theory beyond France because of the nearly mechanical relation it establishes between academic qualification and the expected labour market position the student, a social context which is particular to France. We reviewed also theories of resistance to class relations in education like the cultural theories of resistance of Willis (1977), of Giroux (1982; 1983a; 1983b) and of Jenkins (1983).

[2]"The only concepts available for the analysis of the form practices, and contents of educational agencies are concepts such as arbitrary authority, arbitrary communication, pedagogic authority, pedagogic communication, pedagogic work and habitus. There is no way, on the basis of such concepts that one can generate an empirical description of any specific agency of cultural production" (Bernstein 1990c:171).

[3]The relevance of research on popular education to our thesis is limited because of the distinguishing features of "projects" in popular education. The construction of pedagogic discourse of informal popular education may be inferred from the systematic analysis of the ideologies (international and national political origins) which eventually constitute specific education projects (García-Huidobro 1988). Based on the analysis of 100 projects, García-Huidobro argues that the pedagogic discourse of popular education is constituted by (a) specific project aims, (b) specific methodological orientations (generally, in terms of style and specifically, in terms of techniques), and (c) the relation between the education projects and subsequent action. Unlike in the case the BCC, the pedagogic discourse of popular education has been constructed explicitly by specialized agents/agencies who dominate the discourse, and it is this pedagogic discourse which ultimately orientates the pedagogic action of popular educators in the specific projects of popular education. The differences between pedagogic discourses of the specialized projects of popular education in Chile can be described in terms of their relation to the expressive or instrumental orders. Expressive order: in these projects the popular educator is an animator, education projects aim generally to celebrate and enhance popular culture to help create subjects with their culture specific identity, and they may seek to enhance individual or group esteem. Instrumental order: in these projects, the popular educator is either a transmitter of specific competence or knowledges or a social action project organizer, education projects seek to reposition the poor in relation to technological advances giving them greater access to the mystery of technology. In one study of one hundred popular education projects in Chile (Delpiano and Sanchez 1984; García-Huidobro 1988; García-Huidobro and Martinic 1985), 78 of the 100 projects evaluated by in one study operated on the basis of a structured pedagogic text (with specific contents and methodology and evaluation criteria of project assessment), and with a pre-determined number of meetings. Among the 100 cases studied, although a distinction may be made between those which were action projects (organizing a grassroots health care system) and enhancement education projects (focusing on change of consciousness

or the acquisition of knowledge), 73% of the cases developed working groups to carry out the specific aims of their education project. Thus, given the contrast between the explicit pedagogic features of these "projects" and the informality of BCCs together with the ambiguity of BCC aims which we shall see later, popular education research has been of limited benefit in understanding our research.

[4]See Appendix for Chapter Two for a review of relevant criticism of Bernstein's theory.

[5]We shall follow Bourdieu's definition of 'field' as does Bernstein. The concept of field has specific bearing on the description of the relations between agents/agencies engaged in the multiple transformations of religious discourse in terms of their specific functions. At its most abstract level, a field results from relations of force between agents/agencies in struggle for types of power, i.e. political, economic or cultural. The various classes in a field have won and defend positional space in which they have a degree of power and marketability, whether that power is political, economic or cultural or religious. Those who dominate the field have the means of making it work to their advantage, but they have to contend with the resistance of the dominated. The dominant groups can annul resistance, neutralizing the relations of force, in which case the field becomes an apparatus.

[6]Dominant educational discourses, articulated by the State through a range of dependent agencies, ultimately arise out of the relation between three fields: the Field of Production, the Field of Symbolic Control and the Field of the State (Bernstein 1990c:197). See Cox 1984 for an application of Bernstein's theory to public policy toward education in Chile from 1964-73. Cox's selection and definition of fields follows Bernstein closely (Cox 1984:25-27).

[7]'Marginalized cultural practices' refers to the range of individual and collective forms of popular religiosity and other everyday practices which may be introduced into theological texts in ethnographic accounts which describe their processes, agents, and discourses.

[8]Bernstein 1977:138; Bernstein 1988b; Bernstein 1990a:128.

[9]Agencies of symbolic control function not only at the level of production of discourse, but also at the levels of recontextualization and pedagogic practice.

[10]Since the functions of symbolic control, which regulate the production of theological discourse, emanate from agents/agencies within the Catholic Church, we cannot refer to a 'field' of symbolic control. In the field of production of discourse agents/agencies of the Catholic Church are its apparatus of control at the international level or as mediated by the Chilean Catholic Church. However, at the levels of recontextualizing and pedagogic practice of the BCC, we have discovered field relations where agencies of symbolic control of Catholic Church are engaged in specific contests.

[11]The Faculty of Theology of the Catholic University of Chile enjoys a great degree of power in Chile because of its Vatican Charter.

[12]Family Catechism is a religious education program to prepare for eight year-old children for their first communion which is administered in all areas of the Archdiocese of Santiago irrespective of social class. This twenty-four month course of weekly meetings has a two parallel components with specific pedagogic aims: (1) meetings of small groups of parents with a monitor assigned by the local chapel whose aims

are the religious socialization of the parents and the preparation of the children's home lesson, and (2) the subsequent home lesson given by the parents to their child.

[13]In the theory, the Official Recontextualizing Field is constituted by many positions in relations of competition and tension (Bernstein 1990c:192), but here there is only one, OC theology.

[14]We are not using that part of the model which deals with how the acquirer acquires the classification and framing principles through recognition and realization rules. We recognize that the principles of classification and framing are learned as recognition and realization rules. We recognize that an acquirer acquires the principle of classification (boundary) through recognition rules which distinguishes a context and give its position and specialization with respect to other contexts. Further, we recognize also that an acquirer acquires the principle of framing (interaction) through specific realization rules for what counts as legitimate communication/discourse and so the range of possible texts (Bernstein 1990b:35). In our case, BCC members do learn how to distinguish 'markers' between BCC and other contexts, and within a given BCC members will 'talk' in a given range of possible texts. In the chapters on BCC talk, we will be interested not in how these rules are acquired, but in the actual texts to which they give rise, in describing the recognition and realization rules more than how members acquire them.

[15]Bernstein 1990b:24.

[16]By determining previous religious socialization as a fundamental variable of the sample of BCCs together with their degree of marginality, we sought to give significance to this 'recontextualizing' and evaluate the difference it produces at the level of BCC talk itself.

[17]Bernstein 1990b:14.

[18]The language of description of the talk will depart from the theory when we come to the actual BCC talk. The categories of description of BCC secondary discourses will be given in Chapter Seven, where we will use the concepts of representation and strategy to explore our problem. These concepts are more effective for our purposes, that is, more useful than Bernstein's concept of code. We shall be discussing in Chapters Eight to Eleven how BCC members see their world, its problems and how they deal with them as this is articulated in their talk. Bernstein's code theory was not designed to throw light on these issues and so was not relevant.

Appendix for Chapter Two

Review of Relevant Criticism of Bernstein

Bernstein's evolving educational project (with specific but not exclusive relation to education) may be considered a search for a system of rules which explain the relation between external configurations of power (boundaries, classifications and distributions) and how those external configurations are realized within a given distribution. Bernstein seeks to discover the relation of differentiation and stratification to forms of consciousness and practices of subjects in a given distribution of power. The debate about his work has centered on sociolinguistic codes where the criticism has been charged with such ambiguity that it has increased the opaqueness of problems like the relation between code and culture, code and social reproduction or code and discourse. The criticism of Bernstein's thesis on the educational field has been largely "Gestalt-like" totalizations which have focused on its being "deterministic", rather than exploring the degree of internal coherence of the concepts and meanings of the theory.[1]

The initial phase of Bernstein's work focused on class differences in primary socialization, issues of educability and social class with specific reference to the problem of working-class school failure. Here Bernstein examined the relation between the "official transmission system in a school" and "the local acquisition processes of the family" which gave rise to Bernstein's notion of communication and knowledge codes, which in turn sparked the "Gestalt-like" criticism of "Bernstein's determinism". The 'deficit/disadvantage/difference' issue (more an invention by others based upon Bernstein's work) was criticized on these grounds by Dittmar (1976), Gordon (1981), Keddie (1973) and Labov (1969, 1972).[2] And the 'language difference' thesis in general was criticized strongly by Stubbs (1976, 1983, 1986). Atkinson (1981, 1985) and Halliday (1978) offer considerable reinterpretations of Bernstein which attempted to defend Bernstein's work against the determinist critique. The intensity of this initial debate should not lead us to overestimate the position of the "educability issue" in Bernstein's

48

overall corpus, especially given his evolving program. We are not concerned in the thesis with the language theory.

After these early formulations and their criticisms, the main lines of criticism of Bernstein's work, disputed by Bernstein himself (1990a:113-130), focused on the issues of empirical unverifiability of the theory and its general conceptual imprecision (Edwards 1991).

For example, King et al. criticized the unverifiability of aspects of Bernstein's code theory in the microprocesses of the classroom, taking aim particularly at Bernstein's notion of invisible pedagogy (Jackson 1974; Kenneth 1976; King 1979, 1981). King et al. expressed confusion concerning the exact meaning of the concept of framing.

Bernstein's overall program to link position and disposition may be seen clearly in his research to link the microprocesses in the classroom and macro structural constraints through the code theory. This work has come under criticism for espousing a structuralism which underestimated the subject in descriptions of the educational context and its processes. Gibson's considerable criticism of Bernstein has focused on codes and other conceptual matters (Gibson 1977, 1978, 1984, 1986). Here the critic has largely ignored the Bernstein's 1981 paper which delicately clarified the relation between levels of his theoretical model (the relation micro-macro) choosing instead to focus on what he calls 'Bernstein's structuralism'. At the same time, Gibson's critique of Bernstein's structuralism was linked to another criticism: the reification of concepts. The criticism is made that Bernstein invests structures with causal power, "... causing actions to take place ..." (Gibson 1977). Thus, the concepts which Bernstein uses to describe those structures (code, classification and framing) are reified and given causal force. Bernstein's has offered a sensible and clear refutation of these criticisms (1990a:113-130).

Yet in spite of the criticisms, the concepts of classification and framing were tested by Daniels (1988) and Jenkins (1989), and appeared also in other research (Hatton 1985; Middleton 1987). In contrast to King et al., the findings in these cases, based on systematically gathered empirical data, were predicted generally by the theory. More germane to our thesis is the research using the

49

model of pedagogic discourse we have presented in Chapter Two. The
model was applied to three different settings with some success: to
science achievement in schools in Portugal by Domingos (1988), and in
Latin America to the pedagogic discourse in primary education in
Colombia by Diaz (1984, 1985) and to government education policy in
Chile by Cox (1985). Cox sought the describe the construction of
pedagogic discourse in two successive governments in Chile between
1964 and 1973 with its dilemmas and conflicts. These research
projects encouraged our thesis, especially in the linking of the macro
and micro levels.

Gibson (1984) claims that the verbs used by Bernstein's to show
the relation between structure and consciousness or structure and
classroom practice or structures and orders of meaning only exacerbate
the problem of imprecision: to regulate, to shape, to give rise to, to
constrain, etc. This is refuted by Bernstein (1990a:113-130). A
criticism remains with respect to Bernstein's language in that the
problem may not be one of conceptual imprecision, but of obscurity in
the exposition. Bernstein's exposition in terms of level of
abstraction and style have been criticized generally as tough-going by
his most recent reviewer (Edwards 1991), and it may be the case that
its opaqueness, far from being a mere stylistic obstacle, may have
been a determinant of the interpretation and misinterpretation of
Bernstein's work. This problem of stylistic opaqueness is recognized
by Bernstein himself. This opaqueness must not be confused with
conceptual imprecision. This intensive criticism, arising we believe
out of the confusion of conceptual imprecision and stylistic
opaqueness, must not blind the critic to Bernstein's overall
intellectual project. We consider this intellectual project to be
principally interrogatory. Bernstein claims in his response to
critics that "his primary concern has been, and remains, 'the initial
generation of suggestive, sensitizing theoretical schemes at the
highest level of generality'" (Bernstein 1990a:133). Bernstein's
theory tends to focus research rather than to define concepts, "the
heuristic and dynamic value of his ideas than in specifying definitive
versions of them" (Atkinson 1985:13 in Edwards 1991:273). Thus, it
may be most apt to interpret Bernstein's work as a heuristic device.
Bernstein's work may be best described as a set of heuristic models
which are rooted in metaphors about the relation of social structures

and institutions to microprocesses of the school, and ultimately of their relation to human consciousness.

NOTES for Appendix to Chapter Two

[1]Bernstein's own recent summary of the lines of criticism can be found in *Class, Codes and Control 4* (1990).

[2]See Bernstein's most recent rebuttal to Labov (Bernstein 1990a:113-130) where the author criticizes Labov's misreading which "transforms difference into deficit" (p.115).

Chapter Three

Research Design and Methods

Introduction

The aim of our investigation is to describe forms of symbolic control through religious discourse at the levels of the creation of its discourse, its recontextualization and as a popular pedagogic practice. As we have seen in Chapter One, research produced about the BCC has been limited to macro social levels with little reference given to the micro processes of BCCs themselves. Our fundamental purpose is to contribute to the knowledge concerning the BCC as a pedagogic context. No research has drawn near to the micro context of the BCC, to the subject-participants as they engage in the interactions of the pedagogic context. We shall be studying in detail the pedagogic practices in Basic Christian Communities in marginalized urban sectors of Santiago as participants deal with problems from their everyday lives and as they discuss *repertoires* of strategies.

The *Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Educación (CIDE)* in Santiago, a centre for research and development in education, which sponsored the researcher during the period of field work, represents a tradition in Latin America which has brought specialized qualitative and quantitative research competences to bear on a variety of pedagogic contexts, both in schools but especially in informal educational contexts.[1] *CIDE* researchers sensitized the researcher to investigative methods and their delicate relation to informal pedagogic contexts and to the nuances of popular culture.[2]

Utility has been the single criteria in the selection of the theoretical framework and investigative methods. The validity of the theory will be determined on the grounds of the utility of the language of description which is derived from it, especially its ability to describe both macro and micro social contexts and their relations. Bernstein's theory allows us to bring to our research object the 'structuralist' and 'interactionist' analogies of everyday life (Gonos 1977; Cox 1984). The thesis will test the validity of the theory's language of description and the investigative methods; a test

which will be particularly crucial when we consider the pedagogic context of the BCC. Here, our methods will have to show how religious discourse interpenetrates, or not, social representations of problems and *repertoires* of strategies for their solution.

In this chapter we shall introduce the research project and discuss the investigative methods utilized. We shall discuss the natural history of the research in terms of the suitability and feasibility of investigative methods in the three fields of the research, set out the methods of data analysis, and discuss issues arising out of the research.

1 Natural History of Research

Our field work and data collection were specific to the fields which we discussed in Chapter Two. The type of data to be collected was specified, and the conditions for its collection were set out according to the requisites of the conditions in each field: the field of production of theological discourse, the recontextualizing field, and the field of pedagogic practice of the BCC. Given the differences in terms of contexts, agents, discourses and practices, we realized that the data to be collected and the form of their collection would vary greatly among the fields.

1.1 Field of Production of Theological Discourse

In this field, three research methods were used, (a) textual analysis, (b) structured individual interview which were audio-recorded (See Appendix to this chapter), and (c) description of centres of production of discourse.

1.1.1 Textual Analysis

Theological texts representative of the three theological positions were selected with special attention to the liberation theological texts. Throughout this phase of the research, we endeavored to 'construct the documentary reality' of the field of production of discourse. The work of prominent Latin American

liberation theologians (Boff and Gutiérrez) and their commentators
were reviewed in order to gain familiarity with the most important
exponents of liberationist theologies. A wide range of theological
texts in different forms of publication of Chilean theologians of
different theological positions were also selected (Montes and Noemi
[OC], Aldunate and Muñoz [CL], Torrez and Castillo [PL]).

Textual analysis sought to make two crucial determinations. The
first discrimination of texts was based on the presence or absence of
concepts from the social sciences which enabled us to determine
orthodox-conciliar discourse (OC). A second discrimination was more
delicate where we established criteria of differentiation between
political (PL) and cultural (CL) liberation theologies. For example,
whereas Castillo (PL) refers to 'sub-proliteriado urbano', Muñoz (CL)
refers to 'los marginados de nuestro pueblo'. Careful textual
analysis of the field of production of theological discourse was
crucial to the determination of their code modalities. This phase of
the field work allowed us to determine the principal code modalities
as positions in the Chilean theological field.

1.1.2   Interviews of Theologians and Social Scientists

In this phase of the research we identified dominant figures in
the Chilean theological field and the intellectual field of the social
sciences. In the Chilean theological field, we identified theologians
in formal and informal centres who represented different positions in
the field of production of discourse (see above). We selected six
theologians as representative of three crucial field positions: OC, PL
and CL theologies. A structured interview was undertaken with each
theologian.[3]

A second group of interviews was conducted with academics in the
intellectual field.[4] The relation of the Chilean theological field to
the Chilean intellectual field of the social sciences was of crucial
importance. We decided upon a sample of nine representatives from the
Chilean intellectual field of the social sciences: three each from
sociology, economics and politics/political science. We endeavored to
ensure that each of the three represented different positions in their

54

respective disciplines. The range of positions was given by features particular to the discipline.

The political scientists represented different positions in the political spectrum from moderate left (renovated socialist) to the centre right (christian democratic party). The economists represented positions from the radical free market position to moderate mixed economy position. With respect to sociologists, we had to determine initially those agents who attributed any significance to religion as a social force. Within that group, we sought to determine those who were interested and informed about the relation between theology and sociology. Within this further reduced group, we were able to differentiate among the sociologists in terms of how they saw the relation between sociology and theology.

In total, fifteen individual interviews were carried out (with six theologians and nine social scientists) during the period of field work in the field of production of theological discourse (See Appendix to this chapter).

1.1.3   Centres of Production of Theological Discourse

An analysis was made of the major centres for the production of theological discourse. This involved a study of the department of theology of the Catholic University of Chile in the case of OC and two informal centres in the case of liberationist theologies. In this analysis we focused on the degree of specialization of agents, their practices, discourses, their relation to external agencies and their autonomy from the agencies of symbolic control of the Catholic Church.

1.2   Recontextualizing Field

Here the original intention was to identify the pedagogic discourse produced by this field and examine the agencies/agents who were responsible for the pedagogic texts. To our surprise we found that there is neither an official recontextualizing field nor a pedagogic recontextualizing field producing a series of texts for use by BCCs. Only three pedagogic texts of any significance were found.[5]

These texts were analyzed according to their "+-C^{IE}/F^I" values, and their authors were interviewed. Two interviews were held with individual authors and one was held with a production team associated with the *Centro Ecuménico Diego de Medellín*.[6] Although we could not identify recontextualizing fields (in the sense of an explicit set of specialized positions/agencies/agents whose function was to construct the pedagogic discourse for BCCs) there are however official agencies which develop policy for BCCs, but these policies do not develop a specific pedagogic discourse. We shall analyze these policies and their general implications in Chapter Four.

1.3 Field of Pedagogic Practice of the BCC

In the field of pedagogic practice we were concerned to examine the detailed pattern of social interaction in the pedagogic context of the BCC. We sought to offer a description of the 'religious codes' as informal pedagogic practices. Unlike the other two fields, in the BCC texts are spoken, not written; 'authorship' is always collective, not individual; and rules for textual production are implicit. Thus, since they are implicit, the dominant codes in these pedagogic contexts must be inferred by the researcher on the basis of transcriptions of BCC talk.

In order to be in a position to make such inferences, the researcher was an observer: this method rests on the principle that the data arises out of the researcher's observation of the social world and reflection upon the texts observed. We sought to examine the organizational, communicative and interactive practices of BCCs. Following Gold's (1958) four-fold classification of social roles in field research, our field role was a combination of 'observer as participant' and 'complete observer', characterized by their high degree of detachment and objectivity. Our social role in the field research was 'observer in the context', neither covert (as the complete observer role demands by definition), as we were seated within the circle during the BCC meetings, nor participatory (as participant observation requires), as our presence was silent for the most part.

The investigation into the BCC pedagogic practices did have 'trace markers' of ethnography, but our field investigation into the BCCs was restricted to specific practices enacted in the BCC context. It did not have features which would have distinguished it as valid ethnography, in terms of research intention nor in terms of field role.[7] Our purpose was not to gather information about the everyday life of BCC members, but to be in a position to do field observation of the range of ways in which everyday life was made available for discussion in the BCC context. We did not seek to verify our observation of BCC pedagogic practices by a triangulation of members' talk in contexts external to the BCC. Thus, in a way uncharacteristic of valid ethnography, the specificity of the research problem and the research site precluded the openness of the ethnographic attitude toward the full range of everyday contexts. We were concerned specifically with the pedagogic relation between animator and members, and with the talk to which that relation gave rise in terms of meanings and in terms of the conflicts, tensions and competition in that relation.

We shall now discuss specific features of the field research: (1) the selection of the sample; (2) the account of initial contact with the BCCs and the negotiation of access; (3) the pilot study; (4) methods for recording the sample of BCC meetings; (5) stages of observation of the BCCs. We shall discuss also the period of data analysis, and reflect on two crucial issues arising out of the research.

1.3.1 Selection of BCC Sample and Setting

From our survey of the literature it was clear that the differences between BCCs, that is, in the orientation of their talk and problems, arose from differences in the degree of marginality of their members and in the religious socialization of the members. By the latter we are referring to whether or not BCC members had experienced as a group the family catechism program or other specialized course.[8] Thus, although our sample would necessarily be small it could be nonetheless representative of the major types of BCCs.[9] Further, from our theory we expected that the degree of marginality would have a bearing upon the modality of religious

discourse and that previous religious socialization might act to modify the influence of marginality. That is, within the same degree of marginality previous religious socialization might have an independent influence upon BCC talk, problems and strategies for dealing with the problems. These considerations led to the following sample design.

Diagram 3.1

Previous Religious Socialization

	Two BCCs	Two BCCs	
Low Marginality			High Marginality
	Two BCCs	Two BCCs	

No Previous Religious Socialization
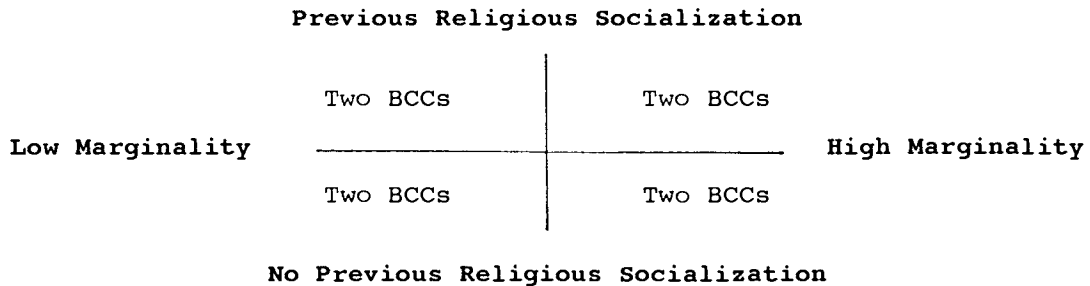
The composition of the sample on the bases of degrees of marginality directed us toward specific neighborhoods. Two sectors of Santiago are characterized by different degrees of marginality, Cerro Navia has high marginality and Ñuñoa has low marginality. The municipalities of Ñuñoa and Cerro Navia were located in distinct administrative areas of the Archdiocese of Santiago, the former in the Eastern Zone and the latter in the Western Zone. Differences in social class are given in terms of degrees of marginality rather than in terms of gross differences because BCCs are found almost exclusively in sectors of marginality (Valdivieso 1989).[10] The BCCs of low marginality are located in Ñuñoa and BCCs of high marginality are located in Cerro Navia. The selection of sample in terms of previous religious socialization was made subsequently. In Chapter Six we shall provide a profile of BCC members in comparison to major quantitative studies.

1.3.2 Account of Initial Contact and Negotiation of Access

Access to BCCs was negotiated over two five-week periods in June 1988 (access to BCCs in pilot study) and in July 1988 (access to BCCs in research) in which the researcher visited BCCs most evenings. These initial periods of access negotiation were protracted because we

did not wish to approach the BCCs by a formal avenue, i.e., on the basis of a formal letter of presentation from a powerful 'gatekeeper' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:63) like the local religious personnel. Colleagues at *CIDE* considered that given the informality of the BCC context the more informal the avenue of approach, the less a researcher is considered to be an intruder. An introduction of the researcher to the local religious personnel was sought only afterwards. In fact, throughout the period of field work the contact of the researcher with the local religious personnel was periodic but infrequent. In the period of access negotiation, the researcher contacted many people not directly involved with the BCCs under consideration to gain information about possible sites.

This lack of contact with the local religious personnel should not be confused with the classic investigative dilemma in educational field research between researcher collusion with teachers and researcher collusion with teachers.[11] In our case, local religious personnel are at a considerable distance from the BCCs to be of significance. However, the issue of researcher collusion could be of some significance if the researcher were to have associated inordinately with the animator outside the BCC context rather than with the members. In fact, this scenario was scrupulously avoided from the outset of the field work. Given the 'face-to-face' quality of these BCCs, the researcher exercised great caution in the initial meetings, i.e., 'speaking only when spoken to'. In the initial phase of access negotiation, we had to be sure not to develop 'over-rapport' (Gold 1958) with either animators or members whom we found to be quite open, nor make any statement which might bring the researcher into competition with the animator.

Access to BCCs of High Marginality

By initially visiting different local chapels and then attending an eight-week formation course offered to BCC animators and members of the Western Zone,[12] invitations were received by the researcher to visit different BCCs, a process which gradually led to the final selection of the four highly marginalized BCCs. The formation course became a 'platform' from which to cultivate contacts with BCC

animators and members. Before visiting the BCC, the researcher
attended Sunday Mass in the local chapel in order to get a feel for
the overall chapel discourse.[13]

Access to BCCs of Low Marginality

Initial access was gained through the local religious personnel
with administrative responsibility for Church activities in a large
area of Ñuñoa. The researcher had made the acquaintance of these
religious personnel in 1984. Then, through their introduction, direct
contacts in the local chapel, i.e., attending Sunday mass and
negotiating directly with BCC animators, and thereby access was gained
more quickly to the BCCs of low marginality. Two BCCs of low
marginality from the pilot study continued in the research; they were
the educational BCCs, **Justice** and **John XXIII**.

1.3.3 Pilot Study of Observation in BCCs

During the period of one month (July 1988), a small-scale pilot
study was carried out in order to (a) evaluate the overall feasibility
of the research, (b) determine and become more familiar with methods,
and (c) evaluate the appropriateness of the theoretical model and the
language of description derived from the theory. A certain "pace" was
established in the field work during the pilot period in order to
"simulate" a demanding work load in order to determine the sheer
feasibility of such a project. Seven BCCs from the less marginalized
sector of Ñuñoa were part of the pilot study. Over four weeks, each
BCC was visited at least twice. Five full meetings were audiotaped
and significant effort dedicated to improving the technique of
recording field notes.

At the end of the pilot period (July 1988), due to his working
visit to Santiago, several review meetings were held with Professor
Bernstein. Together, we had the opportunity to visit each field site
under consideration in Cerro Navia and Ñuñoa. A comprehensive field
review of the pilot study was undertaken. On the basis of the
evaluation, several determinations were made:

(a)   the fundamental model was judged to be appropriate

(b)   the overall pace of the field work while rigorous, was feasible

(c)   the fundamental variables of the sample of BCCs (according to degree of marginality and previous religious socialization) gave rise to some promising initial differences in transcribed talk from BCC meeting[14]

(d)   a pattern of three episodes was detected in the BCC meetings across the sample, and it was determined that it might be of considerable importance for the subsequent analysis

(e)   the format of the summary sheet for a BCC meeting was established

(f)   the focus of the field notes was adjusted to concentrate on the interactive and organizational features of the meetings

(g)   the details of the process of audio-taping was reviewed

The initial collection of data in the pilot period played a great role in the verification of our model of interpretation and methods of observation.

For the duration of the period of field research (until June 1989), except for the month of February 1989, observation and audio-taping of the BCCs was undertaken. However, during the meeting the observer always remained seated within the circle of members during the meeting, being careful never to sit next to the animator. In some BCCs the researcher was obliged to speak in each meeting in order to comply with the fundamental principle of the interactive practice of some BCC, i.e., 'in our BCC everybody gets the chance to speak'.

1.3.4   Methods of Recording the Sample of BCC Meetings

In the field of pedagogic practice of the BCCs, the following investigative methods were undertaken.

Audio recording

Meetings were audiotaped in a periodic fashion always leaving a month or so between recorded meetings. One exception was made to this

61

rule. Given the importance of the National Referendum in Chile in 1989, we decided to record one meeting from each BCC on a date which fell within a few weeks before or after the National Referendum in order to see how political talk would be affected.

Summary Sheet

In order to record specific features of the meeting, a summary sheet was used in the twenty-seven meetings where field notes were taken (See Appendix for this chapter). The summary sheet was a catalogue of information concerning attendance, starting and closing times, duration of meeting, length of episodes, location of meeting, absentees, pedagogic text used, biblical text used, songs.

Field Notes

Ongoing notes were taken during the BCC meeting. We recorded observations with respect to the physical arrangement of persons and objects, degree of animator preparation, relation of the researcher to the group, degree of intensity of the ritual markers of episodes, flow of the meeting, irruption of side conversations, length of prayer, moments of tension or open argument where a 'breach' (Turner in Burgess 1982:252) of pedagogic practice occurred were described in some detail, trying to record indicators of atmosphere and mood (the fact sheet is included in the Appendix for this chapter).

1.3.5 Stages of Observation in BCC Sample

We will now set out the four stages in which the investigative methods and devices were introduced to the BCCs. The work of observation developed gradually through four discernible stages.

Stage One

The researcher participates in the first BCC meeting, speaking openly only when addressed, careful to give responses which are moderate and anecdotal keeping references to external contexts to a minimum. In this initial phase he functioned as a more active participant observer. Thus, speaking was restricted to the initial episode of these BCC meetings.

Stage Two

At the end of the third or fourth meeting, researcher asks to speak, offering a minimal explanation of the research project, and solicits the participation of the BCC. From this point forward, researcher becomes a predominantly silent observer, remaining silent during most of the meeting for the duration of the period of field work.

Stage Three

The researcher continues to attend meetings in periodically, but asks permission to take field notes during regular meetings.

Stage Four

Having demonstrated the tape recorder and special unobtrusive microphone at the end of the previous meeting, researcher now becomes fully engaged in both aspects of the field work relating to the BCCs: the taking of field notes, and audiotaping the full BCC meeting.

Interviews

Interviews were administered to thirty-two of the eighty members,[15] to the animators of the eight BCCs,[16] to the four religious personnel responsible for the local chapels of the BCCs,[17] and to the two local bishops responsible for the Eastern and Western Zones of the Archdiocese of Santiago.[18]. Thus, during the period of field work, a total of forty-six (46) in-depth interviews were audio-recorded among animators and members. The number and selection of interviewees was constrained by travel and poor communication.

From June 1988 until June 1989, over the whole period of the research (including the pilot study), approximately one hundred visits were made. Of those visits, seventy-three visits were highly informal,[19] field notes were gathered during thirty meetings,[20] and of those thirty meetings, twenty-two were audiotaped.[21]

2 Data Analysis

A total of twenty-two BCC meetings and sixty-four interviews
(from all fields) were audiotaped and transcribed in Santiago; more
than 1.500 pages of transcribed material were obtained from the BCC
meetings alone. Upon returning to London in June 1989 at the end of
the fourteenth-month period of field work in Santiago, the task of
data analysis began. The sheer volume of the transcribed data,
especially of the BCC meetings, and the tedium of bringing it under
some control was daunting.

The data analysis of the texts in the field of production of
theological discourse was straightforward because of the nature of the
texts under consideration. Because of the virtual absence of
pedagogic texts for BCCs in the recontextualizing fields, our analysis
concentrated on policy documents of official agencies of the Catholic
Church. The data gathered in the field of pedagogic practice of the
BCC has been subjected to different analyses.

    (1) Communicative practice was determined in terms of:

        (a) the frequency, orientation of secondary discourses
        and forms of realization

        (b) the frequency, orientation of religious discourse and
        forms of realization

In these processes, BCC talk was classified according to type of
discourse: domestic, church, economic, political and religious. Then,
within each type of talk the search began for significant similarities
and differences across the sampled BCCs in terms of our categories of
analysis. The description of the categories of analysis of the BCC
talk will be given in Chapters Seven and Twelve.

    (2) An analysis was made of the forms of interaction
        between members and members and animators

    (3) An analysis was made of the organizational practice
        of the BCC, eg., how time was periodized, the
        location of the meetings and their arrangement

It is important to mention that the research has concentrated on
the communicative practices far more than on the interactive or
organizational ones. As we shall see, Parts II and III of the thesis
are devoted to a description of those communicative practices.

3 Issues Arising out of the Research

In this section we shall discuss two features of the project which are open issues: the effect of the researcher on the researched and the translation of BCC transcripts.

3.1 The Effect of the Researcher

We had thought originally that being a "Jesuit field researcher" in a religious context would pose grave obstacles to the reliability of the research findings. We had thought initially that we should have a more neutral field assistant. These initial field work anxieties of the researcher were not shared by professional researchers in *CIDE*. To our great surprise, few reservations arose with respect to this issue among experienced field researchers at *CIDE* in Santiago, the sponsoring institution for the research. During the period of the pilot study (July and August 1988), the issue of the influence of being an 'American', being a 'priest' and being a 'Jesuit' were the subjects of lengthy conversations with field researchers at *CIDE* and other research centres in Santiago.

The evaluation of *CIDE* researchers was based on their long experience in the field as popular educators and as researchers. Frequently, they compared their research project to ours. Several research colleagues considered that "an American priest" was an insignificant influence when compared to the degree of influence of Chilean field researchers, grassroots teachers, popular education professionals or 'external experts' in informal education projects who bring specific competences to be taught, and thus, have power over the researched.[22] Strangely, rather than express strong reservations about reliability of data gathered by a "priest researcher", colleagues considered it a practical advantage. Some colleagues with vast experience in field research considered that being a *gringo* priest was a liability during the period of access negotiation because BCC gatekeepers might feel threatened rather than members. However, it was considered also that being a 'foreigner' was an asset in the

medium and long term since participants in the research project would be more open to a person from overseas.

Colleagues remarked also that if our field research had been based on a project where BCC members were gathered in order to participate in a specialized meeting at an unfamiliar site controlled by the researcher, then the influence of religious identity might be considerable since the priest-researcher would have called the meeting. Three features of our research were underscored as positive by *CIDE* researchers:

(a) the context of the research (an informal context established by the pedagogic practices of animator and members)

(b) its methodology (silent observation in context)

(c) the self-description of the researcher as a learner and visitor who was not brokering any kind of power inside the BCC since he did not offer specific competences like a popular educator

For these reasons, colleagues considered that the influence of religious identity would not give rise to significant shifts in the social relations in the BCC. Based upon an initial analysis of the BCC talk, several of its surface features led us to consider that neither animators nor members were 'overly-constrained' by the presence of the 'priest-researcher':

(a) thinly veiled *double-entendre*
(b) outright 'dirty jokes' (*chistes cochinos*)
(c) open disagreements
(d) complaints about local religious personnel
(e) chapel politics: 'who's in' and 'who's out'
(f) meetings with no religious markers,
          i.e., the sign of the cross
(g) meetings with no biblical reading or
          periods of prayer

3.1.1 Presentation of the Researcher

The presentation of the researcher consisted in self-description and physical presentation. The self-description of the researcher established him as a learner with respect to the BCC. At no time did the researcher evaluate any aspect of the BCCs, i.e., what they should be talking about, what they should be doing. The researcher

introduced himself as a Jesuit from the United States who was in Chile to learn about the BCCs. The role of 'acceptable incompetent' was nurtured constantly in the BCCs. This intensive 'impression management' covered personal appearance as well; dress was always informal and the same clothing was used for all meetings of a particular BCC over the period of the field work so as not to attract undue attention.

As we analyzed the initial encounters, both with individuals and in the BCC the researcher was referred to frequently as '*el gringo que anda de visita por las comunidades*' irrespective of the specific features of our self-description. The researcher was identified as a *gringo* and as a visitor.

3.1.2 Presentation of Researcher by BCC Members to 'Outsiders'

In informal settings outside the BCC meeting we observed that high status accrued to the BCCs being studied in their chapels, especially among the highly marginalized. After the field research was well underway in the BCCs, animator and members would introduce me to outsiders as the '*gringo hace un estudio sobre las comunidades con nosotros*'. The researcher became a message system for members to position themselves with respect to others in contexts outside the BCC, a kind of trophy displayed before others.

It is clear from this that the BCCs did see themselves as special, if not privileged. What effect this perceived change in their status had on their talk and interaction in the BCC meetings cannot be known. Perhaps more crucial was the effect of my presence on the animator who controlled the meeting. It can only be hoped that the very large number of meetings attended informally and formally (taking field notes and audio-taping) helped to establish the researcher as part of the background of the meeting rather than as a person for whom a special display was called for.

67

3.2 Translation

Although I am a very competent speaker and writer of Latin
American spanish, both in its academic and idiomatic forms, this
thesis produced a number of formidable problems especially in the
translation of the BCC transcripts (Hatim and Mason 1990). Here,
unlike the interviews where individuals had time to consider their
responses and the questions rarely required them to make new
formulations, the talk in the BCCs flowed often quite quickly. In the
BCC meetings, members were thinking on their feet often in the grip of
tensions, or relief of tension. Here the talk became idiomatic with
local metaphors and allusions. The speech rhythms were sometimes
influenced by their contents especially in the case of the religious
discourse. As the members know each well the speech was also
condensed with implicit meanings and references. What is silent, that
is, not spoken is part of the meeting, but not of the transcript. All
this raises formidable problems, even for a native speaker - let alone
for a non-indigenous translator. Particularly where it is not
possible to check the translation systematically with the original
speakers, nor to check it systematically with other native speakers
(consider simply the size of the corpus and the background knowledge
required to introduce the transcripts). The issue of translation is
not only crucial to the reading and evaluation of the thesis but it
was crucial to the process of supervision as my supervisor had little
competence in Latin American and especially Chilean spanish, was
unable to listen profitably to the audiotapes and so was totally
reliant upon my translation. We endeavored to capture always the
letter and spirit of the utterance. The researcher regularly
consulted *CIDE* researchers to check the meanings of idiomatic
expressions. All that can be said here is that the translation was
carried out as faithfully as my competence allowed and every attempt
was made to capture the integrity of the text, despite the grammatical
and semantic filter which necessarily mediated the translation. The
issues of the loss of the para-linguistics of the speakers, imposed
punctuations or dislocations common to transcripts are a minor problem
compared to the issues we have raised.

4 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, we have set out the design of the research, the methods used and we have discussed issues arising out of the design and methods. We give a summary in terms of the three fields.

Field of Production:
(a)   textual analysis of modalities of religious discourse
(b)   structured interview of their authors
(c)   description of theological centres of their production

Recontextualizing Fields:
(a)   textual analysis of pedagogic discourse
(b)   policy document analysis of official Catholic texts
(c)   structured interview of their authors

Field of Pedagogic Practice of the BCC:
(a)   observation
(b)   field notes
(c)   audio-recording of BCC meetings
(d)   structured interview of animators and members

We consider that the above methods have 'put the researcher in a position' to describe the three fields in our study. Our methods generated qualitative data which will be described in terms of a single language of description derived from complementary theories (Bernstein and Bourdieu).

In Part II of thesis which follows we shall apply our language of description to the fields of our concern.

NOTES for Chapter Three

[1]*CIDE* was a sponsoring agency for this research. It is an independent educational centre founded in 1964 and sponsored originally by the Archdiocese of Santiago and since 1988 by the Society of Jesus. It began as a centre for social promotion through grassroots education in the mid 60s. Then, small-scale research was carried out on its own programs in order to come to a greater understanding of informal education and to begin to measure its effects. During 1986, the researcher was offered the possibility of carrying out the field work with the support of *CIDE*. Over the years, the centre has offered support to many research students. This support provided an office, duplicating and computer facilities, transcribing of audiotapes and valuable periodic interaction with the ten full-time researchers in

CIDE. During the stay in *CIDE* in 1988-1989, I also had the opportunity to work on a project concerned with educational demand which focused on the social representations of education in popular culture. A paper has been published from this work (Swope 1990) and a co-authored book will soon be appearing (Cariola et al. 1992). Upon completion of the thesis, the researcher will return to Chile to be a full-time research fellow in *CIDE*. Professor Bernstein has been invited to *CIDE* on several occasions, and is familiar with its researchers, its projects and aims, and has directed other students who were sponsored by *CIDE*.

[2]Leonor Cariola and Sergio Martinic are full-time researchers in *CIDE*, and they offered indispensable assistance in this respect.

[3]During the period of project development in 1988 in London, structured interviews were developed and were to be undertaken during the period of work in Chile. A specific interview was developed for the researched in the three fields: for theologians and social scientists in the field of production of theological discourse, for agents/agencies in the recontextualizing field and for bishops, local religious personnel, animators and members in the field of pedagogic practice of the BCC. The interview with the theologians focused upon the following areas: academic training, description of positions in the Chilean theological field and their appraisal, the relation of the theological field to the intellectual field, the mission of the Catholic Church, recontextualizing field and the field of pedagogic practice of the BCCs. Because of concern for the length of the thesis, we have not included full body of questions used during any of the interviews. These may be made available.

[4]The interview focused on the following subjects: academic training, relation of their discipline to the theological field, and appraisal of the incorporation of concepts from the social sciences into liberation theology.

[5]Arroyo, M. *Jesús de Nazaret*. Copiapo: Diocese of Copiapo (an OC pedagogic text); Perez, I. et al. *Cartillas: Teología de la Liberación*. Santiago: *Centro Ecuménico Diego de Medellín* (PL pedagogic text); San Martín, E. et al. *El Arbol*. Santiago: EDUPO (CL pedagogic text).

[6]This interview focused on the following subjects: perception of their work, relation to the local bishops, to agents in the field of production and to the BCC in the development of text, history of pedagogic text, pedagogic aims of the text, pedagogic role of the animator, pedagogic practices of their text, and the social vision and theological orientation of the pedagogic text.

[7]Burgess 1982; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983.

[8]In terms of determining the BCC sample, previous religious socialization is of one type: the family catechism course. As a coincidence, we discovered subsequently that in one BCC of low marginality most members had had an experience of the *Cursillo* movement. Family catechism is a chapel based program where parents prepare their own children for first communion. This occurs when the children are about seven or eight years of age. During this two-year course, both husband and wife participate in a weekly meeting in which the next catechism lesson is planned for the children. Frequently, family catechism is the parents' first prolonged contact with the Catholic Church after a long period away from regular Church practice. The purpose of the course is two-fold: prepare the children for first communion, and resocialize parents into a pattern of regular

participation in their local chapel. Parents are under considerable pressure to complete the family catechism course successfully because failure would mean that their child would not receive first communion. This failure is practically inconceivable among marginalized Catholics. *Cursillo* is an international movement with national and local chapters which is dedicated to the moral renewal of Catholics through an initial intense weekend retreat after which the experience is lived out through a highly informal support system. Whereas, family catechism endeavors to bring the participants' everyday experience into the regular meeting, *Cursillo* acts to screen out everyday experience, focusing by contrast on elaborate displays of its own privileged texts.

[9]Denzin in Burgess 1982:75-76. Ideally, samples must always generate differences which are representative of the whole.

[10]In Chapter Six, we shall set out specifically the features on which the determination of degrees of marginality rest.

[11]The liabilities of extreme (Corrigan 1979) or milder versions (Willis 1977) of student collusion or of teacher collusion (Ball 1981; Hargreaves 1967; Lacey 1970, 1976; Woods 1979) in educational ethnographies are well documented.

[12]In July and August 1988, the education office of the Western Zone of the Archdiocese of Santiago *(EDUPO)* sponsored an eight-week course for BCC animators and members. The course sought to introduce animators to the pedagogic text developed by *EDUPO*, *El Arbol*, with a view toward its being used in BCCs throughout the Western Zone. Approximately 40 persons attended the courser which ran for about three hours on eight consecutive Sunday mornings.

[13]The Sunday Mass provided vital information with respect to the local chapel: the degree of participation of the the people in the Mass, the degree of inclusion of popular cultural forms and the types of applications of the biblical passages to everyday life can indicate the overall code modality of the chapel.

[14]In order to gain some initial findings to discuss with Professor Bernstein during his visit, some initial data were subjected to a variation of Flanders' interaction analysis (1970) which provided the researcher with a way to code BCC talk at determined time intervals. Although the reliability of this method has come under considerable criticism, it seemed a feasible 'short-handed' way of controlling quickly a great amount of data. We coded transcribed BCC talk at intervals of twenty seconds, and used this data as a basis for evaluating the pilot study.

[15]The interview with the BCC members focused on the following subjects: personal history, present context (in terms of family, work, school, church, neighborhood and politics), understanding of change through the BCC, membership in neighborhood or chapel organizations, history of recruitment to BCC, aims of BCC, communicative, organizational and interactive practices of the animator, pedagogic texts, nature and mission of the Catholic Church and the local chapel, relation with local religious personnel and liberation theology.

[16]The interview with the BCC animator focused on the following subjects: personal history, present context (in terms of family, work, school, church, neighborhood and politics), understanding of change through the BCC, membership in neighborhood or chapel organizations, history of selection, training as a BCC animator, role of animator, self-perception as animator, pedagogic aims of BCC, evaluation of their

communicative, organizational and interactive practices, purpose of
pedagogic texts, nature and mission of the Catholic Church and the local
chapel, relation with local religious personnel and liberation theology.

[17]The interview with local religious personnel focused on the
following subjects: seminary training, vision of their work, relation to
BCCs, relation of BCCs to local neighborhood organizations, selection,
training and evaluation of animators, pedagogic texts, evaluation of
liberation theology, and mission of the local chapel.

[18]The interview with the local bishop focused on the following
subjects: BCCs, selection, training and evaluation of animators,
evaluation of liberation theology, relation to the BCCs and local
chapels.

[19]Informal visits sought to develop field rapport with the
researched in addition to the field research role. Informal visits were
undertaken throughout the research and they consisted in stopping by the
meeting and engaging in small talk with individuals before and after the
meeting in order to develop field rapport. In the informal visits,
while sharing a cup of tea after the meeting, the researcher would chat
with the animator and members.

[20]The thirty meetings represent the twenty-two audio-taped meetings
where field notes were also taken, plus the initial meeting in each of
the eight BCC where the field note-taking was introduced (the Third
Stage of Observation).

[21]This selection of meetings to be recorded was only rarely made on
the grounds of suitability for the research. In hindsight, it seems
difficult to imagine that recording field notes in thirty meetings and
audio-taping twenty-two meetings could be such a complex enterprise
especially over an extended fourteen-month period. The sudden
cancellation of meetings, low attendance at a particular meeting, the
two-hour round-trip commuting time to each meeting, public transport
strikes, protest days, periodic equipment failure all contributed to the
realization of the research process. That is, as the research
progressed issues of feasibility had to be taken increasingly into
account.

[22]Martinic (1987) undertook research whose aim was to chart the
participants' perspective in grassroots education projects especially
the pedagogic relation, i.e., in courses for marginalized married
couples (Jara 1987) and for mother-assistants in creches in marginalized
sectors (Rojas Figueroa 1988). Five such projects were analyzed, and in
each it was discovered that the participants tended to offer positive
evaluation of professional *CIDE* workers in order that the social
relation might not be spoiled. *CIDE* popular educators were on site as
professionals with specific competences which were highly prized by the
participants. Moreover, it was found that a participants sought always
to maintain a good relationship with the professionals. Participants
were aware of course objectives, and during the end of course
evaluation, they tended to 'tell them what they wanted to hear' so as to
maintain a good relation with the *CIDE* professional.

Appendix for Chapter Three

Field Study Documents

        In this appendix we shall include a summary sheet used during the field work in the BCC meeting and the personal fact sheet which all animators and members completed near the beginning of the period of the field work. After these two investigative devices have been set out, we have included the text for one of the seven structured interviews: (1) theologians and (2) social scientists in the field of production; (3) recontextualizers in the pedagogic recontextualizing field; and (4) local religious personnel, (5) local bishop, (6) animator, and (7) members concerning the field of pedagogic practice of the BCC. Here we have include only the interview with the BCC members.

Document One
Summary Sheet for a BCC Meeting

Chapel: _____

BCC: _____   Date: _____

Animator: _____

Place of Meeting: _____

Starting Time: _____   Finishing Time: _____

Length of Episode 1: _____

Length of Episode 2: _____

Length of Episode 3: _____

When was tea served: _____

Participants: _____   _____

                    _____   _____

                    _____   _____

                    _____   _____

Absentees: _____   Motive: _____

Absentees: _____   Motive: _____

Absentees: _____   Motive: _____

Pedagogic Text Used: _____

Biblical Text Used: _____

Songs: _____

Document Two

Personal Fact Sheet for BCC Members

Name: _____ Age: _____

Address: _____

Years married: _____ Number of children: _____

Monthly family income: _____

How many years have you lived in the neighborhood? _____

Activities in the chapel? _____

Activities or groups outside the chapel? _____

Years of formal education: _____

Number of Years in the BCC: _____

Present employment: _____ Years in present job: _____

Previous employment: _____

Beyond immediate family, are there other people who live in your home?
Does the BCC meet in your home? _____

With which political party do you identify most? _____

Document Three

Interview with the BCC Members

Membership ...

Why did you choose this group and not another?

How long ago was your BCC established?

What is the name of your BCC?

Any new members recently?

Who has left in the last year?

Why did they leave?

Who joined recently?

Who has been here the longest?

Who has been here the shortest?

Why do people join?

What is the difference between the people in a BCC and people in other groups?

Why do people join political groups instead of the BCC?

If they belong to the political movements and BCC, doesn't that take a lot of time?

If the BCC are not in politics, Why not?

If you were interested in real social change wouldn't you belong to these political groups?

Have you thought of the other groups?

Political Affiliation and Practice ...

What is your relation to the neighborhood?

What is the relation of your BCC to the neighborhood?

What is the praxis of the BCC?

What is your political affiliation?

Has it changed since being in the BCC?

Education ...:

What are the educational experiences that they have had?

What is their perception of how a child learns today?

What is their perception of how they learned?

What is the perception of the BCC in this light?

What level of formal education have you achieved?

What is their experience of informal education?

How were the you taught in your family?

Were there any experts in your family from whom you learned skills?

Did they work in the country in the summers?

Are they from the country or from the city?

Work ...

Does the person work in isolation?

Does the isolation bother the BCC member?

The unemployed may experience less isolation that those who work on PEM, etc.

How is their labor hierarchized?

Is their work cooperative?

Do you work with a team?

What is their position in the work hierarchies?

What is their area of responsibility?

Do they have authority over other people?

Are they responsible to represent the interest of others to superiors?

Do you find that the BCC resembles more school or work?

How are they like school/not like school, like work/not like work?

Religious practice ...

What are the other religious practices of the group?

i.   focolare
ii.   cursillo
iii. encuentro matrimonial
iv.   renovación carismatica

Family ...

What is the predominant familial composition in the parish?

extended or nuclear   civil marriage/church
marriage/separated/divorced/
single parent

What is the dominant style of communication in the family?

Other group activities ...

What are the other activities in which the BCC members are involved?
and why?

With respect to BCC pedagogy ...

Are the members aware of their own progress?

Are they aware that they themselves are in a pedagogic progression?

What has been your most intense experience so far this year in the
BCC?

What happened then?

What have the conflicts been?

Who is the conflictive member?

What does he do to cause conflict?

Are there things that you cannot talk about?

Are there things that you think the animator does not want to talk
about?

What are they?

Are there groups in the BCC?

Does the animator listen?

Are there things that the animator listens to and others to which he
does not listen?

What is it easiest to talk about?
     get a rank of these

**On the Differences between liberation theology and orthodox conciliar
...**

Is this classification discussed explicitly in the pedagogic context,
or is it something that is screened in the pedagogic practice?

Is it visible only in the explicitly religious discourse?

76

How does the BCC member recognize the orthodox conciliar discourse?

What marks the orthodox conciliar discourse?

Who sees the opposition between the two discourses?

Neighborhood ...

What would you like to see changed in the neighborhood? in the people here? (get a criteria of change)

What can't be changed (fatalism)?

Is there a difference between what you would like to see changed and what the animator would like to see changed?

What are the fundamental obstacles of any change that you would want to make?

Relations of BCC members to the pastor ...

How does the BCC think that the Pastor sees them?

How often do you see the pastor?

Do you need to see him (more or less)?

If the pastor were here, how would the meeting change?

What things couldn't you talk about?

Relation of BCC members to the Animator ...

How does the BCC see the animator?

What does the BCC think the qualifications of the animator are?

What is the teaching model of the animator as perceived by BCC?

What is the criteria for success/failure used by the BCC to judge the performance of the animator?

How does the BCC think that the animator sees them?

Self-perception of BCC members ...

What is the self-perception of BCC member?

What is their sense of the relation of the BCC to the animator?

Part II

Fields, their Analysis and Findings

Chapter Four

Field of Production of Theological Discourse and the Recontextualizing Field in Chile

1 Field of Production of Theological Discourse

Introduction

No systematic institutional analysis of the theological field in Chile or in Latin America has been discovered in the research literature, although some sweeping commentaries exist about theological 'literature' throughout the continent (Richard 1988; de Santa Ana 1988). While these commentaries might appear comprehensive actually they have overlooked the conditions for the construction of these discourses.

We shall describe the similarities and differences of the positions in the field of production of discourse in terms of the discourses themselves. We have found that the three positions in the Chilean theological field has given rise to identifiable institutional settings, although theologians in the field are located outside the field in some cases. The orthodox-conciliar theology (OC) is located in the Faculty of Theology of the Catholic University of Chile. Political liberation theology (PL) tends to be associated with a smaller informal research centre, *Educación y Comunicación* (*ECO*) which maintains external institutional links with grass roots organizations for social change. Cultural liberation theology (CL) tends to be located in another small informal research centre, *Centro Ecuménico Diego de Medellín*, an institution with relations to diffuse popular organizations. The three institutional settings of our concern must be considered in terms of their external relation, since the external relations of each setting to outside contexts will suggest the range of discourses we will expect to encounter.

We will now describe theological discourse in terms of the compartmentalization or integration of the languages to which they

give rise. Theological language is encoded according to the fundamental principles of a theological position, that is, according to its classificatory value. From the language of a range of 'texts', spoken or written, theological or pedagogic, the theological code may be inferred. We will concentrate on the similarities and differences among the principles which regulate the boundaries of theological language of each theological position.

We should mention that this analysis of theological language is not to be found in the research literature of the theologies under discussion. A research review, both in English and Spanish, indicated that the question of the relation of language to discourse and institutional setting is almost entirely absent. Research literature tends to offer a Weberian focus on PL as a 'movement' with political consequences within the Catholic Church and within different national settings. The research has concentrated almost exclusively on PL in a way which abstracts this discourse from its relation to other theologies in the field, as well as from the features of the institutional setting from which it initially arose.

The theological texts of each position are realizations of the underlying code or principle(s) of each theological position which is located in specific institutional settings.[1] In the institutional settings of our concern, theological texts are created or released within three distinct 'canons', or bodies of principles by which we identified a text as belonging to a theological position.

1.1 Problematic: Personal and Societal

The generative grammar of a theological code gives rise to texts which can be distinguished according to their ranges of semantic differentiations. Each position has its range of semantic differentiations which we shall call its problematic. By problematic we refer to a closed group of meanings which provide a referential framework for focusing concrete problems and questions (Richards 1985:19-21). We have found two fundamental referential frameworks in the Chilean theological field: personal and societal. In theological texts, the formal referent in the personal dimension is the individual, and the formal referents in the societal dimension are the

structures and institutions of wider society. Thus, the meaning of
the concepts of salvation, conversion, and Kingdom of God will differ
according to the problematic in which it is located. The strength of
classification of a theological discourse can be determined according
to its range of semantic differentiations.

The OC code gives rise to a personal problematic. This code
tends to frame theological questions in texts within its range of
semantic differentiations. By contrast, PL and CL have a societal
problematic. We will now illustrate the two problematics by examining
differences in the meanings of two theological concepts: 'salvation'
and 'Kingdom of God'. 'Salvation' has at least two meanings. Within
a personal problematic (OC), salvation is a personal event based on
personal belief, and within the societal problematic, salvation is an
historical liberation from economic, political or cultural structures
of oppression based on group action (PL and CL). For PL and CL
theologians whose texts have a societal problematic, the traditional
concentration on personal salvation as a change in interior attitude
must be interpreted as a distortion of the teachings of Jesus Christ.
Gutiérrez' (PL) three-fold concept of liberation refocuses the concept
of salvation through a societal problematic since it is concerned with
an integrated social liberation in all its dimensions, i.e. economic,
political and affective (Gutiérrez 1973:35ff.).

The OC code is confined to the personal problematic according to
a meaning of salvation which is shaped as individual. By contrast,
the societal problematic of PL and CL codes defines the concept of
salvation as including a transformation of society through
liberationist practice. This societal problematic focuses on the
relation of faith to praxis in a new way. PL and CL theologians claim
that the detachment of the concept of salvation from social struggles
can only be seen as a distortion of the concept.[2]

The ranges of semantic differentiations which emerges from these
problematics may be seen also in the meanings of the concept, 'Kingdom
of God'.[3] Within the personal problematic of the OC code the Kingdom
of God is considered to be the "realization of what Christ came to
bring ... that we be brothers and sisters, where there is no injustice
and we all feel loved by God" (Montes (OC), Interview 013:9).
However, Montes does not explain the terms of this 'realization'.

80

Moreover, as an OC theologian, Montes confesses a dislike for the concept because it is "open to many interpretations", that is, in terms of our analysis, the meanings of the concept differ according to the problematic in which it is located. For OC, pluralism is encouraged, but the range of possible meanings of a term must not be too wide.

In his book *Dios de los Cristianos*, Muñoz (CL) acknowledges that the concept of Kingdom of God addresses "... the collective dimension of man himself, the world as human society ..." because "... man in the last period has distanced himself from the consciousness of a permanent social order" and "... has come to see it (Kingdom of God) as a product of history in which interests of different groups have been in play" (Muñoz 1986:96-97). The semantic range of the societal problematic has given rise to the development of a theology of society which is associated with the the definition of the concept of Kingdom of God.

PL and CL are similar in problematic. Their definitions of the concept, Kingdom of God, as a social and historical utopia arises from a societal problematic. Liberation theology has refocused the concept, Kingdom of God, and "... made more visible the links between the processes of social change and christian faith" (Castillo (PL), Interview 010:11). While PL and CL theologians acknowledge that liberation "refers to a historical process" and to "human reality in the sense when we speak of the human reality of men and women" (Castillo (PL), Interview 010:21), they likewise acknowledge the difference between human liberation and the Kingdom of God (Aldunate (PL), Interview, 012:14). Liberation theologians acknowledge that the Kingdom of God is God's ultimate utopian project, "beyond political and economic projects" (Torres (CL), Interview 011:12).

It is not sufficient to identify the fundamental problematics of contemporary theology as personal or societal, we must now consider more specific textual differences in order to come to some appreciation of the differences between the theological codes in terms of the strength of classification.

1.2 Orthodox-Conciliar Theology (OC)

The theological code of OC does not give rise to the
incorporation of discourses either from the intellectual or wider
cultural fields. And the OC code gives rise to the strong
compartmentalization of theological knowledge in the formal
traditional disciplines. However, the Catholic Church does produce a
discourse concerning society, Catholic social doctrine (CSD).[4]
Published in occasional documents, CSD represents the official
Catholic position on contemporary social questions. CSD cannot be
considered a theological discourse because of the conditions of its
production, but it is 'pseudo-theological' knowledge, not incompatible
with OC. The strong insulation between CSD and theology is enshrined
in the faculty of theology where CSD is insulated from the
compartmentalized organization of theological knowledge of the faculty
of theology. Pedagogically, top-track degree students are not exposed
to PL, CL or CSD in their five-year curriculum. Students do not gain
exposure to analysis of wider social problems.

The insulation of CSD from the theological curriculum of the
Catholic University of Chile, the compartmentalization of the
theological knowledge, and the exclusion of PL and CL indicate that
the value of classification of discourse in the faculty of theology is
strong (+C).

1.3 Cultural and Political Liberation Theologies

When we consider the theological codes of PL and CL, the weak
classification which we find in features of the social context of the
informal centres, is found also in their discourses in terms of the
integration of the social sciences and informal popular discourses.
According to the theory, weak classification of discourses must rely
on a relational principle which regulates their relation. In our
case, the weak classification of PL and CL arises from a fundamental
principle which relates PL and CL to other discourses. This
relational principle may be called the 'option for the poor'.[5]
Castillo (PL) refers implicitly to this principle: "... the meaning
and weight given to the poor, the place of the poor ... this is a
debate that goes across disciplines, and it has something to do with

fundamental theology which permits us to understand our faith and revelation, and to conceptualize history" (Castillo (PL), Interview 010:3). The relational principles of PL and CL are different in terms of their specialization.

The relational principle of the theological code of PL focuses on the poor as the oppressed victims of structural violence, and seeks to 'denounce' this violence and 'announce' a liberation from the oppressive constraints of macro-economic structures through radical social change. By contrast, the relational principle of the theological code of CL interprets the option for the poor as promoting the articulation of religious and cultural forms of the marginalized.

Within the overall societal problematic of their discourses, the social base of PL is the political experience of marginalized christians, and CL is based on the more diffuse everyday experience of marginalized christians. PL texts tend to portray the marginalized as an urban sub-proletariat or as "a class in and for itself," and promotes a militant solidarity among the marginalized for social change (Castillo 1986). CL texts portray the marginalized as a distinct class which produces unique cultural and religious texts which the theologian endeavors to articulate as 'naturally' as possible. CL theologians are less likely to promote a militant solidarity and more likely to describe religious and cultural forms. PL and CL each has a specific range of contact with the poor which gives rise to different texts. In the case of PL, the range of the relation with the poor is limited to politically organized christians and the texts are more specialized. In the case of CL, the range of contact is wider and the texts less specialized. Muñoz (CL) and Castillo (PL) recognize the differences in their outlooks.

> "There are different nuances, I think that there is a
> theology more linked with the pastoral work, and there is
> a theology more linked to the popular organizations and to
> the political experience of christians. I think that both
> are not only legitimized, but necessary. Now the
> competences between these two strands, between these two
> nuances is usually not that fluid. Personally, I am in
> the pastoral line, given my priestly work, as part of a
> pastoral team, and as an active participant in the BCC
> ..." Muñoz (CL), Interview 014:4

"I am a theologian and I work in an organization which is
not church related, *ECO*, and with marginalized BCC, but
also with social movements. So my perspective is
distinctive from that of Ronaldo Muñoz, who is a priest,
who lives in a marginalized shanty town, and works
directly with the BCCs ... it all translates into
different ways of tackling the subject." Castillo (PL),
Interview 010:4

In our theory, these "different ways of tackling the subject" arise
from the political and cultural variants in the societal problematic
which become distinct relational principles of discourse.

The 'option for the poor' as a relational principle (a shift to
a societal problematic) reorientates theology by giving rise to the
transgression of boundaries which arise from the OC code. This
departure from the OC problematic is evident in terms of the formal
starting point of PL and CL. PL[6] and CL[7] theologians, social
scientists[8] and researchers[9] make similar reference to this crucial
shift in starting point, from the formal *quaestio* of the academy to
marginality on the periphery. PL and CL are 'on the periphery' for
three reasons: (a) their theologians are on the periphery of the
faculty of theology, (b) their discourses is on the periphery of OC
and (c) the social base of their discourses is the marginal periphery
of society. PL and CL texts have shifted the social base of religious
meaning. By contrast, OC has an implicit position which overlooks
class relations and which legitimizes the status quo distribution of
types of power among the classes.[10] This OC discourse "... opposes
class conflict and supports a corporatist integration of the classes
that reduces horizontal group awareness among workers and the poor"
(Langton 1986:322).[11]

From a starting position 'at the side of the poor', PL and CL
theologians develop a model of analysis of marginalized praxis on the
basis of which their texts are generated. By marginalized praxis we
mean the ensemble of social relationships which determines the
structures of the social consciousness of the marginalized. PL and CL
theologians refer to selected aspects of marginalized praxis
(political and cultural), where the specific ensemble of social
relationships selected by each position will be regulated by the
relational principle of its theological code.[12]

In two texts, *Dios de los Cristianos* (CL) and *Iglesia Liberadora y Política* (PL), Castillo's distinction between "ways of tackling the subject" become clear. These two texts were considered to be representative of the CL and PL positions in the Chilean theological field. We shall now present evidence from these texts which shows their similarities and differences. Before discussing the differences, we shall set out three principles shared by PL and CL under the rubric of the 'option for the poor'.

(1) Both the PL and CL texts claim that the *pueblo* has its own experience and culture.

> (CL) "[The *pueblo*] configures a 'world', that is, a popular culture. [The *pueblo*] is a coherent grouping with their own life experience which is qualitatively different from the city life of the West" ... When I say popular culture, I include that fundamental aspect, what we call, popular religiosity ... the way in which the *pueblo* in their situation and with their sensibilities experience God and their faith" (Muñoz, 42).

> (PL) "The *pueblo*, in the degree to which it constitutes itself as a subject, creates its project from its own history and its culture" (Castillo, 190).

(2) CL and PL reject a bifurcation of history as sacred and profane (more associated with OC).

> (CL) "We found God in history, in the history of the poor and in their liberation" (Muñoz, 57).

> (PL) "As liberation theology has affirmed there are not two parallel histories, salvation and profane, but one history: concrete human history is also the history of God with humanity" (Castillo, 117)

(3) And within that unified history, CL and PL affirm that liberation theology focuses on the *pueblo* as the subject (actor) of history, as principal referent for theology, and as social context for the production of theological discourse.

> (CL) "The subject of history is the *pueblo* or some ensemble of *pueblos*. We experience God from below at the side of the exploited and marginalized ... biblical experience is the revelation of God in history 'in reverse': through the suffering, resistance and hope of the poor" (Muñoz, 56).

> (PL) "We are not trying to place 'faith' and 'politics' in relation as abstract entities, subsistent in themselves, but this theology tries to write a 'theology

of concrete subjects': the liberation church and the
christian communities" (Castillo, 109).

The similarities of the theological projects concerning the poor
in history flow from the foundational principle of the 'option for the
poor'. The distinctions between CL and PL on the one hand and OC on
the other may be derived from the above discussion.

Differences between these CL and PL texts can be found with
respect to research intention, methodology and categories of analysis
derived from the social sciences. With respect to research intention:

> (CL) "We could take the more ... prophetic image of God
> as Liberator of the Oppressed and as Promise of New Life
> for the poor masses ... but we think that we should stop
> and consider more carefully what we perceive to be
> occurring today with faith in God and concrete experience
> in the communities in the popular sectors" (Muñoz, 76).

> (PL) "Within its limitations, this [text] tries to be a
> 'theology of liberation', that is, a critical reflection
> on praxis in the light of the faith. The central
> preoccupation of this research is the questioning of
> conditions, presuppositions and implications of the new
> relation between faith and politics in the liberationist
> line" (Castillo, 6).

The research intention of this CL text considers the
representations of God 'within' the *pueblo*, and the PL text focuses on
the 'relations between' the discourses and practices of faith and
those of politics, a relation whose history is characterized by a
series of tensions, conflicts and dilemmas (Castillo, 132-156). These
different research intentions give rise to distinct but nevertheless
related focuses on the *pueblo* in history. CL focuses more on the
religious texts of the *pueblo*, and PL focuses on the social processes
and utopian project of the *pueblo*.

CL focuses on the description of the representations of God
among the *pueblo* in the present which Muñoz claims are 'qualitatively'
different from those of other social groups. By contrast, the PL text
focuses on the analysis of the processes of political and economic
liberation of the *pueblo* from capitalist relations of production whose
effects can be measured 'quantitatively'. These different research
focuses on the *pueblo* give rise to different ways of appropriating
methods from the social sciences.

86

We shall now outline the methodology in the CL and PL texts
which will show differences in the appropriation of research methods
from the social sciences. It is a methodology which shapes the range
of specialized social science concepts and informal texts which CL and
PL incorporate into their theological texts. As society will be
variously represented in formal and informal texts, methodology
consists in the selection rules which shape the range of texts
incorporated by CL and PL, thereby giving shape to their visions of
society.

> (CL) "This book is designed to **express** the faith of our
> *pueblo* ... We are doing a narrative theology which will at
> times be testimonial" (35, 36). "This systematic method
> should consist in a dialectical correlation between
> experience (our own history) and tradition (biblical
> history) ... our experience against the horizon of
> tradition and tradition from the perspective of our
> experience" (69). "It is vital for us, when dealing with
> God, to enter through the door of narrative theology,
> close to the Bible and to the traditions of the poor. By
> using any other method it is only with difficulty that we
> will escape intellectual formalism which the doctrines of
> God has fallen in Western Catholicism" (68).

> (PL) "The contribution of the social sciences is situated
> in the perspective in which Marx placed it, where he
> proposed that it was necessary to be prepared to explain
> the capitalist system, explain the laws of its functioning
> and its crisis" (190).

The CL text seeks to give an accounting of the representations
of God among the *pueblo* in a broader anthropological style, a kind of
descriptive geography of religious forms constructed by subjects 'on
the periphery' through their interaction with biblical images of God.
The PL text is less explicit with respect to methodology, the
analytical methodology rests on the analysis of power relations in
society which rests on the 'centre-periphery metaphor' and its
derivative categories of analysis, even though the author discusses
its liabilities.

CL does not have a discourse of society because it does not take
much account of diverse arenas of struggle for types of power
(political, economic and religious). We have found that the CL text
has a discourse of representation of marginalized religious culture,
whereas the PL text is a discourse of power relations between classes
in society.

Enrique Dussel, a PL church historian from Argentina, observes that with liberation theology there has been an expansion of the idea of text. Dussel observes that the text for liberation theology is not so much a set of abstract categories as a social situation.[13] We consider that the theological codes of PL and CL define the kind of 'social situation' or praxis the theologian selects, and the code gives rise to a principle of selection of situations and constitutes the perspective from which a given social situation (text) may be viewed.

CL described Latin America in terms of a feature of marginalized religious culture, i.e. representations of God.

> (CL) "A theology perhaps a bit closer to the theological genre of the Bible and a theology which is a bit closer to the marching of our communities among the poor" (36). "The understanding of the Bible and of our faith is renewed in a surprise way from the perspective of the poor" (39).

By contrast, the PL text describes Latin America and Chile in terms of the political challenges presented by the current economic crisis.

> (PL) "Capitalism is a specific mode of organizing the economy, and from there of other levels of social life, on the basis of private ownership of the means of production salaried work, profit-taking. [Economic] activity is coordinated and regulated by market forces, and profit is the motor of economic activity" (16).

Since CL methodology is primarily ethnographic and descriptive, it incorporates the Bible (formal texts) and the testimony of wide range of marginalized subjects as well as descriptions of their practices (informal texts). By contrast, since the PL methodology is analytical, its categories of description will be more formal. PL incorporates concepts from the social sciences in its description of society in terms of the structural determinants of social class, in terms of the possibility of changing those determinants through the struggle of the marginalized, and in terms of a critique of religion (the legitimizing and motivational function of Catholic Church in society (Castillo, 111-112). This description of the Latin American context incorporates a marxist critique of advanced capitalism in order to focus attention on the social project of the marginalized,

88

the *proyecto popular* (with its objectives and strategies). PL texts claim that this *proyecto popular* is occurring on the margin of society and on the margin of the Catholic Church in the marginalized chapels.

> (PL) "The popular project implies the breaking of the oppressor's chains which are characteristic of a capitalist society. It is a project which points toward socialism as a superior form of society, free, participatory and egalitarian" (198).

> (PL) "It is a project which gathers up the experiences of popular life, crystallized in culture, the experiences of suffering and struggle, their aspirations" (151).

We may also discriminate between these texts in terms of their spatio-temporal location. CL narrates the theology of God of the marginalized from the periphery in the present. PL analyzes the new relation of faith and politics which has given rise to groups of committed christians who struggle for social change in the future. PL focuses on the aspiration of the marginalized to change the power relations between the classes in society at a future time, whereas CL offers more stable descriptions of religious subjects within marginalized culture in the present. PL is based on a future social vision in tune with the aims of socialism, where the "... socialist posture of the Liberating Church is part of its popular identity" (199). The concept of the Kingdom of God is the horizon of PL's discourse of future change.

> (PL) "The Kingdom of God signals a radically transformed reality, It is the program of liberation proposed especially for the poor, for the marginalized and for those who suffer. The Kingdom of God is proposed as a process (popular project), as a future. In this sense, it is a utopia of something not yet experienced, but hoped for. It contains a strong impetus toward a future fullness, an impulse which impedes ... passivity and resignation in the face of the oppressor" (127).

In the CL and PL texts the presentation of marginality is always mediated by models of social analysis, and these models give rise to specific categories of description. This is a crucial point. The debates concerning liberation theology, both within the Catholic Church and in the intellectual field, have not been primarily theological, but rather they have focused on the efficacy of competing models of analysis which PL and CL have adopted.[14]

89

The selective incorporation of other discourses gives rise to two imaginary discourses, CL and PL. We may be led to conclude that CL is a kind of theology 'from below'. Our discussion so far leads rather to the conclusion that CL is a 'selective reading from below' of the religious and cultural forms. In terms of CL, its 'ethnographic' pretensions include a description of a selection of marginalized practices and representations which is ideologically driven. Since its 'ethnography' does not include descriptions of marginality which are negative, i.e., patterns of domestic violence, CL is open to the criticism that it represents a 'glorification' of marginality. With respect to PL, we have shown the selection of social science concepts to be rather primitive as it abstracts concepts from their theoretical contexts and from their mode of inquiry. Its dependence on the highly questionable 'dependency metaphor' leaves PL open to criticisms that it is unscientific and ideologically driven.

We shall now discuss PL and CL in terms of differences in the modality of appropriation of other discourses and their methods of inquiry. We shall present the perspective of social scientists with respect to CL and PL's incorporation of elements from their discourses (see profile of social scientists in Appendix for this chapter).

2 Incorporation of Social Sciences and Popular Discourses: Perspective of the Social Scientists

We shall here consider the relation between the theological codes and other discourses, in particular the social sciences and informal popular discourses. In the case of OC its very problematic precludes a significant relation to other discourses.

2.1 PL, CL and the Social Sciences

Although Garretón, a sociologist with *FLACSO*, observes that the environment where the Catholic church (theologians) learns from the world (social scientists) represents no less than a 'copernican change',[15] we have found among the social scientists a general dissatisfaction with the modality of appropriation of social science

90

concepts and methodology by liberation theologians. Social scientists are particularly critical of PL for these reasons:

(i) a perceived overdependence on macro-economic discourse,[16] a weakness which is recognized by CL theologians, but not by PL theologians;[17]

(ii) a near total reliance on the metaphor of dependency[18] within a perspective of strict economic determinism;[19]

(iii) a dichotomous vision of society in terms of 'oppressor-oppressed' or 'centre-periphery' which gives rise to a 'zero-sum' social analysis;[20]

(iv) a perception of a relation to the State in which the marginalized are object of the policies of the State, thus, only through opposition can there be social change;[21]

(v) a near total absence of the empirical dimension of economics and other social sciences;[22]

(vi) a tendency toward pan-Latin Americanism in social analysis, where the unit of study is the continent of Latin America.[23]

Social scientists were concerned also about the apparent incapacity of PL to engage with any discourse of reform, being confined to discourses of radical social change. Every social scientist who was interviewed expressed concern over the inability of the theologians to develop with the changes in the intellectual field. Among the critical 'absences' in liberation theology, mentioned most frequently by the social scientists were the following:

(i) the absence of a reform-orientated discourse needed in an increasingly democratic Chile;[24]

(ii) the absence of a discourse directed to a renovated and progressive middle class and to workers, not only to the marginalized and highly marginalized;[25]

(iii) the absence of a discourse of political negotiation and compromise, a kind of 'a theology of democracy.'[26]

Social scientists also offered more general criticisms on the relation of liberation theology to the social sciences.

(i) their uncritical reception of social and economic concepts and theories abstracted from the method of inquiry of the social sciences and relocated in theological method;[27]

(ii) their resistance to the evolutionar) and provisional quality of the concepts and models of the social sciences, a lack of detachment from categories of analysis, and the 'catholic' tendency to transform a social science concept into a metaphysical principle;[28]

(iii) a utopian perception of historical process which envisions a final 'Omega Point' where social dichotomies will be resolved, which simultaneously confines christian utopia to pre-determined sociological or economic categories, and repositions concepts of the social sciences into a naive theological model of society which moves inexorably toward social progress;[29]

(iv) unscientific and overly generalized socio-theological notions like the 'poor' and the 'pueblo' which are unacceptable in the social sciences.[30]

The criticisms from the intellectual field focus on the tendency of PL and CL theologians to abstract concepts from a sociological method of inquiry and to relocate them in theology. Social scientists complained of an absence of clear analytical categories, an ignorance of the indispensability of empirical data, and the rejection of the evolutionary development of the social sciences.

2.2 Theological Codes and Popular Discourses

We have found other differences in the texts associated with each theological code. We have found that the methodology of OC consists in analytical-commentarial method in relation to written theological texts of the creators of the past.[31] The theological code of PL gives rise to a methodology characterized in its first moment by the analysis of praxis, followed by a reflection on that praxis. And finally, the theological code of CL is strongly ethnographic, that is, it is more descriptive than analytical. We will now discuss the methodological differences between PL and CL in terms of their incorporation of popular discourses.

The incorporation of unarticulated everyday religious discourse in CL implies a shift in theological method from analysis to ethnography. Whereas PL's description of contemporary contexts is mediated through a structuralist critique of different types of power relations, CL endeavors to describe cultural forms of the marginalized, i.e. the images of God among the marginalized or their

modal types of biblical interpretation. Thus, a more ethnographic and less analytical account tends to produce a 'map' of popular religious cultural forms.

Muñoz and Torres (CL) have dedicated more of their creative project to the elicitation and articulation of popular religious and cultural forms. This approach stresses the fidelity to the phenomena under study, in our case, fidelity to the religious culture and rationality of the marginalized. Muñoz (CL) attempts "to bring the life of the BCCs into theology", and "looks for the unarticulated experience of informal lay groups" (Muñoz (CL), Interview 014:1). The CL theologians construct their texts as a 'witnessing', where the theologian becomes a recorder or articulator of marginalized schemes of perception, representations and religious practices on the basis of which he constructs a 'map' of popular religious discourse.

> "I think of myself as privileged to be a witness of the life of the people and of the life of the church in the popular grass roots ... we make a theological contribution not so much because we are sources of thought but more because we are followers and servants of a creativity, of a christian intuition and of a reading of the bible by the people." Muñoz (CL), Interview 014:5

Whereas the 'articulation' of 'cultural forms' of the marginalized characterized the CL texts, 'analysis' and 'social change' are the organizing principle of PL texts. Aldunate (PL) describes the relation of theologian to popular religious forms as one where "the theologian must come to see things through the eyes of the people, and help people to analyze things from their situation" (Aldunate (PL), Interview 012:5). The social context of the marginalized is mediated through formal categories of analysis which occasionally provoke conflict between a PL theologian and diffuse marginalized groups which are not primarily groups for social change. In the case of PL, its texts arise from a relational principle which makes a narrow selection of macro-economic, macro-political and micro-political concepts upon which it develops a theological discourse of popular political movements.

> "Theological reflection cannot be abstracted from the social sciences, above all the theology of liberation, which should analyze social reality, according to the modern techniques at its disposal." Aldunate (PL), Interview 012:2.

"We do not elaborate a theory of social change, we have to
receive it from the sciences, it is not our field, we do
not have competence. Marxist analysis gains currency
because it is an scientific analysis, it is a serious
theory of social change. Our people believes
instinctively that the general lines of marxist analysis
are long lasting ... they know that the economic relations
are extremely important." Aldunate (PL), Interview 012:4.

In the case of CL, its texts result from a theological code
which selects a range of concepts from anthropology, sociology and
sociology of religion which generate a language of description for a
wide range of cultural and religious phenomena which occur in
marginalized groups. The CL theologian 'tells the story' of the
marginalized religious experience.

3   Classification and Theological Position: Summary and Discussion

We are now in a position to summarize the classificatory values
of the three theological codes. The values of internal and external
classification of the discourse are outlined in the following table.
Internal classification refers to the degree of compartmentalization
among the disciplines within each position. External classification
refers to the openness of each position to discourses of the
intellectual field and popular discourses.

Table 4.1

Summary of Classification of Theological Discourse

	Internal Classification	External Classification
Orthodox-conciliar theology	+C	+C
Political liberation theology	-C	-C
Cultural liberation theology	-C	--C

The weak classificatory values of PL refers to its open relation to the discourses of the social sciences and to the discourses of elite marginalized groups. The classification of CL is very weak because of its open relation not only to the social sciences, and because of its openness to a wide range of informal unspecialized discourses of marginalized culture. The weak and very weak values of the external classification of the theological codes of liberation theologies open them to different discourses of the social sciences, economics and political science in the case of PL, and sociology, sociology of religion, and anthropology in the case of CL.

3.1 Major Differences between Theological Codes

To conclude we wish only to summarize the differences we have set out already in this section of Chapter Four between theological codes, based on the evidence of theological texts and interviews. We shall set out those code differences which may account for the range of texts produced by the three positions: differences in terms of distinct problematics, their focuses and their degree of historicity, their discourses of class relations, their concept of social change and the State and finally, the code differences in terms of methodology.

Table 4.2

Differences between Theological Codes

	OC	PL	CL
Problematic	individual	societal	societal
Starting Point	theological *quaestio*	economic and political praxis	economic, political, and cultural praxis
	ahistorical[32]	historical	historical
Class relations	(CSD): *interclassismo*[33]	focus on class difference	focus on cultural forms of the marginalized
Concept of Social Change	(CSD): legitimization of *status quo*[34]	promotes radical social change (highly critical)	promotes social change with populist focus (mildly critical)
Methodology	commentarial	analytical	ethnographic-descriptive

Excursus: The Centre-Periphery Metaphor

In addition to these differences we shall comment on the use of the `centre-periphery' metaphor in the concepts of society and on the relation of the marginalized classes to the State in PL and CL. With respect to concepts of society, it is only through CSD that the centrist OC has a discourse about society, but this vision overlooks antagonism in society preferring the notion of a benevolent *interclassismo* which orientates its teaching on class relations (Hebbelthwaite 1982).

By contrast, the PL code hinges the `centre-periphery' metaphor which gives rise to a language of class antagonism which portrays Chilean society as antagonistic strata in the struggle for legitimization and different kinds of power: economic, political and cultural. This metaphor is applied to society and to the Catholic Church as a site of struggle for religious power (Boff 1985). By contrast, the CL code focuses on the periphery and only secondarily on the `centre-periphery' metaphor. The periphery metaphor gives rise to a discourse of religious culture and texts which may be described as `mappings' of religious representations.

96

In PL and CL the relation of the State to the marginalized is crucial since these theologies include a discourse of social change. PL and CL codes give rise to different conceptualizations of this relation. PL and to a lesser degree CL give rise to a concept of the relation to the State as _instrumental_, whereby interest groups or mobilized sectors of the marginalized classes perceive the State as an institution which must respond to its demands for social justice. The analysis of the negative impact of the economic policies of the State on the marginalized can be found in PL, where the causes of poverty would be structural: unemployment, low wages, the abuse of power, or a deficient national economic policy.[35] PL generates a discourse of instrumental change at the macro level, where we found macro level strategies of mass mobilization (the poor as social actor) and a discourse of the needs and rights of the _pueblo_ (militant organic solidarity), and at the micro level where popular organizations for social change are promoted.

The CL code give rise to a discourse of positive valuation of religious forms of the marginalized which does not concentrate on the marginalized as instruments of political change although CL affirms that the _pueblo_ should be respected by the State.

The new societal problematic of PL and CL has brought these discourses into relation with the non-theological contexts, their discourses and practices guided by the relational principle of the 'option for the poor'. Few features of the theological enterprise escape the reorientation arising out of liberation theologies. Central theological concepts have been recovered from the Catholic tradition and foregrounded by these theologies, and other concepts have been reorientated within the sociocentric problematic of PL and CL.

We shall now discuss the recontextualizing field according to the theory (Diagram 2.1). Here we would expect to find specialized agencies whose function is to refocus theological discourses as pedagogic discourse, and to produce pedagogic texts according to the rules of that pedagogic discourse.

4 Regulatory Agencies and the Recontextualizing Field

In Chapter Two we have said that we need to modify the concept
of recontextualizing field in the light of this research. No explicit
recontextualizing field exists for the specific purpose of
constructing pedagogic discourse for BCCs. What we have essentially
is BCC policy formulated by regulatory agencies of the Chilean
Catholic Church. Nevertheless, we have found a small group of
pedagogic texts explicitly produced for BCCs prepared by PL and CL
centres and one independent OC theologian. These we will briefly
review after a detailed discussion of Chilean Catholic Policy for
BCCs.

We will now consider policies for BCCs generated by a range of
local and national regulatory agencies of the Catholic Church.
Together with the agencies of the Catholic Church, an <u>informal</u>
<u>regulatory agency</u>, the *Coordinadora de Comunidades en Sectores*
Populares (CCSP) produced alternative policy for BCCs in the
Archdiocese of Santiago between 1979-89. This agency provided a
setting in which political liberation theology could be actively
promoted as a political practice for BCC members (CCSP 1985). In the
CCSP literature to which we were able to gain access,[36] no policy
targets the pedagogic practices of BCC animators. This agency tended
to evaluate BCCs in terms of the level of commitment to social change
in the social practices of the members, and recontextualizes PL as a
pedagogic practice and as a political practice. Given our focus on
BCC pedagogic practice we shall take little notice of CCSP policy and
concentrate on the pedagogic messages in the policies of formal
regulatory agencies of the Catholic Church.

The BCC, its discourses and practices have been subjected to
regulation by a range of local and national agencies. No less than
nine formal regulatory agencies in the Chilean Catholic Church have
set out policy for BCCs: the Chilean Episcopal Conference, the
President of the Chilean Episcopal Conference, the *Area Eclesial* of
the Chilean Episcopal Conference, *COMIN Nacional* (National Commission
on Ministries and Communities), the *Area de Comunidades* of the
Archdiocese of Santiago, Vicars and Deans of the Archdiocese of
Santiago, *COMIN* of the Eastern Zone, Vicariate of the Southern Zone,
Vicariate of the Western Zone. These agencies exercise a dual

function as regulatory agencies for the monitoring of BCCs and as recontextualizing agencies which set out the rules for the refocusing of theological codes as pedagogic practices.

We must stress that in this section we are considering policy of these many agencies which expect to exercise some regulatory control over the orientation of BCC practice. We should underscore the enormous distance between policy at the 'macro level' concerning the 'expected' BCC practices and actual BCC pedagogic practices at the 'micro level' of the local chapel.

We shall examine the proposals and silences in BCC policies in two periods, 1969-86 and 1987-89. The documents published in the initial period, between 1969 and 1987, addressed themselves to the proposals and policies for the "basic community" in general, with little or no attention to the BCC in particular.

It was not until 1987, that this global and highly generalized notion, basic community, was given greater precision in official discourse, thereby ending close to two decades of muddled policy and confused nomenclature. For the first time, a distinction was made between the Basic Ecclesial Community (BEC) and the Basic Christian Community (BCC).

In this section, the policy documents of Catholic regulatory agencies during two periods will be discussed in terms of their 'messages' concerning BCC pedagogic practices. Following Bernstein, we have chosen to assign these educational messages concerning BCC pedagogic practices into three categories: those concerning pedagogy (practice), those concerning curriculum (range of discourses), and thirdly, those concerning evaluation (criteria).[37] For the sake of clarity of exposition, pedagogy, curriculum and evaluation will be the fundamental categories of description of the BCC policies of Catholic regulatory agencies.

4.1 Official Policy and BCC Pedagogic Practice, 1968-86

During the initial period of generalized policy on basic communities (1968-1986), we have identified implicit educational messages which refer to the BCC as the pedagogic context.

a. Pedagogy

In the initial period, 1968-1986, policy contained references to the pedagogy of the animator, where it alluded to the process of transmission and acquisition which occurs in a BCC, where the BCC was referred to as a site for the development of faith,[38] as a site for the transmission of faith,[39] and as a site for the development of a critical evaluation of social reality in the light of the Bible.[40] Frequent reference was made to the fraternal quality of social relations to which this process of transmission and acquisition should give rise.[41]

As the thesis unfolds we shall see that control over the discourse and interactions may tend to be either more animator-centred or more members-centred. This crucial distinction is overlooked in policy documents both in terms of its impact on the process of transmission and acquisition and in terms of the social relations to which animator or members-centred control gives rise. The documents did allude occasionally to a lack of preparation of the animator and the need to correct it, while, at the same time, offering no indication of the aims or means of that preparation.[42] During this initial period, there was no explicit policy which focused on BCC pedagogy or animator role.

b. Curriculum

Other policies concern curriculum, which refers to how the organization of knowledge, everyday practices and the BCC context are brought into special relation with one other.[43] Official presentation of the BCC in the initial period rarely make reference to the existence of regular BCC meetings, much less to the relation of discourses to different episodes in BCC meetings.

One policy concentration was the importance of access to the Bible, a proposal which sought to correct a dislocation between the marginalized and the Bible.[44] A second policy concentration proposed that increased knowledge of their social context was vital in order that the BCC members might fulfill their purpose of being "a

transforming force in the world."[45]   BCC policy promoted flexibility
in the BCC, that is, the BCC would be a site for bringing into
relation the marginalized classes, the Bible and the analysis of their
social context. Policy statements included explicit references to the
BCC as the site for the realization of this integration.[46]

It is of great interest that policies promoted a weakening of
the boundary between biblical knowledge and the various forms of
everyday knowledge and practice and the conditions of their
marginality. In fact, the major policy documents of the Chilean
Episcopal Conference in the period criticized the BCCs for maintaining
a strong boundary between biblical knowledge and local chapel practice
on the one hand, and everyday problems and strategies to cope with
them on the other.[47]

We have found that the focus of BCC 'curriculum policies'
presented the BCC as a specialized context in which members integrated
biblical and everyday knowledge, brought together under the rubric of
developing strategies for coping with everyday problems and social
change.

c. Evaluation

In addition to pedagogy and curriculum, we shall now review the
'criteria' used to evaluate BCCs. While pedagogy and curriculum
indicated the 'how' and 'what' of BCC pedagogic practices, the
criteria of evaluation, those standards according to which the BCCs
are scrutinized and tested, give a clear indication of the purpose of
the BCC. We would assume that the object of evaluation would be
pedagogy and curriculum. Yet this is not the case. During this
initial period, regulatory agencies proposed criteria to evaluate
BCCs, not in terms of the idealized aims of pedagogy and curriculum,
but in terms of the administrative relation of the BCC to wider church
contexts and their respective agents/agencies: pastor/local chapel;
dean/deanery; Vicar of Zone/Zone; Cardinal/Archdiocese.[48] The
animator was positioned as the vital link of the BCC to the chapel,
and the 'Catholicity' and 'orthodoxy' of the BCC was evaluated on the
basis of this administrative link.

The startling difference between the focus of pedagogy and
curriculum on the one hand, and the criteria for evaluating BCC
practice on on the other, indicates a fundamental confusion and
crossed-purposedness of the overall policy on BCCs in the initial
period, 1968-86. This inconsistency is even more in evidence when we
consider the explicit references to the animator. In those few
references, the animator was expected to be an organizational link to
the local chapel.[49] It is startling that only infrequent mention was
made specifically to the BCC animator in relation to pedagogy and
curriculum.[50]

We must ask, "What was the source of the criteria of evaluation
of the regulatory agencies?" It may have arisen in order to constrain
what was feared as a potentially exaggerated autonomy of the BCC,
above all, with respect to its political practices. From this
perspective, BCC policy may have arisen out of the confidence of the
Catholic Church in the power of its own control practices, in this
case, the power of the organizational meeting of the local chapel over
the way in which animators shaped their BCC practice. This policy
seems ignorant of the possibility that animators may be active
subjects who may form their intention despite a pre-determined
positioning in the local chapel. Our research together with important
empirical research (Valdivieso 1989) indicate that far from being a
condition to which the BCC animators submit reluctantly, the relation
to the local chapel and participation in chapel-sponsored activities
are highly valued by the BCC animators and members. This evaluation
focuses on institutional control, rather than on pedagogic control.
But this external administrative criteria offers no rules to evaluate
any aspect of the an animator's pedagogy, or rules for evaluating any
aspect of the BCC context.

We find that policy is largely silent with respect to the
context over which the animator exercises significant control: the
regular BCC meeting. The 'orthodox' animator proposed in official
policy is 'the animator in regular attendance at administrative
meetings in the local chapel'. The authors of these documents still
have not considered the possibility that institutional control over
the animator by the local chapel might bear no significant relation to
the actual pedagogic practice of the animator in the BCC meeting.

102

There are no research findings which support the suggestion that regular attendance by the animator at meetings of the local chapel council will have any bearing whatsoever on an animator's pedagogic practice (interaction and discourse) in regular meetings of a BCC. No such link has been substantiated between institutional control and pedagogic control within the BCC. This policy of institutional control relies on the ideology that control can be maintained over all significant features of the BCC context by insisting on the participation of the animator at local chapel meetings.

In the period, 1968-86, specific educational policy considerations and proposals were absent. Throughout this initial period, official policies referred to pedagogy, but without specifically indicating any policy or proposal concerning the BCC. Reference was also made to an integrated, flexible curriculum without a policy or proposal concerning the foundational idea on which that integration of different knowledges and practices should be based. By contrast, criteria of evaluation were external to the BCC context, based upon an evaluation of the animator's practice of attendance at the organizational meetings of the local chapel.

4.2   Policy in the Second Period, 1987-89

A shift in the policy of the Catholic Church toward the BCCs seems to have been occasioned by the foundation of an organization named the *Area de Comunidades* of the Archdiocese of Santiago. In a meeting of the deans and vicars of Santiago in July 1987, Rev. Felipe Barriga, the first director of the *Area de Comunidades* introduced the fundamental distinction between the BEC (Basic Ecclesial Community) and the BCC which had been muddled between 1968-86. In the period which followed that meeting, 1987-89, this distinction gave rise to a more precise policy language which began to represent the BCC as a specialized pedagogic context. After 1987, the BEC referred to a renewed model for local chapels, which proposed increased democratization of decision-making and greater church presence in highly marginalized sectors as part of a wider church policy to reverse the decrease in religious practice. By contrast, the BCC was described as as a cell of fraternal sharing, as an opportunity to reflect on christian commitment in the world, and as a phenomenon

103

whose link with the local church was essential.[51] Two documents are characteristic of this period of policy development, *Hacia Una Pastoral de Comunidades de Base en la Arquidiócesis de Santiago* (*COMIN Nacional* 1989) and *Jornada sobre la Formación de Animadores de Comunidades en Sus Diversas Etapas* (*Area Ecclesial* 1988).[52] Here, we will comment briefly on the former and refer more closely to the latter as it represents the most advanced policy statement.

4.2.1 Phase One: Agency Development and Shifts in Policy Focus

Despite their recurrent imprecisions, policy recommendations began to take account of specific educational aims of the BCC, as different from those of chapel-dependent contexts like family catechism groups or solidarity organizations. In the *Jornada* document, we see a new level of BCC policy in which the messages concerning pedagogy, curriculum and evaluation became more explicitly 'educational'. In this first document the crucial role of the animator within the BCC context was recognized for the first time. In the light of the growing specificity of BCC policy the document recognized that, given the autonomy of the BCC, the role of the animator was crucial.

> Since the BCCs are groups of lay people, whose objective
> is not pastoral service in the chapel, they have a certain
> autonomy, and, in general, meet alone, the role of the
> animator takes on special importance. The future of the
> BCC is linked strongly to the role played by the
> animator.[53]

This is of great interest because it recognizes the autonomy of the BCC, and is the first evidence of the weakening of the policy focus on the animator as 'a link-between-the-BCC-and-the-local-chapel' and as the criteria to evaluate BCCs. Yet, the most specific criteria of evaluation of animators continued to be a link of the BCC to wider church contexts,[54] where the relation to the chapel continues to be the highest priority.[55] Policy criticizes the excessive autonomy of BCCs, their tendency toward self-definition, and their freedom in the determination of objectives. By contrast, the document also claims that that generally members of the BCC are highly involved in chapel activities,[56] and that generally animators participate in the meetings of the local chapel council.

104

4.2.2 Phase Two: Initial Policies for BCCs as Pedagogic Contexts

The most recent contribution to BCC policy in this period, was the *Jornada sobre la Formación de Animadores de Comunidades en Sus Diversas Etapas* (Workshop on Formation of Animators of Communities in their Diverse Stages) (1988), was sponsored by the *Area Eclesial* (of the Chilean Episcopal Conference) and *COMIN Nacional* (Commission on Ministries and Communities of the Bishops' Conference). Here the authors announce a new statement of purpose:

> "... [to] produce a handbook which could serve as a
> fundamental scheme which might be a good orientation for
> the local churches" (*Area Eclesial* 1988:1).

Conscious of the range of recipients of this document, the authors tended to homogenize the policy language, where no account is taken of the specific features of BCCs which have great impact on pedagogic practice: urban or rural BCCs, those which emerged from family catechism groups, the degree of marginality, and BCCs with or without local religious personnel.

Despite the generality of language, the publication of this second major national document is of enormous importance because of its relation to liberation theology. We will recall that liberation theology was legitimized as a theological discourse when it was recognized by two Vatican documents (1984, 1986). Here, we find a similar occurrence. In this document on BCC policy published jointly by the two most powerful regulatory agencies in Chile, liberation theological discourse is legitimized as a pedagogic practice.

We have noticed several distinguishing features of this document. For the first time in an official document, the BCC was conceived of as a flexible context in which rules for its regulation evolve; where a normative progression through three stages was introduced, with some checks on the rigidity of the normativity of the stages (*Area Eclesial*:2). The authors described the BCC as a process, where the animator would regulate the pacing of BCCs through a specific sequence of three stages, and where the animation would also evolve through the stages.[57]

4.2.3 New Focus on the Animator in BCC Policy

Here the animator was the focus <u>for the first time</u>, where
policies consider two features of animators: (a) their highly
influential position in the BCC, and (b) that certain aptitudes may be
necessary for their selection.[58] This represents a first tentative
step toward the development of official criteria of animator
selection.

It is of the utmost importance that for the first time an
official policy has distanced itself from the concept of institutional
control as the primary mechanism for orientating BCCs. The
institutional behaviour of animators have been displaced as the
principal criteria of BCC evaluation. The policy has begun to focus
on the animator's aptitude for teaching, for reflection, for speaking
with different kinds of people, and a capacity for self-reflection on
pedagogy.

Further, this document recognizes that the pedagogy of an
animator should relate to the particular experience of a BCC at a
given historical moment. In line with this relation of animator's
pedagogy to the different stages in BCC growth, the authors introduced
the notion of a normative progression through three stages, that is, a
pre-determined sequence through which each BCC should pass in the
course of its development. In each of these stages, the BCCs would be
immersed in a pre-determined 'curriculum' of biblical, doctrinal and
interpersonal knowledge; and would engage in certain activities, and
be regulated by a sequence of mechanisms of pedagogic control.[59]

As part of this process, the document proposed the devolution of
the responsibilities of the animator. In the first stage, the
animation would be in the hands of the official advisor; in the second
stage, in the hands of the animator; and in the third stage, the
animation would pass from one member to another. However, a
contradiction has arisen between the idealized stages through which
all BCC should 'naturally' pass,[60] and the less radical and moderate
evolution of the BCC as it slowly incorporates some new elements of
reflection and practice in its discourse and everyday practice.[61] This
document recognizes the BCC as a site of socialization which shapes
the relation of faith to daily life.

With regard to pedagogy, curriculum and evaluation, it is the
relation of faith and daily life which receives the more thorough
discussion. From the initial period, we will recall a tendency to
concentrate on the context of the meeting without giving much
attention to 'how' that content related to a particular practice of
the animator. Here, the overall <u>curricular objectives</u> of the BCC are
distributed in three distinct areas of knowledge which should issue
forth in transformative practices in three stages: biblical formation,
doctrinal formation and formation in human relational skills.

a. Pedagogy

The pedagogy of the animator is blended with the church
responsibilities which the authors propose for the animator: the
animator as link to the local chapel,[62] and as the organizer and
promoter of individual and corporate christian practice both inside
and outside the chapel.[63]

Among the proposals concerning the animator and the
'methodology' which should be employed in a meeting, this document
reinforces the highly generalized proposals which we have seen in the
other document in this second period of official discourse:
democratization of decision-making,[64] the use of group dynamics to
promote the value of the person,[65] and liberating pedagogy.[66] And it
is a matter of some importance that a new policy recommendation should
be included regarding pedagogic materials. For the first time, the
relation between the pedagogy of the animator and pedagogic texts is
set out in an official document.

> "Use educational materials, such as books of popular
> education, audiovisual materials, which are available in
> different centres and institutions."[67]

However, as in the initial period, we find little discussion of
the precise meaning of liberating pedagogy, or of consensus building
techniques in decision-making, or of group dynamics which promote
human value, or of a limited bibliography of tested educational
materials, or of how the animators should incorporate any of these
methods into their pedagogy.[68] None of the proposed animator

practices are related specifically to the evolving of contents which they are supposed to transmit.

In the third or most advanced stage, the pedagogy would undergo a process of devolution. The proposed third stage, would feature practices like group preparation of the theme of the meeting,[69] support to members through group dynamics,[70] and devolution of pedagogic control to the members.[71]

> "The animator should endeavor that the members express their life stories, discover their vocation and their possible commitment, and that the whole community support them in realizing it."[72]

b. Curriculum

We will recall that the weakened classification of discourse proposed for BCCs, the high degree of embedding of primary discourse in secondary discourses has been a central feature of the official discourse since 1968. In the midst of narrative and analysis of everyday practice the theological orientation of the BCC is reaffirmed.

> "It is important that in each meeting all members of the BCC express their personal experience of work, sharing with others that which builds up their dignity and that which tears it down."[73]

Also, activities are suggested for the meeting by which a BCC might come to know better the local neighborhood through the development of non-theological knowledge.[74] The most significant development regarding curriculum is the proposed sequence of stages, i.e., the representation of the idealized relation of areas of knowledge to a progressive sequence of stages of the BCC.[75] Given the proposed integrated curriculum of the BCCs, i.e., everyday knowledge and biblical knowledge (a consistent general policy in both periods), three progressive relational principles are proposed, though largely unexplained, which we assume will function as the integrational principles which will 'bring together' the different knowledges in each stage: (a) 'Jesus calls'; (b) 'Jesus forms'; (c) 'Jesus sends'. While the outline of stages was prominent in the curriculum

objectives, the pedagogy and its relation to those knowledges which are expected to be transmitted at each stage remained vague.

It is of considerable importance to note that in the third stage of the sequence all three categories of knowledge, under the relational idea, 'Jesus sends', are orientated toward transformative everyday practice outside the BCC. In a sense, the expressed objectives of this organization of knowledge and practice are the idealized vision of BCC discourse and practice. However, once again we can only assume that it is the pedagogy of the animator which would order the transmission and acquisition of these objectives during the regular meeting.

Evidence that a BCC has reached the third stage according to the sequence outlined above is found in the everyday practices of members. The attention to intra-BCC issues, characteristic of stages one and two, would become less important, and the members would develop a more mature relation to church and world, i.e., more committed to growth of the Catholic Church and to social change.[76] While the authors recognize the necessity for the continued use of techniques of group dynamics which promote the valuation of the individual in the third stage, these techniques would be orientated to the consideration of the commitments of members.[77]

c. Evaluation

For the first time, the degree of commitment to transformative everyday practice of members is introduced as a criteria of evaluation for the BCC. Even though the document does not offer specific criteria to evaluate the pedagogy of the animator, it is of considerable importance that the institutional relation of an animator's practice (degree of participation in chapel activities and regular attendance at monthly administrative meeting of the chapel) has been displaced.

5 BCC Policies: Summary and Discussion

The BCC is an important socializing context for the members, an
informal site for the transmission and acquisition or the display,
intensification and application of values, as well as for the
transmission of a concept of person and society, of the Catholic
Church, and of everyday practices in different contexts. What the
members learn in BCCs, and how they learn it are of ultimate
importance for any policy. Throughout both periods, policies have
revealed the supreme confidence of the Catholic Church in the
effectiveness of its institutional control. The ideology of
institutional control promotes the periodic surveillance of the
animator in wider church contexts by the hierarchy of the local chapel
(especially at monthly chapel administrative meetings). In these
regular meetings, animators, together with representatives of other
chapel activities, will both give and receive opinions in the presence
of the chapel hierarchy, and therefore, be open to their scrutiny.
Their subjection to institutional control is expected to shape the
pedagogic practice of BCC animators.

Another feature of BCC policy deals with the perception of
similarities and differences among the BCCs themselves. Generally,
policy has overlooked both the diversity of social class position of
members and animators and their previous religious socialization in
terms of their effect on the shaping of BCC discourse and interaction.
Our own research will show that degree of marginality, as well as
members' previous religious socialization give rise to appreciable
differences between BCCs with respect to their discourse and
interaction.

We will recall our earlier discussion of the fundamental
differences between the less structured BCCs and the institutionally-
defined groups of family catechism, characterized by highly
centralized mechanisms of institutional control and unchanging and
uniform objectives. It may be the case that Catholic regulatory
agencies tend to see BCCs and family catechism groups as
undifferentiated, as groups which give rise to similar either more or
fewer problems of institutional control. However, it is possible that
Catholic regulatory agencies tend to associate BCC autonomy with the
erosion of Catholic identity, and this tendency may be responsible for

110

the promotion of institutional control as a means for the control of BCCs.

5.1 Recontextualizing Field and Pedagogic Texts

We are concerned with the recontextualizing field because the practices of this field construct the pedagogic discourse, and so initially construct the ideological horizons of religious consciousness.[78] Pedagogic texts are constructed in a recontextualizing field by a range of agencies. Initially, we were interested in describing the range of the surface ideological markers in the texts (class, gender, race, etc.), but later we became more interested to examine how the pedagogic texts had been put together, the rules for their construction, circulation, as well as their intended pedagogic practices. In our case, we had anticipated that a wide range of recontextualizing agencies would be discovered in which theological discourses would be refocused according to the ideological biases in the agencies. This clearly has not been the case. We managed to discover only three pedagogic texts available in Santiago designed specifically for BCCs.

The *Centro Ecuménico Diego de Medellín*, an agency sponsored by numerous christian churches supports a team which produced a PL text called *Introducción a la Teología de la Liberación* (1986). *EDUPO* (Educación Popular) is an agency which produces pedagogic texts, depending on the local bishop of the Western Zone of the Archdiocese of Santiago and located in the administrative centre of the Zone. This agency produced a CL text called *El Arbol* (1988). An independent agent produced two OC texts entitled *Jesús de Nazaret* and *Una Iglesia para el Mundo: Los Hechos de los Apóstoles*. These two pedagogic texts were published by the *Editorial Salesianos* and and marketed by the *Salesianos* and the *Paulinas* networks, the most extensive marketing and distribution networks in Chile.[79] An analysis of these texts indicated that the classificatory values of the discourse are similar to those of OC, PL and CL.

We shall conclude that there is no recontextualizing field as such since there are so few pedagogic texts and recontextualizing agencies. It is of considerable interest that we have found a large

111

number of regulatory agencies which endeavor to orientate BCC practice through objective control. By contrast, these same regulatory agencies develop no policies with respect to the pedagogic discourse of recontextualizing agencies as such. We had assumed that the writing of pedagogic texts as well as their circulation would be the principal focus of the Catholic regulatory agencies. However, there is only one reference to pedagogic texts in the entire corpus of documents of the regulatory agencies. Given this inattention to pedagogic texts as the principal means of symbolic control over the BCC, it will be interesting to discover that the influence of regulatory agencies over the actual BCC pedagogic practices.

5.2 **Summary of Policy**: **Emphases on Pedagogy, Curriculum and Evaluation**

We shall summarize the policy recommendations for pedagogy, curriculum and evaluation in terms of the emphasis (strong/weak) placed on each of the policies during the two periods, 1968-86, 1987-89.

> **very weak**: nominally recognized and peripherally located in the document
>
> **weak**: nominal recognition with some discussion
>
> **strong**: privileged position in the document with extensive discussion
>
> **very strong**: privileged position, with extensive detailed discussion

Table 4.3

Relative Emphases of Policy Messages

	Pedagogic Practice	Curriculum	Criteria of Evaluation
1968-86	Very weak	Strong	Very strong
1987-89	Weak	Very strong	Strong

Over the two periods the policy recommendations regarding the practice of the animator as 'pedagogic' increased, although not considerably. The emphasis upon pedagogy changed from very weak to weak.

In the case of curriculum, the emphasis placed upon it in policy increased over the two periods from strong to very strong. It should come as no surprise that the emphasis on the curricular aspects of policy recommendations are as strong as they are. Throughout the history of the Catholic Church, church-sponsored agencies of symbolic control have been responsible both for the organization of specialized religious knowledge and for the orthodox transmission of that knowledge in educational contexts. The policy recommendations of Catholic regulatory agencies with respect to the BCC curriculum issues seem to stand in that tradition.

The emphasis on evaluation became less important in the documents over the two periods. Over the initial period, great emphasis was placed on the institutional mechanism of control in which the chapel hierarchy played a crucial monitoring role of the BCC animators. In the second period, institutional control was virtually removed from policy and replaced by a pedagogic self-monitoring by the BCC. Evaluation was much strongly foregrounded in the initial period than in the second period.

5.3 Conclusions on BCC Policy

Objectives of curriculum as criteria of evaluation for the BCC began to emerge in the second period as the concept of institutional control slowly lost currency. The sudden and unexpected emergence of an elaborate curricular scheme, together with related criteria of evaluation is of enormous importance.

In conclusion, it is interesting to note that we have found no policy related to the regulation of production of pedagogic texts for the BCC, or related to the the agencies which produce them (the recontextualizing field). The production of pedagogic texts with

clear instructions for their use may prove to be a more effective regulatory mechanism for the BCC than institutional control.

Further, policy does not indicate specific criteria for the selection of the animator, or the means by which that selection might be implemented. Since the ideology of institutional control had prevailed so thoroughly in policy between 1968 and 1989, we would expect to find more uniform criteria for the selection of the animator. Surprisingly, no such criteria has been discovered.

While recognizing a need for preparation of animators; no specification is given as to the exact nature of that preparation, its timetable, or as to how the degree of marginality of class position or previous religious socialization of the animator might effect the contour of that preparation.

BCC policy recommends topics for meetings, values to be stressed in those meetings, expected everyday practices of members outside the BCC but, interestingly, we have found practically no discussion as to what actually should happen in the regular meeting in terms of its progression, its ritual aspects or its relation to popular culture.

6 General Conclusions

We have outlined the basic differences between orthodox-conciliar (OC) and liberation theological discourses, and within liberation theology, between its political (PL) and cultural (CL) modalities. We have also discussed differences between OC and PL/CL in terms of their different organizational bases. This discussion enabled us to infer the underlying codes of their discourses with respect to their classificatory values. Subsequently, we noted that no official recontextualizing field exists and very few pedagogic texts are made available for use by BCCs. In view of this lack of direct discursive control over the BCCs we analyzed the policy of the Catholic regulatory agencies and noted movements in this policy as these effected curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation and the role of the animator. In general official policy provides little explicit direction for the pedagogic practice of the BCC.

114

Thus, while we have shown that a field for the production of theological discourse exists with specialized practices and centres, no recontextualizing field exists for the specific creation of pedagogic discourse. It becomes a matter of great interest to discover how this discourse is created. In Part III of the thesis which follows we shall be examining what actually takes place in the context of the BCC.

NOTES for Chapter Four

[1]The relations between text and theological code, and between code and institutional setting contain within themselves the possibility of their own change. Theology can never be unpredictable or unrestrained creativity, nor can it be confined to mere mechanistic reproduction of texts of the past.

[2]Schaull 1984:72 in Dodson 1988:242.

[3]Insofar as each problematic gives rise to a discourse of transformation and change, these discourses of change will differ along the personal - societal dimension. Moreover, the degree to which human instrumentality can encourage the inauguration of the christian utopia will vary in each problematic. On the one hand, the societal problematic will give rise to a discourse of social transformation which will be associated with the teaching of Christ and imagery from the Old Testsament. On the other hand, the personal problematic will give rise to a discourse of interior transformation and the transformation of interpersonal relations which will also be associated with the teachings of Christ. Both of these transformative discourses hinges on the notion, Kingdom of God.

[4]For a extremely critical appraisal, see Hebbelthwaite 1982, Castillo 1986. For a more positive appraisal of Catholic social doctrine, see Richard 1987:14-27.

[5]Hewitt (1989:120-135) and Adriance (1985a:131-146) present balanced and thoughtful analyses of the Weberian and Marxist explanations of the origin of the 'option for the poor', that is, either as a product of institutional transition or as a more emergent grass-roots phenomenon.

[6]"I think that in Chile the starting point has been the social situation, and concretely the situation of poverty and social exploitation which we see in the country. I think that the reflection has started above all with this fact." Aldunate (PL), Interview 012:3. "So to put yourself in the place of the poor. That is, where the vision of the theology of liberation and the spontaneous vision of the *pueblo* of Chile meet." Aldunate (PL), Interview 012:5b.

[7]"In the field of theological discourse, new things have been taken on when compared with academic theology, because theology has changed location, it has changed its address or its centre, from the faculties and the seminaries to the marginalized neighborhoods ... Our theological material is increasingly becoming the daily life of our *pueblo* ... the life of our people and the history of our *pueblo*. Not only are there new questions but there is a whole new focus ... but rather a perspective of the life of the *pueblo,* of the life of the poor." Muñoz (CL), Interview 014:13. "There is an profound opposition with tradition ... but there is a methodological considerations which has made it new and which means a certain break with the traditional ideas about where God maybe found." Torres (CL), Interview 011:5

[8]"Theology of liberation is a trial to relocate the christian message closer to popular latin american sensibilities. It is an attempt to understand the popular latin american mentality with categories which come from the gospel, and with categories which come from a marxist interpretation of society, from class struggle and from historical development." Godoy (political science), Interview 022:2.

[9]"The term, 'poor', always implies a collective connotation and obliges that the conflictive aspects of social reality be considered." Moreno 1987:405 "The starting point of liberation theology is social and not religious." Levine 1979a:12.

[10]For example, the reticence of the Catholic hierarchy to condemn the Pinochet government until 1977 is examined in Correa and Viera-Gallo 1986.

[11]A review of the literature reveals abundant support for this traditional position in Chile. See Adriance 1985b; Bruneau 1974; Levine 1986a, 1986b; Morris and Adelman 1980; Smith 1970; Vallier 1970.

[12]In *Dios de los Cristianos* Muñoz (CL) describes a socio-religious praxis in a section of the first chapter entitled, "The Church and the poor in Latin America" (pp.36-65). By contrast, in *Iglesia Liberadora y Política* (1986), Castillo (PL) describes an explicitly political praxis in the opening section of the first chapter entitled, "Political Challenges in Latin America" (pp.15-47).

[13]Dussel 1976:45 in Levine 1979:27.

[14]"A wide range of opinions exists on the comparative adequacy of analytical models ... we have seen the relatively uncritical reception of concepts from the social sciences (Noemi (OC), Interview 015:9). We must assume that he is referring to the appropriation of some notions of Marxist political economy concerning radical economic determinism, i.e., social structures, State as agency of capitalist domination, dependency theory, and an international division of labour and class conflict. Social scientists recognize the poverty of this kind of 'hyper-economism'; Garretón alludes to it when he asks, "Can we reduce the question of liberation to an economic issue?" (Garretón (sociology), Interview 021:23). Morandé observes, "In the polemic about the liberation theology, the central conflict is not theological, but it is a conflict based on an inadequate interpretation of reality, you can take many of these themes and place them in the magisterium of the Catholic church and there is no conflict" (Morandé (sociology), Interview 019:12).

[15]Garretón (sociology), Interview 021:12.

[16]See Dodson 1979a:211.

[17]"Liberation theology took all of the marxist vision of structures, from those times, the themes of class, of conflict of classes, its conception of capitalist society, the State as part of the capitalist system." Correa (sociology), Interview 020:7. "I think that theology has given in too much to the conception of the social sciences, which today has been relatively overcome. This conception was based on economic determinism, and the radical transformation of society, and it gave little importance to political, sociological or cultural phenomena." Garretón (sociology), Interview 021:4. "There was a lot of political economy, the idea of means of domination, capitalist production, and the marxist analysis of society, theory of exploitation, production of the capitalist system division international of labour. But it is incomplete." Garretón (sociology), Interview 021:5.

[18]For the standard references on dependency theory see Dodson, 1979b, footnotes 5-11. Major works include: Cardoso and Falletto 1979; Dos Santos 1968; Frank 1967.

[19]"I remember that in the first phase dependency theory was the basis of the dialogue with the social sciences, it was a type of analysis developed by economists, and after it was passed over to the social structures, to the analysis of the State, and on to culture." Castillo (PL), Interview 010:5. "In the 60s, the answer was dependency theory, and I have never been able to understand why this theory had such currency among theologians. It was through this notion of of dependency that marxism was introduced: social class, class conflict, and the structural vision of marxism." Correa (sociology), Interview 020:7. "Perhaps, theologians have developed this theology with inadequate categories of analysis ... in order to comprehend Latin America, not to comprehend theology. This may be the reason that they used the theory of dependence and centre-periphery relation. The theologians had started on the basis of a Latin America on the periphery." Morandé (sociology), Interview 019:9. "In linking theology with the social sciences, he does it with a theory which is really on the move, and the theory which was capturing the minds of intellectuals is dependency theory. Gutiérrez simply took what was around at the time. Dependency is particularly soft as a theory, very few people talk about dependency in economics. It is not popular among social scientists, but it is among theologians. It is subject then to being less perennial, it will have to be in a continual state of flux. The option for the poor may still hold sway, but that socialism, in the sense that the theory of dependence felt that socialism was the way out, that is, just an act of faith nowadays." Ramos (economics), Interview 024.

[20]"The data that the theologians use is pretty out of date and determined by a strong ideological focus. What they use is data from the 50s and 60s." Vega (economics), Interview 016:2. "Liberation theology has a social dichotomy in terms of ... they consider the problem of Latin America to be that of oppressor/oppressed. And the real carriers of the message of God are the oppressed. If you part from the ideas that there is a dichotomy, they will never be an integration of society ... There are organized workers, organized groups of informal businesses, small factories, small salesman, and in this world there is no salary relation" Vega (economics), Interview 016:8. "When they move into economics they tend to have very zero-sum views of the world. Zero-sum views of the world is that if I win you must loose; it is not that they are unfamiliar with non zero-sum views of the world, but they do not tend to view the economy as admitting such possibilities.

Theologians tend to see it all as 'one party necessarily wins and one party necessarily looses'." Ramos (economics), Interview 024.

[21]"[I am speaking about] the uselessness of the 'oppressor/oppressed' talk. I speak about a ritual relation with the State, it places the State at a greater distance and the solution problems at an even greater distance. The State will not, and moreover, cannot abolish poverty be decree." Vega (economics), Interview 016:15.

[22]"[We see] a lack of empirical considerations, only the speculative side of things. We see little development of practical theological reason, only pure theological reason which is based on a non-empirical, zero-sum approach to the relations between the classes, no talk of democracy. Liberation theology is only a model, informed only by highly speculative macro political economy. It is simply behind the times." Garretón (sociology), Interview 021. "Theologians need to get their feet wet empirically also, not just speculating ..." Ramos (economics), Interview 024.

[23]Dodson 1979a:220,221.

[24]"The process of social and political equilibrium, the inclusion of the marginalized sectors of the population in the life of the country ... these are themes that liberation theology has not addressed. Liberation theology does not understand the theme of reform ... it considers itself a great eschatological reserve ... of the global overcoming of capitalism ... but in the concrete trajectory of history, it does not have much to say." Correa (sociology), Interview 020:4,10.

[25]"Liberation theology does not have a good understanding of the middle class, which removes it from the renovated intellectual elites in Chile. There are sectors of the middle class who are really united with the Vatican Council, and this renovated middle class elite looks with alarm on neo-conservatism in the Catholic church." Correa (sociology), Interview 020:9. "Liberation theology cannot understand the conflicts in the modern society. It is more sensitive to the poor than to the working class. The BCCs are communities of excluded people, those who are on the margin of modern society, and not of the exploited like the workers." Correa (sociology), Interview 020:8.

[26]"I am referring to the pragmatic aspect of society ... negotiation, transaction ... We have a great theology of liberation about liberation from the exploiter ... on economic alienation, on capital. However, the State is also a agent of protection and not pure domination ... It tends to transform religion into integralism ... integralism of the left." Garretón (sociology), Interview, 021:8.

[27]"Liberation theologians have to study standard economics, you just can't have this amateurish, anecdotal acquaintance with the literature. They have to struggle through it ... I think that if you are going to study theology, working with or linking it with the social sciences, you just cannot have some grab bag of social sciences." Ramos (economics), Interview 024.

[28]"I think that they make intimate use of these categories, and then they do not have the freedom to changing them in step with historical change. The durability of the categories which are used in sociology is much less, they are not permanent through time. Theologians have categories which are more stable through time. Sociology is a discipline which has to renew itself continually, in its own categories, in its own framework ... so to think of today's society with the categories of the last century does not make much sense." Morandé

(sociology), Interview 019:13. "Theology has a certain quota of conservatism, of stability, of search for stability. The Catholic church and its discourse tends always toward stability." Correa (sociology), Interview 020:5. "The problems comes when marxism, which is fine as a sociological concept, is raised to a metaphysical concept." J. Castillo (politics), Interview 023:4.

[29]"The meanings of political actions must be considered in relation to a deeper more global meaning, which has to do with an absolute truth, a value which is of a religious character. The partial meanings of reality, without deflating the autonomy of those partialities, have to be related with a more global, more transcendent, more eschatological meaning. The meaning of the Kingdom of God (term for the ultimate christian utopia) should not be turned into a scientific fact ... an outcome of social change. A totally imaginable and achievable set of social relations." Viera-Gallo (politics), Interview 018:12. "Theological thinking means that they tend to identify utopia and a social project with a certain actor in a determined moment because theology starts with an idea of society which holds that society marches irreversibly toward its end, and that there is going to be a moment in which society becomes transparent and becomes reconciled with itself" Garretón (sociology), Interview 021:22.

[30]"*Pueblo* can only be a numerical collection of individuals related by function. When Aristotle explain *pueblo*, he explains it in terms of economic function. Who is the *pueblo*? Artisans, commercial people, campesinos. *Pueblo* is an entity qualitatively different from the individual." Godoy (political science), Interview 022:8. "When they affirm the *pueblo* as a subject ... they are affirming their emancipatory aspect, of the liberation of the diversified *pueblo*. *El pueblo* does not exist ... acting as 6 or 8 million, it exists through parties and organizations." Garretón (sociology), Interview 021:7.

[31]*Anales de la Facultad de Teología*, a thorough and detailed occasional series on historical theology, and the research periodical journal, *Teología y Vida*, are texts produced by the faculty of theology of the Catholic University which clearly lie within the analytical-commentarial methodology.

[32]"The classic temptation of theology has been the totalizing horizon with the consequent rejection of provisional historicity. As it is known, the totalizing temptation of the universe of theological comprehension led the theologians to privilege a philosophical instrument over those of the social sciences. This search for the universal leads to, on the one hand, an abstract, apolitical and ahistorical social doctrine, and on the other, it leads to a legitimizing stance toward the status quo" (Ramos 1989:430).

[33]Hebbelthwaite 1982:87.

[34]Comparative studies have been undertaken concerning the degree of radicalization of the Chilean hierarchy, that is, its shift from support to opposition to the status quo. Opposition to the State has become a model of influence in countries like Brazil, however, in Chile, this opposition has been more moderate. See Neuhouser 1989:233-244.

[35]This coincides with the findings in important research on causal attribution among the marginalized. See Ortíz 1989.

[36]See Bibliography for comprehensive catelogue of documents studied, both those of the CCSP and other informal agencies (CRP: *Centro de*

Reflexión Pastoral) and those of the Catholic regulatory agencies
mentioned in this section.

[37]For an explanation of these three message systems, see Bernstein
1975a:89.

[38]"We see the process of formation in the BCC ..." González and Goic
1989:no.66. "Every BCC should be a place for the development of faith,
respecting different opinions without demanding that all members hold
the same ideology in matters of Catholic opinion." *Orientaciones
Pastorales* 1986-89:no.216.

[39]"The community is a new style of reflection and of transmission of
faith. The poor sense that the faith is more closely theirs. It is not
the property of some experts who must be permanently consulted. The
book of the scriptures is no longer a forbidden or unreachable book.
Faith is not understood as a 'belief', but as a 'way of life.'" *COMIN
Nacional* 1985:7.

[40]"Through reflection on the sacred scriptures, the BCC should work
to understand them and apply them to their life situations. Each shares
what he/she sees and understands from the biblical text ... and ...
reflection on the concrete situation: personal or social. This
reflection takes place following freely the method: look->judge->act."
COMIN, 1985:8.

[41]"It is an experience of community, fraternity." Archdiocese of
Santiago. 1988:2. "... helps one to grow as a person, to discover the
capacity to serve ..." Ibid.:2. "... a place of fraternal meeting,
where one lives the experience of charity, fraternal correction and
forgiveness ...", Ibid.:4.

[42]"There is a lack of information and of documents, lack of
planning, organization and methodology, lack of support, lack advice,
and a lack of support from the priest and other pastoral agents." *COMIN*
of the Eastern Zone 1986:5.

[43]Bernstein 1975a:80.

[44]"Get to know Christ in another way ... the bible is studied, one
learns to read it and comment on it together." *COMIN Nacional*, 1985:5.
"Now we can get to the source and foundation of our faith ..." Ibid.:7.
See also *Orientaciones Pastorales* 1986-89:196.

[45]"... Get to know the problems of the sector ..." *Orientaciones
Pastorales* 1986-89:no.197. See also Ibid.:no.211.

[46]"... a deeper formation based on the reading of the bible in order
to illuminate the totality of life with the light of faith." González
and Goic 1989:no.67. "... one grows in a new consciousness of reality
... to discover problems and to share them freely in the community and
look for ways to respond to them." *COMIN Nacional* 1985:5. See also
Archdiocese of Santiago. 1988:2 and *Orientaciones Pastorales* 1986-
89:no.134.

[47]"Our BECs have stayed too much within the religious and the
catechetical; they are lacking an openness to the environment. There is
little reflection in the light of the gospel and the teaching of the
church on the problems of work, economics, labor organization and on the
neighborhood." *Orientaciones Pastorales* 1982-85:no.132. See also
Orientaciones Pastorales 1986-89:no.193.

[48]"The BCC cannot be understood except in explicit and visible
reference to the BEC, to the parish and to the bishop." González and

Goic 1989:no.68. Valdivieso (1989) indicates that few BCCs which participated in the Bellarmino study considered the external relation to wider church contexts to be an important responsibility of the animator. Given the high level of participation in chapel-based activities across the Bellarmino sample, as well as in our sample, this emphasis on the external relation of the BCC is ill-conceived.

[49] "Incorporate the animator of the BCC into participation in the chapel and its decision making process." Archdiocese of Santiago. 1988:. "Designate persons to prepare the meetings, acquire material and associate with the chapel." See also *Orientaciones Pastorales* 1986-89:no.138, *COMIN* of the Eastern Zone 1986:6 and Barriga 1987a:7.

[50] "The exercise of these services helps the people to mature as persons, both recognizing their abilities and putting them to use for others." *COMIN Nacional* 1985:9. "In the meetings different activities take place, prayer, more casual conversation and formation." *COMIN* of the Eastern Zone 1986:2.

[51] In Barriga (1987b), the BCC was first described in this document (a) in terms of quality of social relations: "the basic christian community, or small base community, is the basic cell of between 10 and 20 members, where fraternal and communitarian relations can be better lived." (b) In terms of christian practice: "there, all listen to the Word of God, share in prayer ... These BCCs are not a chapel work group, rather members have their commitment in the place where they work and live." (c) In terms of relation of BCC to wider church contexts: "the BCC needs the chapel or the parish as a centre and place of ecclesial communion and of participation in the common mission of the church. For this reason there is an organic link between the chapel and the animator of the BCC."

[52] The first document (*COMIN Nacional 1989*), is the product of a five-day seminar of field experts from the *COMIN Nacional* and the five Zones of the Archdiocese of Santiago. The second document from the *Area Eclesial* (1988) of the Chilean Episcopal Conference was produced in a three-day seminar by twenty field experts.

[53] *COMIN Nacional* 1989:no.155.

[54] "The majority of the BCCs confirm that they participate in the council of their local chapel, the animator being their representative." Ibid.:175. "[The animator's] function in the coordination of the BCC is to maintain permanent contact with the other BCCs in the chapel or parish. Ibid.:no.211.

[55] "We have seen that the fundamental accent for the formation of communities is the BCC, but this small community runs the risk of weakening or loosening its ecclesial identity if it is not strongly linked to the wider community." Ibid.:no.234.

[56] "In the great majority of the BCCs, one or more of the members participates in activities organized by the chapel or parish in the sector." Ibid.:no.175.

[57] Three stages are called, 'Jesus Calls', 'Jesus Forms' and 'Jesus Sends' and would go across three categories of curriculum: biblical, interpersonal and doctrinal. Policy calls for the BCC animation to go through a process of devolution to members-centered control.

[58] "The animation and the guidance are tasks which are permanent and indispensable for the life of the communities, for their growth in faith, maturing in fraternity and commitment to transforming the world.

The animation should be taken up by the most apt member of the community." *Area Eclesial*:2.

[59]"We can see three principal stages , with some emphases ... which distinguish them. In each of them the formational support that each one needs is specified: which contents and which methods can be used, the role and contribution of the animator and the official advisors." Ibid.:6.

[60]"We are speaking of a process where a new stage means fundamentally the incorporation of new elements, leaving the previous stage. 'When I was a child, I spoke, thought and argued like a child; but when I became a man, all childish ways were put behind me.' (First Letter of Saint Paul to the Christians at Corinth 13.11)" Ibid.:7.

[61]"... in the communities the process of development consists basically in the slow incorporation of new elements to the action and reflection, which shape faith and daily living." Ibid.:7.

[62]"The animators are the ones who should facilitate the fraternity and strengthening ecclesial identity ... Those who are animators should maintain the local chapel ... communicating with the pastor and the parish council." Ibid.:12.

[63]"They will ... [open] themselves to the problems and necessities of the wider community in the sector ... And the celebration should be more and more like that of the church: sacraments of christian life, celebrating the feasts of Christ ... It is good to promote activities in solidarity with members of the community and between them and the people of the sector." Ibid.:16.

[64]"... gives emphasis to participation and consensus in decision-making." Ibid.

[65]"Given the undervaluation of human beings in society, above all the marginalized, ... it is necessary to ... use dynamics in order to promote self-valuation and the valuation of others." Ibid.:16.

[66]"It is important to remember above all that it is necessary for the animator to try to introduce creatively a personalizing and liberating pedagogy, which respects the particularities of social reality and avoids facile massifications ..." Ibid.:16.

[67]Ibid.:16.

[68]It is of considerable interest that the BCCs we encountered in the various stages of the field work rarely use pedagogic material or less specialized documents. The Bellarmino findings simply indicate whether or not during the previous twelve-month period, the BCC had used some materials. A BCC could have responded positively to the question on the basis of having used materials on a single occasion. Seventy-six percent (n=38) of the responding BCCs in the Western Zone and sixty-three percent (n=106) in the Eastern Zone signaled that they had used some materials.

[69]"The preparation of the themes should be done in small groups of people who are more expert in one or another area." Ibid.:20.

[70]"The animator should continue using group dynamics in order to deepen knowledge." Ibid.:20.

[71]"It may be the case that the animation of the BCC moves from person to person. It is suggested that the topics be proposed by the different members of the BCC." Ibid.:20.

[72]Ibid.:18.

[73]Ibid.:16.

[74]"Activities which tend to help the BCC to get to know the sector in which they live: make contact with the local social organizations; invite people from the sector into the BCC, investigate the history of the sector."   Ibid.:17.

[75]The three stages of curriculum are organized under three relational principles: 'Jesus calls', 'Jesus forms' and 'Jesus sends'.

[76]"What is left behind is a characteristic closure and a turning within found in prior stages, necessary to strengthen the bonds of fraternity. Other elements are found in the BCC at this stage. It is closely associated with the local church, and that it take on the responsibilities for the transformation of the world and the construction of the church." Ibid.:17.

[77]"It is important to continue to use dynamics of the valuation of the person in the BCC, introducing the evaluation of the commitments that the person has taken on." Ibid.:21.

[78]Here, we understand consciousness in the widest sense: schemes of thought, perception, appreciation, action, body hexis. See Bourdieu 1977.

[79]Arroyo, M. 1986. *Jesús de Nazaret*. Santiago: Salesianos.

Appendix for Chapter Four

Intellectual Field of the Social Sciences

In this appendix we will (a) describe briefly the criteria of selection of the nine social scientists of the intellectual field, and (b) provide a brief summary of their present professional position.

Criteria of Selection of Social Scientists of the Intellectual Field

During an extensive period of research design in London in 1987, we had decided to undertake an interview with a selection of members of the intellectual field of the social sciences because of the importance of their relation to the field of production of theological discourse. However, the final selection was not finalized until several months after my arrival. During the initial period of the field work, June-October 1988, the final selection was determined after numerous conversations with social scientists from various NGOs in Santiago: *CIDE, CISOC, ILADES,* and the *Centro Bellarmino* and at the University of Chile.

It was decided that the principal criteria of selection should be a general climate of openness to religion, the catholic church, as well as to a theoretical appreciation of theological discourse. As a secondary criteria, we sought to arrange the interviews with the most prestigious figures in three fields. As a tertiary criteria, we sought to insure a certain ideological diversity in the sample, keeping in mind the constraint imposed by our primary criteria of selection.

Profile of the Social Scientists

We will now offer a brief description of each social scientist which will include his area of specialization, past and present professional activities, place of employment, and the date of the interview.

Alvaro Bardón, economist, former professor and head of the department of economics at the University of Chile, President of the Central Bank during the military regime (1975-81; 1988-90), under-Secretary of the

Economy (1982–83), presently a financial consultant in *GEMENES*. [Interview 017: 25.10.88]

Humberto Vega, economist, director of the *Programa: Economía del Trabajo* (a church related NGO), member of the opposition political party, *PPD* (*Partido para la Democracia*), a member of the 'Commission for the Economy' of the Socialist Party (*renovado*) [Interview 016: 24.01.89]

Joseph Ramos, economist, former professor of *ILADES*, actually deputy director of the economic development division at *CEPAL*, *Comisión Económica para América Latina* [Interview 024: 19.10.88].

José Antonio Viera-Gallo, politician and lawyer, former representative of the Italian development organization, *LACI*, former director of the research NGO, *Centro de Estudios Sociales*, Member of the House of Representatives, President of the House of Representatives [Interview 018: 19.10.88].

Jaime Castillo Velasco, politician and lawyer, former minister of justice in the Frei administration, director of a periodical associated with the Christian Democratic Party, *Política y Espíritu*, international vice-president of the christian democrat party, President of the Commission of Human Rights in Chile [Interview 023: 25.10.88].

Oscar Godoy, Professor of Political Science in the University of Chile, director of the Institute of Political Science of the University, served on the Committee for Free Elections before the National Referendum in October, 1988 [Interview 022: 08.11.88].

Manuel Antonio Garretón, sociologist, Professor and Researcher in *FLACSO*. Before the military coup, director of the *Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Nacional* in the Catholic University of Chile and Dean in the the university, participated in the Technical Commission of the anti-Pinochet campaign in the national referendum, October 1988, member of the political commission of the Socialist Party (Núñez) [Interview 021: 06.11.88].

Pedro Morandé, director of the Institute of Sociology of the Catholic University of Chile [Interview 019: 17.10.88].

Enrique Correa, former researcher and consultant in *CIAS, Centro de Investigaciones y Asesoría Sindical,* which provides technical/political information for the *CUT, Centro Unico de Trabajadores,* actual Secretary of the Alywin government (1990-   ) [Interview 020: 02.11.88].

Chapter Five

Pedagogic Practices and Contexts of the BCCs

Introduction

In the previous chapter we applied our language of description
to the production of theological discourse and to the relation between
these productions, to the construction of pedagogic texts and to the
focusing of BCCs by the policies of the regulatory agencies of the
Chilean Catholic Church. In this chapter we are concerned with the
third level of the model, the field of pedagogic practice (Diagram
2.1). Clearly, we cannot be concerned with all the BCCs which make up
this field and the varieties of their pedagogic practices. We shall,
however, develop a language of description to describe and distinguish
between varieties of pedagogic practices, which we consider is
sufficiently general to be applied to all BCCs.

1   Reformulation of the Theory

In this discussion of the pedagogic practice of the BCC we are
concerned with a description of the relations <u>within</u> the BCC context.
Since the theory we are using arose out of a school-based context, the
degree of informality of the communicative context in the BCC requires
that the theoretical framework of our the analysis be reconsidered.
We shall first derive the four components of the pedagogic practice in
the BCC as given by the theory:

   a. **organizational practice:** the arrangement of objects
        and persons in time and space.

   b. **communicative practice:** the discursive form taken by
        that practice as realized in the religious and
        secondary discourses.

   c. **instructional practice:** the principles informing the
        animator's rules of selection, sequencing, pacing
        and evaluative criteria.

   d. **interactive practice:** (1) means of control over the
        discourse, and (2) means of control over the
        relation between the members and the animator.

Whilst organizational, communicative and interactive practice can be usefully applied, we shall have to reconsider instructional practice, for there is no formal instruction of the dominant discourse, i.e., the religious discourse, although the actual instructional practice will bear explicit or implicit relation to OC discourse or to liberation theological discourse. If we ask what is acquired by the BCC members through the informal instructional practice the answer is not entirely clear. Undoubtedly, the members bring needs and expectations, interests and concerns to the meeting. They do expect to learn something as our interviews will show.[1] The animator, as our interviews also will show, does not expect to be a 'teacher' in any formal sense, rather, he/she expects to 'animate' or 'facilitate' the airing and discussion of issues informed by personal faith and Catholic institutional identity.[2] This high degree of informality does not mean that each BCC does not have principles regulating its talk and interactions.

Before the discussion of the differences between the BCCs based on the values of classification and framing, we shall describe the common features of the meetings of all BCCs.

2 Common Features of BCC Meetings: Organizational Practice

The members and the animator gather regularly, either weekly or biweekly, for the meeting of their Basic Christian Community or BCC. Groups of between seven and fifteen adults gather in designated sites in their neighborhood (in homes or in a meeting room at the chapel). As we shall see, this meeting forms a rather unique communicative context. The members of a BCC share problems and joys, consider their social context in the light of a biblical text and other specialized texts. The BCC gathering taken as a single unit constitutes a specialized episode whose features distinguish it from the daily life of the members: social relations are generally warmer, a degree of ideological consensus prevails, members can air their views and they can develop a range of valued communicative and social skills. We have found common features with respect to the overall organization of the BCC, and with regard to a stable pattern of episodes in the meeting of the BCC.

We have found little difference among BCCs in our sample with respect to organizational features, that is, the arrangement of objects and persons in the BCC context. Systematic empirical research in Chile (Güell 1987; Valdivieso 1989) has not focused on these organizational features of regular BCC meetings. The overall pattern of scheduling, location of the meeting and seating arrangement remains stable generally across the our small sample of BCCs, where animators create a regular pattern of meetings and arrange themselves in a large face-to-face circular pattern. Within the meeting itself, we have discerned three different communicative episodes insulated by sacred markers.

First Episode: The initiation of the first episode of the meeting is usually marked by rituals of address and greeting. It is characterized generally by informal communication, interrupted frequently by the mutual greetings of the members as they slowly arrive with bible in hand. Each member warmly greets the others individually amidst the lively give-and-take of multiple and simultaneous informal conversations. The talk in this episode is primarily informal, everyday talk,[3] with the occasional narrative or chapel announcements to which all participants are generally attentive (10-40 minutes).

First Sacred Marker: When most of the members have arrived and settled into a chair, the second episode of the meeting is 'officially' initiated by the animator.[4] He/she begins the meeting by introducing one or more 'recognizable' sacred markers (sign of the cross and/or a short prayer of invocation and/or a song) which announces the change to the second episode from the first one. The prayer marks the initiation of second or sacred episode (1-5 minutes).

Second Episode: In the second episode itself, the animator is more active than in the first episode. Generally his/her speaking becomes more authoritative and his/her directions have an effect over the communication in the second episode. He/she announces the biblical text, and designates a member to read it, and from this moment the everyday problems of the members and the biblical text are brought into special relation under the pedagogic control of the animator. Silence follows the reading, and then the process of interaction with the biblical text is guided by the animator. A

128

selection of political, economic, domestic and church issues is often introduced during the second episode, thereby constituting what we consider to be the most specialized episode in the BCC meeting. In addition, prolonged personal narratives may also arise in relation to the biblical text, and they may bear direct or indirect relation to the biblical text under consideration. In this second episode, daily life experiences, secondary discourses and the biblical text are brought into relation in different ways (30-150 minutes).

Second Sacred Marker: The shift to the third episode is usually signaled by a second sacred marker: the animator initiates a period of prolonged petitionary prayer, where members and animator address God directly out of their perceived need (economic, political, domestic, church, spiritual) in the form of intercessions to which all members reply, `Lord, hear our prayer.' However, while the animator marks the beginning and end of this sacred marking with introductory and summarizing prayers, he/she exercises little or no control over the features of the individual prayers themselves. Frequently, a song follows (02-20 minutes).

Third Episode: The third episode is characterized by more secular or informal talk; local practice once again become the principal topic and the regulatory practice of the animator no longer controls the talk. Once again, the animator speaks with less authority and his/her speech draws little additional power from his/her identity as animator. The host member generally serves a cup of tea and sandwiches at this point. After a time, members will begin to leave in groups of two or three, or in some case when one is ready to go, all will leave. The ritual of departure itself can sometimes be quite prolonged (15-60 minutes).

We give below a diagrammatical representation of both the episodes and the shifts in discourse which are approximately stable for all BCC meetings. Regardless of theological orientation, social class or previous educational experience, the overall contour of the BCC meetings is generally the same. That is, the overall contour of these sacred markers, the episodes and discourses and discourse changes to which they give rise are generally stable across the sampled BCCs.

129

Diagram 5.1

Episodes and Discourses in the BCC Meeting

I		II		III
Rituals	s	SECOND	s	Rituals of
of Greeting	a	EPISODE	a	Departure
and Address	c		c	
	r		r	
	e		e	
	d		d	
	m		m	
Everyday	a	Secondary	a	Everyday
Informal	r	---------	r	Informal
Discourse	k	Religious	k	Discourse
	e		e	
	r		r	

Having described the common organizational features of the BCC meeting, we will now describe the differences between the BCCs in terms of their classification and framing values. Differences in these value will enable us to infer the code of the pedagogic practice. The evidence to support the establishment of these values comes from the transcriptions of twenty-two (22) meetings of the eight (8) sampled BCCs, and from the field notes for the period, June 1988-July 1989.

3 Classificatory Features of the Pedagogic Practice

We shall describe here (a) the ritual marking of the discourse between the episodes, and (b) the discourse within the second episode in terms of the principle of classification. We shall discuss the basis for assigning a classificatory value to the sacred markers and discourse in the second episode of each sampled BCC, and present the findings with respect to classification.

3.1 Ritual Marking of Discourses between Episodes

Here we shall consider the relation between different kinds of talk and the different episodes of the BCC. We have found that the

talk in the first and third episodes is likely to be more similar to the informal talk outside the BCC. However, the middle period of the meeting, the second or sacred episode, frequently gives rise to specialized talk under the guidance of the animator.

In most BCCs the talk in the second episode is clearly distinguishable from the talk in the first episode. Here the second episode becomes the crucial period where the religious and secondary discourses may be brought into relation. The first and third episodes are entirely concerned with the ritual of address and exit embedded in local talk. In some BCCs the discourse is not specialized to episodes. Here religious and secondary discourses may arise in any episode or one or other of these discourses may not arise at all. Thus, we can distinguish between BCCs in terms of their ritual marking of the relation between episodes and discourses. Under conditions of strong classification the ritual marking give rise to shifts in discourse. Under conditions of weak classification ritual marking does not signal shifts in discourse. Ritual marking will vary across the sample of BCCs in terms of its degree of complexity, but we are interested in the ritual marking as a signal for shifts in discourse between episodes.

Rules for Assigning Classificatory Values
to Ritual Marking of Discourses between Episodes

++C - where ritual marking is frequently and most solemnly
enacted.

+C - where ritual markers are less solemnly enacted,
especially sacred markers, but which nevertheless clearly
set apart three episodes.

-C - where ritual markers are infrequently enacted, and do
not give rise to three clearly discernible episodes.

--C - where ritual markers are rarely enacted, giving rise
to a BCC meeting as a single undifferentiated episode.

The rituals markers include rituals of greeting and address in the first episode, and the sharing of a cup of tea and sandwiches and farewell rituals in the third episode. However, the most significant ritual markers are the 'sacred markers' of the second episode: prayer,

131

song and gesture. We have focused on the ritual markers which separate the second episode from the rest of the meeting. We have discovered a tendency for ritual markers to be somewhat stronger in the highly marginalized BCCs than in the less marginalized ones. We cannot give a description of the field of pedagogic practice as this is beyond the scope of our thesis. We shall give an analysis of the pedagogic context and practice of the BCCs in our sample.

3.1.1 Discussion

Less Marginalized BCCs

Saint Michael   ++C

The sacred markers of the second episode are so expanded that their realization is practically co-extensive with the entire second episode. The second episode is marked by an extended period of prayer and song, and within the second episode we discover another long period of prayer, in which the members, and especially the animator, address God directly. Sacred markers do not distinguish within, but between the BCC and external contexts, marking the BCC as sacred. In a sense, this type of meeting becomes a single series of sacred markers which solemnly distinguishes the overall BCC episode from all other outside contexts, and which celebrates the personal relationship of the individual with God.

Justice   +C

Three episodes are clearly discernible in **Justice**. However, the sacred markers are sometimes brief, where the Sign of the Cross marks the beginning and a very short group vocal prayer, the 'Our Father', marks the end of the second episode. Irrespective of their informality, the ritual markers give rise to a second episode in which the discourse changes quite noticeably.

Saint James and John XXIII   --C

In **Saint James**, ritual marking was found generally to be very weak,[5] and the episodes are not clearly discernible.

132

Ritual markers in **John XXIII** are few, a feature which makes it difficult to clearly distinguish any episodes in the meeting. For example, one member will unceremoniously introduce an upcoming activity in the chapel ("How about Monday's council meeting?"), and the others will follow the lead. The members comment, criticize, inform, evaluate and plan. Usually after a short period of this talk, unpunctuated by any sacred marker, tea will be served. The service of tea, normally associated with the end of the second episode in other BCCs, does not signal a shift in discourse or in interaction. Although the animator usually introduces a short prayer, at no time does this or any other ritual marker alter the overall configuration of the discourse. The meeting proceeds from one item of chapel business to another. Thus, the BCC, **John XXIII**, is very weakly classified in terms of sacred markers.

Highly Marginalized BCCs

Esperanza and Solidarity   ++C

In these BCCs we found that, throughout the twelve month visiting period, the pattern of ritual marking was consistent and elaborate, especially the sacred markers of the second episode: condensed religious markers like silent and vocal prayer, song and gesture. The Sign of the Cross and opening prayer by the animator mark the beginning of the second episode, and a longer period of silent or vocal prayer and a song, followed by a stylized closing prayer by the animator punctuate the end of the second episode. Here we have found strong classification of ritual marking signals a great shift in discourse.

Lo Amor   +C

Even though in **Lo Amor** the third episode is often quite short, ritual markers of the three episodes are clearly discernible. But the sacred markers of the second episode are generally less complicated than in the two BCCs above, as the animator will introduce a short prayer to draw the meeting to a close. The shift in discourse signaled by the ritual markers is not as dramatic as in the cases of **Esperanza** and **Solidarity**.

Workers of God -C

In this BCC, it is generally difficult to discern three ritually marked episodes in the meetings although the animator will suggest at some point that the meeting (referred to here as the second episode) should begin. When one meeting was scheduled to tackle a lesson in civic education, the animator of **Workers of God** recommended that the members leave their bibles at home. At the end of the meeting, after the closing prayer, the members commented that they had thought there would be no prayer or reading. It was not possible to discern any ritual markers in that meeting, other than those indicated in the pedagogic text.

3.1.2 Ritual Marking: Summary and Discussion

We shall now summarize this discussion of ritual marking of discourses between episodes which constitutes BCC organizational practice.

Table 5.1

Summary of Ritual Marking as Organizational Practice

Less Marginalized

Justice	+C		Saint James	--C	
John XXIII	--C		Saint Michael	++C	
Educational					**Non-educational**
			Workers		
Lo Amor	+C		of God	-C	
Solidarity	++C		Esperanza	++C	

Highly Marginalized

Ritual markers are of considerable importance in some BCCs as they give rise to significant shifts in discourse in the second episode. From the everyday informal discourse within the rituals of

134

address and greeting in the first episode, the discourse can shift
after the animator introduces the ritual markers which initiate the
second episode of the BCC meeting. We have noticed a relatively
stronger classification of episodes rising from ritual marking in
highly marginalized BCCs when compared to the less marginalized ones.

We notice that both **Saint James** and **John XXIII** are BCCs with a
very high incidence of church discourse and a low incidence of
religious discourse (See Table 5.1). This curious distribution, which
will be discussed at length in Chapters Seven through Fourteen, is
responsible for the very weak classification of the ritual marking.
It appears that there are no sacred moments in these BCCs, and thus,
no episodes are marked ritually (--**C**). The other anomalous ritual
marking is the weak classification (-**C**) in **Workers of God**. This BCC
has the highest incidence of political discourse and a low incidence
of religious discourse; and this combination may be responsible for
weak classification of episodes. With these exceptions, the pattern
of ritual marking is strong (+**C**) and very strong (++**C**) irrespective of
degree of marginality.

3.2 Pedagogic Practices

We shall distinguish between pedagogic practices according to
differences in their classification and framing values as outlined in
Chapter Two. We shall first discuss the allocation of classificatory
values, and secondly the allocation of framing values. The strength
of classification, it will be remembered, is related to the extent
secondary discourses are extended into BCC talk, and related to the
religious discourse of the BCC. The stronger the classification the
more secondary discourses would be excluded from the talk. The weaker
the classification the more a secondary discourse would enter into the
talk and be related to religious discourse. Thus, the OC modality
should produce strong classification and the LT modality should
produce weak classification. The strength of a classification should
regulate the inclusion and exclusion of the other secondary
discourses, economic, political and domestic. After the discussion of
classification, framing will be analyzed.

135

3.2.1 Classification

Our first step is to consider what counts as strong classification and so by implication, weak classification. We shall make this discrimination on the basis of two determinations. First, we shall group religious discourse and church discourse together. Our grounds for doing this is that these discourses in themselves, refer only to themselves, and do not involve any application or relation to the everyday problems that members encounter in their daily life which renders that life so painful and difficult. Thus, one necessary condition for strong classification will be the aggregate incidence of these two discourses in BCC talk. The second determination from which we shall derive the classificatory values of BCC religious discourse is related to register of religious discourse itself (Table 5.3). Within religious discourse we distinguish its modality according to the presence or absence of a metaphorical register. The presence of the latter signals LT which we know are weakly classified, and the metaphorical register indicates a bridging of of religious and secondary discourses. The presence of a decontextualized or an invocatory register is a clear indication of OC, and therefore, a strongly classified discourse. We shall then examine the incidence of the secondary discourses to determine the extent to which the classification includes or excludes these discourses (Table 5.4).

It is clear that we cannot determine the classification until we know the distribution of the discourses - and in the case of religious discourse, its register. On the basis of this prior determination we can discuss code modality. Before setting out the incidence of the discourses, we now give the formal definitions of the discourses and the registers of religious discourse are to be the index of the type of religious discourse.

3.2.2 Discourses: Definitions and Distributions

Religious discourse is not be defined here as an
internally coherent system of beliefs, but rather it shall
be defined as OC or LT which operate as sets of principles
for the exclusion, for the selective inclusion, for the
relation of itself to other discourses and for the
relation between discourses other than itself in specific
specialized contexts (i.e., the BCC).

136

Here we shall set out the definitions of three different
registers of religious discourse by means of which we shall identify
OC and LT: (a) invocatory, (b) decontextualized, and (c) metaphorical.
We shall give these definitions here, but they will be applied in
Chapters Thirteen on Religious Discourse.

(a) Invocatory register of talk celebrates the relation
of the individual to God in an invocatory register (direct
address). Of itself, this discourse has no positive
social or cultural consequences, as it focuses exclusively
on the revivification of the interior attitude of
individual christians to God irrespective of all
exteriority. Yet, indifference to any form of exteriority
or social or religious practice has social and religious
consequences.[6]

(b) Decontextualized register refers to all abstract,
specialized types of talk characterized primarily by an
absence of specific reference to any particular context of
daily life, and by its disinterest in generating specific
strategies of change or maintenance. We include in this
general category all abstract talk, which is by and large
of an explicitly religious kind: abstract bible reflection
or elaborate displays of moralizing in relation to
individual or collective attitude toward unspecified
social practices. This discourse remains largely
decontextualized, referring almost exclusively to the
individual subject both as the site for religious change
and as a source of change through individual strategies in
unspecified secular arenas.

(c) Metaphorical register refers to BCC talk in the
sacred episode which arises from the metaphorical
extension of *highly selected* biblical contexts, images,
personalities or objects to everyday existence. Through
the use of extended metaphor, analogy, metonym and simile,
biblical knowledge is brought into close relation with
everyday practice, sometimes giving rise to unified
metaphorical understandings which suspend the differences
between the biblical and everyday contexts. Metaphorical
extension is the instantaneous fusion of two separate
realms, into one illuminating encapsulating image through
a process of decontextualization and recontextualization.
In this process, differences are stripped away and the
religious metaphor is extended into other discourses. In
this case, a metaphor may evolve eventually into an
archetype or popular icon (person, object, event,
relation).

Religious discourse, as given according to its various
registers, is distributed unevenly across the BCCs. The differences
in the relation of each type of religious discourse to secondary

137

discourses is of considerable importance because it is through these secondary discourses that members introduce their everyday practices into the BCC meeting. The definitions of the secondary discourses are as follows.

Church discourse refers to the members' representations of any level of institutional church life, i.e., the local chapel, the national church, and the international catholic church. This talk refers to intramural practices, i.e., relation of local pastor to the BCC, as well as extramural practices, i.e., chapel to neighborhood or church-state relations. Church talk also refers to expected strategies of change or maintenance. We will refer to the representations of access to power within the chapel as well as to how the members deal with the problems which arise in those contexts.

Domestic discourse refers to the members' representations of the domestic division of labour (between spouses, parent-child relation, sibling relations), of the relations of biological reproduction, and of the external relations of the home to other contexts such as school, neighborhood, church and work. It considers also strategies of change or maintenance of those relations which members discuss.

Economic discourse refers to the members' representations of the division of labour of material production as well as their position in those relations, with particular reference to strategies of change and maintenance of the distribution of individual or collective economic power.

Political discourse refers to the members' representations of the national political field as well as their position in that field. It refers to strategies of political change and continuity.

After the BCC meetings were transcribed and after the definitions of the discourses were set out, a line count of the various discourses and register was made in the light of the above definitions. We should point out two features of the distributions as given in Table 5.2. First, we will notice that Table 5.2 does not represent 100% of the talk in the second episode of the meetings. This is because of cross conversations and a range of interruptions including visitors and BCC members stepping out of the meeting for a moment. Secondly, the star [*] indicates that in two meetings, **Esperanza 3** and **Lo Amor 1**, a pedagogic text was used by the animator. In these meetings pedagogic texts shifted the overall distribution of

138

Table 5.2   Distribution and Incidence of Discourses

BCC	TOTAL	RELIGIOUS		CHURCH		ECONOMIC		POLITICAL		DOMESTIC		TOTAL
Less marginalized, non-educational												
Saint James 1	858	---	---	827	(96.3)	---	---	---	---	31	(3.6)	99.9
Saint James 2	917	40	(4.3)	814	(88.7)	21	(2.2)	---	---	4	(0.4)	95.8
Saint Michael 1	898	607	(67.5)	137	(15.2)	85	(9.4)	5	(0.5)	64	(7.1)	99.9
Saint Michael 2	1008	634	(62.8)	368	(36.5)	---	---	6	(0.5)	---	---	99.9
Less marginalized, educational												
Justice 1	1267	1020	(80.5)	42	(3.3)	100	(7.8)	85	(6.7)	20	(1.5)	99.9
Justice 2	1667	535	(31.5)	606	(36.3)	30	(1.7)	156	(9.3)	238	(14.2)	93.8
Justice 3	1358	714	(52.5)	187	(13.7)	---	---	63	(4.6)	362	(26.2)	97.6
John XXIII 1	1351	187	(13.8)	738	(53.8)	38	(2.7)	86	(6.2)	101	(7.3)	85.1
John XXIII 2	1029	24	(2.3)	820	(78.2)	---	---	---	---	185	(17.6)	99.9
John XXIII 3	1407	48	(3.4)	928	(65.9)	---	---	---	---	405	(28.7)	98.1
Highly marginalized, non-educational												
Workers of God 1	1129	---	---	311	(27.5)	---	---	776	(68.7)	32	(2.8)	99.2
Workers of God 2	2128	49	(2.2)	284	(13.3)	---	---	1448	(68.0)	243	(11.4)	95.1
Workers of God 3	949	55	(5.7)	815	(85.8)	7	(0.7)	33	(3.4)	18	(1.8)	97.7
Esperanza 1	449	49	(10.9)	172	(38.3)	---	---	203	(45.2)	---	---	94.4
Esperanza 2	2037	242	(11.8)	929	(45.6)	134	(6.5)	694	(34.0)	---	---	98.1
Esperanza 3 *A	935	515	(55.0)	133	(14.2)	---	---	151	(16.1)	---	---	85.4
Highly marginalized, educational												
Solidarity 1	1864	246	(13.1)	1297	(69.5)	28	(1.5)	109	(5.8)	10	(0.5)	90.6
Solidarity 2	1610	202	(12.5)	1118	(69.4)	77	(4.7)	---	---	86	(5.3)	92.1
Solidarity 3	1212	493	(40.6)	134	(11.0)	351	(28.9)	75	(6.1)	115	(9.4)	96.3
Lo Amor 1 *B	953	9	(0.9)	75	(7.8)	26	(2.7)	105	(11.0)	729	(76.4)	99.0
Lo Amor 2	662	47	(7.0)	489	(73.8)	31	(4.6)	51	(7.7)	25	(3.7)	97.1
Lo Amor 3	719	105	(14.6)	393	(54.6)	---	---	32	(4.4)	109	(15.1)	88.8

<u>Table 5.3</u>

Incidence of Register of Religious Discourse
(in number of lines)

	Invocatory	Decontextualized	Metaphorical
Less marginalized, non-educational BCCs			
Saint James 1	---	---	---
Saint James 2	---	40	---
Saint Michael 1	369	238	---
Saint Michael 2	368	266	---
Less marginalized, educational BCCs			
Justice 1	---	1020	---
Justice 2	---	525	10
Justice 3	---	714	---
John XXIII 1	---	187	---
John XXIII 2	---	24	---
John XXIII 3	---	48	---
Highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs			
Esperanza 1	---	35	14
Esperanza 2	---	---	242
Esperanza 3 *[A]	---	389	126
Workers of God 1	---	---	---
Workers of God 2	---	---	49
Workers of God 3	---	55	---
Highly marginalized, educational BCCs			
Solidarity 1	---	204	42
Solidarity 2	---	202	---
Solidarity 3	---	110	393
Lo Amor 1 *[B]	---	9	---
Lo Amor 2	---	47	3
Lo Amor 3	---	105	---

*[A] **Esperanza** 3 introduced the pedagogic text *Jesús de Nazaret* which established a context in which the realization rules required religious talk in a decontextualized register.

*[B] **Lo Amor** 1 introduced the pedagogic text, *Semana de la Familia 1989*, which excluded religious discourse and focused exclusively on domestic discourse. This accounts for the low incidence of religious discourse in this particular BCC meeting.

discourses, and it is this which inflates or deflates artificially the incidence of religious discourse. First, **Esperanza 3** [signaled by *[A]] introduced the pedagogic text *Jesús de Nazaret* which established a context in which the realization rules did not require the introduction of secondary discourses. Secondly, **Lo Amor 1** [signaled by *[B]] introduced the pedagogic text, *Semana de la Familia 1989*, which focused almost exclusively on domestic discourse.

We shall now set out the incidence of religious discourse according to its register in Table 5.3.[7]

We shall now discuss the distribution of the secondary discourses as set out in Table 5.2, and the incidence of the three registers of religious discourse as set out in Table 5.3.

Church Discourse

It is clear that, in general, church discourse predominates. In ten of the twenty-two meetings, church discourse accounts for more than 50.0% of the talk. However, it is also clear that this discourse is more consistently associated with BCCs of low marginality than with BCCs of high marginality. Further, within BCCs of high marginality church discourse is more strongly associated with the educational ones, where four of the six meetings show over 50.0% church discourse compared with one out of six meetings in the case of the non-educational BCCs. Thus, educational BCCs in areas of high marginality show a distribution of church discourse similar to BCCs in low marginality areas.

Economic Discourse

The incidence of economic discourse is very low throughout all of the BCCs with the exception of one meeting of **Solidarity**. This discourse is totally absent in ten of the twenty-two meetings.

141

Political Discourse

The incidence of political discourse is low in all BCCs with the clear exception of BCCs in areas of high marginality which are non-educational. The lowest incidence of political discourse is found in non-educational BCCs in areas of low marginality. Within high marginality the educational BCCs show a distribution of political discourse similar to the educational BCCs in areas of low marginality.

Domestic Discourse

The distribution of domestic discourse bears some resemblance to the distribution of political discourse. Educational BCCs irrespective of marginality have the highest incidence, especially so in the case of the educational BCCs in the low marginality areas. The lowest incidence is in the non-educational BCCs in the high marginality areas followed by the non-educational BCCs in low marginality areas.

Registers of Religious Discourse and Code Modality

It is clear from Table 5.2 that there is virtually no metaphoric register in the low marginality areas, whereas there is metaphoric in the areas of high marginality. Thus, we can infer that the theological codes are different in these areas. we have hypothesized that the less marginalized should be orientated toward the OC modality, and the highly marginalized toward the LT modality. Further, within the highly marginalized areas there is a greater incidence of metaphoric discourse in the non-educational BCCs than in the educational BCCs. Further, in the latter BCCs there is a greater incidence of the decontextualized register of religious discourse.

3.2.3 **Allocation of Classificatory Values**

We can see that according to Tables 5.2 and 5.3 that BCCs of low marginality tend toward an OC code with low incidence of metaphorical register and low incidence of secondary discourses, and that the BCC of high marginality tend generally toward LT code with a high

142

Table 5.4

Church and Religious Discourse and the Secondary Discourses
(as percentage of total lines of text)

	Ch + Rel TOT(%)	Register	Secondary TOT (%)	Classificatory Value
Less marginalized, non-educational BCCs				
Saint James 1	96.3	----------	3.6	++C
Saint James 2	93.0		2.6	
Saint Michael 1	82.3	invocatory	16.5	++C
Saint Michael 2	99.3		0.5	
Less marginalized, educational BCCs				
Justice 1	83.5	decontextualized	16.0	+C
Justice 2	64.8		24.2	
Justice 3	66.2		30.2	
John XXIII 1	67.6	----------	16.2	+C
John XXIII 2	80.5		17.6	
John XXIII 3	69.3		28.7	
Highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs				
Esperanza 1	50.2	metaphorical	45.2	-C
Esperanza 2	57.4		40.5	
Esperanza 3	69.2		16.1	
Workers of God 1	27.5	metaphorical	71.5	--C
Workers of God 2	13.5		79.4	
Workers of God 3 [A]	91.5		5.9	
Highly marginalized, educational BCCs				
Solidarity 1	82.6	metaphorical	7.3	-C
Solidarity 2	81.9		10.0	
Solidarity 3	51.6		45.4	
Lo Amor 1 [B]	8.7	decontextualized	90.1	+C
Lo Amor 2	80.8		16.0	
Lo Amor 3	70.2		19.5	

[A] In **Workers of God 3** animators and members discussed a future visit of the Cardinal of Santiago to their local chapel. Thus, the low incidence of secondary discourses reflects the specific task of the meeting which was to develop two questions to ask the Cardinal during the visit.

[B] In **Lo Amor 1** the incidence of other discourses, set out in Column (2), is high because of the use of a pedagogic text which focused on the family.

incidence of metaphorical register and higher incidence of secondary
discourses.

Having defined the discourses and having set out their incidence
in the BCC meetings, we shall now discuss their implication for the
classification of discourse. We have said earlier that strong
classification will be determined on the basis of the aggregate
incidence of religious and church discourses. And we have said that
code modality will be indexed by religious register. But the fuller
significance of the aggregate is only revealed when it is examined in
relation to the register of religious discourse. Table 5.4 below
shows the distribution of the relation between the aggregate total of
'religious plus church' and the secondary discourses. The strength of
the classification will depend upon the absence or presence of the
secondary discourses.

Table 5.4 above shows the distribution of the aggregate
incidence (religious + church) in Column 1 and the three secondary
discourses (political, economic and domestic) in Column 2. In Column
3, the strength of the classification (that is, its values) depends on
the relative presence and absence of the secondary discourses. The
classification of discourse in Table 5.4 was determined by the total
religious and church discourse. We have seen that without the
distribution of religious discourse in terms of its register the
incidence of the total religious discourse would be misleading in its
significance. The grounds for deriving code modality without this
more delicate discrimination of religious discourse would have been
less secure.

4 Pedagogic Practice: Framing[8]

Introduction

In this part of this chapter, we shall first discuss BCC
communicative practice and then BCC interactive practice. Th order of
discussion for each aspect of the pedagogic practice will be as
follows: a review of its definition, the rules for the assignation of
framing values, and a discussion of the findings. In the sections
where findings are discussed, we shall provide sequences from the

transcripts which exemplify the different values of framing for
communicative and interactive practice.

4.1 Framing of Communicative Practice

Framing here refers to the location of control over the
discourse in the second episode. We consider that the animator has
some prior notion of the legitimate relation between religious and
secondary discourses, that is, the religious discourse and its
relation to secular practice. We determine the value of the framing
of communicative practice in terms of the autonomy of members in the
shaping of the discourse. Thus, when the animator has major control
over the communication this will be referred to generally as +F.
Where the members have more control this will be referred to generally
as -F.

Control over the Discourse:
Rules for Assigning Values of Framing

++F - where the animator initiates exclusive or near
exclusive control over the discourse.

+F - where the animator initiates some control over the
discourse.

-F - where the members initiate some control over the
discourse.

--F - where member(s) and not the animator exercise(s) great
control over the discourse.

* - the star indicates that one or more members presents an
ongoing challenge to the communicative control of the
animator, giving rise to a relation of opposition or
competition in the BCC between those members and the
animator. In this case the BCC is a site of struggle for
control over the discourse.

4.2 Discussion of Framing of Communicative Practice

The discussion which follows presents some sequences of
transcribed text which exemplify the framing of communicative
practice. The order of the presentation shall begin with the BCCs
with strong framing values and then proceed to BCCs with weak framing
values. As the Key to the Transcripts at the beginning of the thesis
indicates "(a)" indicates an intervention by the animator.

145

Less marginalized BCCs

Saint James   ++F

In **Saint James**, this very strong framing is part of a wider
logic where the animator uses the BCC as a political platform to
project himself into chapel politics. The animator exercises
exclusive control over the church discourse, virtually the only
discourse introduced into this BCC.

In Sequence One, the animator draws the discussion on chapel
policy on the election of chapel coordinators to a close. In Sequence
Two, the animator establishes the terms of a discussion on the cause
of problems in the BCC. The discussion which followed remained within
the boundaries outlined by the animator. In Sequence Three, as a
response to a challenge by the chapel coordinators to ask for the
resignation of the animators of the BCCs, the animator proposes
himself as a representative to the chapel council.

Sequence One

Tamara: Daniel? Do the parents in the second level of the
        family catechism have a right to vote for the chapel
        coordinators?
Paul: The services, no! They have to belong to a BCC or a
        pastoral group.
(a) Daniel: They are receiving a service, so they do not
        belong. But, yes, the people who are giving the family
        catechism can vote.   Saint James (1):14

Sequence Two

Aarón: There is some kind of problem with the BCCs, it seems
        that they are deflating a little bit ...
(a) Daniel: Conclusion ... either there is insufficient
        preparation and a lack of prayer ... or ... there is
        sufficient preparation and a lack of prayer."
                                        Saint James (1):15

Sequence Three

(a) Daniel: I think that next week we should have a little
        slip of paper here with the names of those who will be
        the representatives before the chapel council.
Cristina: Where do you have to turn it in?
(a) Daniel: It must be handed in to the coordinators, but only
        if we have it next week.
Tamara: Do we have to wait for them to tell us to hand in the
        list of candidates?

146

(a) Daniel: No!   The order is given, it is already given ...
          fulfill our obligations.

                                        Saint James (2):35

Saint Michael   ++F

The animator of **Saint Michael** exercises near total control over the discourse.   She controls the rituals of opening and closure of the second episode, and directly controls the talk within this episode. The means of very strong animator control is explicit verbal directives as we have set out in Sequence Four.   In the second episode, we find a type of communicative pattern: extensive singing, spontaneous prayer, reading of a biblical text, and talk about a biblical text.

Sequence Four

(a) Ruth: O.K., now song no.194 and then we will begin the
          prayer.
                                        Saint Michael (1):10
(a) Ruth: We can begin our prayer. Let's close our eyes, and
          we can ask forgiveness of God and we can pray out loud.
          You can at least say 'forgive me' so that we can know
          that you asked for forgiveness.
                                        Saint Michael (2):7
(a) Ruth: I ask you forgiveness, Father, for my lack of prayer
          during this last week, forgive me, Lord, forgive me,
          Lord. I invite you to make your prayers.
                                        Saint Michael (1):11
(a) Ruth: What did the Lord say to us in this messages? Did
          something attract your attention in the reading?
                                        Saint Michael (1):13

John XXIII   -F

We will recall that **John XXIII** was formed in 1973; the members know each other well, and they have established shared assumptions concerning their talk and interaction.   The BCC talk has been established over the long period of existence of this BCC. As a consequence framing need not be strong, and control is casually diffused among the members.

Sequence Five concerns the role of the animator in a wider discussion about changing the animator in the BCC.   Here the members explicitly promote member-control over the interaction.   In fact, they affirm that the principal responsibilities of the animator rest

<u>outside</u> the BCC. In Sequence Five, weak framing of communicative practice <u>as such</u> is introduced as the actual content of the talk. We will notice that there is no animator intervention in this sequence.

Sequence Five

Benjamín: ... each family prepares the meeting a little bit
  ... it is not the animator who is in charge of preparing
  the meeting.
Eduardo: Right!
Benjamín: So the role of the animator is reduced to going to
  the council meetings, and to bring the information from
  that meeting back to this one.
Eduardo: He has to go to the *COMIN* meeting and the chapel
  council.
Benjamín: No, it's that everybody else here is in the chapel
  council meeting. So it's really not necessary to go to
  the chapel council meeting, because one of us is there.
               John XXIII (2):23

Justice   --F

In **Justice**, we again notice the absence of control by the animator over the embedding of discourses. In this respect, one might have the impression that the control over discourses in **Justice** is very democratic. After all the animator exercises virtually no control over the discourse. In this BCC we notice **relations of competition** <u>between two members</u>. Julia and Alex (members) compete to exercise control over the discourse, while Inéz (animator) exercises virtually none. As we shall see in Chapter Six (Table 6.4), Inéz is the youngest animator, and this fact may contribute to her lack of control over the discourse. Julia seeks to display the discourse of the *Cursillo* movement, while the coordinator (Alex) bids occasionally to initiate a conversation where the chapel members and organizations are evaluated. We find that Julia (*Cursillo*) exercises significantly greater control than Alex (chapel council) over the discourse (as will be abundantly clear in Chapters Eight through Eleven on the secondary discourses), and that the animator is least active with respect to discourse, but more active with respect to some features of the interaction.

In Sequence Six, Alex, a chapel coordinator, forcefully introduces a moral discourse in which he evaluates the performance of chapel duties by a member, and revivifies the rules for individual

chapel performance.   Inéz concedes control in the face of this
challenge.

Sequence Six

(a) Inéz: I am the one who is separated from God ... only me.
            I have missed mass also, on sundays.
Alex: but at least you have the consolation that you can be
        sorry and ask forgiveness ... but even when we are in a
        bad way, we should also ...
(a) Inéz: ... thank God!
Alex: (to Inéz, the animator) This week, you not only forgot
        about the mass, you not only forgot about the pre-baptism
        meeting, but you forgot about a meeting in which you are
        our voice, where you are our representative ... We have
        tasks to do, and we have to complete them. Recently our
        communities have been distant from their obligations as a
        community ... this is where our faith is, are we
        committed or not.

                                                  Justice (1):9

   In Sequence Seven, Julia, by far the most powerful member of the
BCC, exerts her authority over the discourse. In one meeting of
Justice (Justice 3: 14.04.89), Inéz (animator) was conscious of the
hour and moved to close the second episode and move to the third
episode. In response to this gesture by the animator to shift the
discourse by closing the meeting, Julia usurps control and reimposes
the *Cursillo* modality of discourse. From this point, the meeting of
14.04.89 continued for another forty (40) minutes during which the
animator was virtually silent.However, looking ahead we shall find
that the animator's concern is not so much the discourse but the
interaction. Yet what we find is that this BCC contains very strong
and opinionated members. Two of them exercise control over the
discourse, one is a chapel coordinator whose concern is the local
chapel business, and the other is a high ranking member of *Cursillo*
and is concerned with the explicit display of that discourse.

Sequence Seven

(a) Inéz: I think that it would be convenient if we could
            bring the meeting to a close, and leave this theme for
            the next meeting.
Julia: I think that we could not really finish here without
         giving some kind of answer to these concerns ... I think
         that the errors that we committed should not be passed
         down to the children ... and that the job we have is
         precisely to prevent our children from having to pass
         through the same problems that we had to go through.

                                                  Justice (3):57

Highly marginalized BCCs

Solidarity +F

   While discussion may be lively, and members of **Solidarity** may introduce a change in the discourse, strong framing refers to the fact that these changes pass through the hands of the animator. In the meeting, we tend not to find discussion or negotiation concerning the discourse, and in its place we find a practice which rests on awarding 'praise and blame'. In Sequences Eight and Nine, the animator negatively sanctions a member for his 'impersonal' contribution to the meeting. This style of 'praise and blame' is the typical pedagogic mode for making members aware of the criteria they must meet.

Sequence Eight

   Arturo: ... and that made me come a little closer to the
        community ... and it is beautiful, forgive me if I repeat
        myself ... I made some good friends, and I am proud to be
        a member ...
(a) Joaquín: Anybody can ask a question about what anybody
        says ... hopefully, the presentations will be a little
        better or not as cold as I found that of Arturo.
   Marcela: So, good-bye, Arturo.
(a) Joaquín: It should be a little better centred in what we
        are doing ... We shouldn't forget about our feelings so
        much, so I would ask you to give a little more of
        yourselves in what you are going to say.
   Adolfo: My name is Carlos Valenzuela. I am married with four
        children, and I am one of the last ones to join the
        community ...

                                      Solidarity (1):5

Sequence Nine

(a) Joaquín: He said something important there ... they have
        given a lot to him.
   Marcela: We want to give a lot also.
(a) Joaquín: The important thing is to pay attention because
        we always say that the Lord questions us through the
        reading. He instructs us on how we should practice this
        a bit, like Enrique said.

                                      Solidarity (1):11-12

Workers of God -F*

   As the star (*) below indicates, we have found relations of competition and opposition between the animator and one or more members over the control of the discourse in this BCC. Here both the

animator and a single member, María Victoria, compete to exercise
control over the discourse (María Victoria is sectorial representative
to the *Coordinadora de Comunidades de Sectores Populares* [CCSP]).[9]

We shall not include an example because it is so diffused
throughout the BCC meetings, but will offer some description in order
to give a flavour of the competitive relation. Field notes
acknowledge this competition and the interview with the animator
(Interview 012, 15.12.88) acknowledge this tension. María Victoria
initiates long speeches about political and church practice in which
she comments and informs the BCC members about the activities of the
CCSP, an organization to which she is the sectorial representative.
Nancy, the animator shares many political opinions with María
Victoria, but in this particular meeting Nancy was seeking to evoke
the experience and opinions of the members regarding their experience
of voting in the National Referendum. In this meeting, a conflict
developed between Nancy and María Victoria because of the extensive
time taken up by María Victoria on a report of the activities of the
CCSP, a report which was interspersed with extensive editorial-type
comments. In this meeting, which took place after the National
Referendum, Nancy sought to encourage members to share their narrative
accounts about the referendum day, rather than promote a discussion of
the official interpretation of the referendum by the CCSP, and their
consequent plans of action. Thus, the animator tried to elicit the
performance of talk about the National Referendum which would comply
with her criteria for BCC talk. The conflicts which arise between
Nancy and María Victoria create considerable temporary tension but did
not disturb the overall harmony of the BCC.

Esperanza -F*

The star (*) indicates that we found competitive relations
between the animator and a member for control over the discourse.
Jorge (member) endeavors to move the BCC talk to the macro level with
greater syntactical complexity, seeking frequently to draw a moral-
political commitment from the members regarding future politics. By
contrast, the animator seeks to elicit talk from the members which
gives rise to a narrative interventions about the experience of the
day of the National Referendum. Jorge remains silent throughout this

'round' of anecdotal interventions. A conflict ensues between Jorge and the animator concerning the discourse. The religious discourse of Jorge is more characteristic of a leader, and that promoted by the animator more characteristic of rank and file members.[10]

In Sequence Ten, the animator and a member discuss two different approaches for the second half of the meeting. Jorge objects to the sharing of experiences from the week of the National Referendum, but Teresa defends this position. In the end, Teresa compromised and the BCC listened to a bible reading from Jorge and discussed it in the light of the political events in Chile. Teresa 'framed' this discussion as a sharing concerning the political future of Chile, and the christian response to it.

Sequence Ten

(a) Teresa: Jorge, are you going to share something?
Jorge: No.
(a) Teresa: No, he doesn't want to?
Jorge: I would like to read the biblical text.
(a) Teresa: No! Anita still hasn't shared. Anita?
Jorge: We could read the text and analyze it a bit.
(a) Teresa: And aren't you going to give any opinion, aren't
        you going to speak?
Jorge: No, because the text ... it is very late already.
        Let's read the text and analyze it in the light of the
        gospel.
(a) Teresa: What text is it?
Jorge: I think that above all, we have to look at some things.
        If we are christians, if we call ourselves christians and
        we are trying to be christians, we have to see everything
        in the light of the gospel.
(a) Teresa: You are angry, you are let down.
Jorge: No, the thing is that we have talked about this many
        times. We have already shared about this, it has already
        been treated many times ... Sure, if we are christians,
        we have to project our christianity into the future.
(a) Teresa: We have been taught that our BCC meetings are a
        time to share what we have lived during the week.
Jorge: Right.

                                        Esperanza (2):34,39-41

Lo Amor -F

Here the location of control over the discourse is dispersed among the members. As this BCC was formed in 1969 and shares a common religious socialization in family catechism, such diffused means of control would be expected.

Sequence Eleven

(a) Monica: ...Oh my God, I was desperate and I shouted,
       'Cristina, hurry up'.   I was carrying lemon, and I went
       along prepared for anything, and along there we walked
       faster and the people stayed there and we continued
       walking, we were going along the ENTEL tower when the
       water cannon truck came flying along spraying water, and
       then went along Amunátegui, we ran and we ran because it
       didn't matter to the water cannon truck if it ran over
       people ...
Tomás: But there was a real festival of the people yesterday.
       Yes, they say that all of the children were there, in the
       streets of the center until 10 at night ... the people
       didn't want to leave.
(a) Monica: Yesterday, the people were like in a dream in
       which they could say anything.   Until one finds oneself
       faced with the police and then ... a disaster.
Ximena: In Salvador Gutiérrez (a local street) the kids were
       shouting, too.   They took down the Lo Amor sign and they
       brought it along the street, and they brought it along
       banging it with a stick.   A pig that they were bringing
       along had Pinochet's face, and it was dressed in a track
       suit, which said, 'Shit on you!' ... We even had dogs out
       there marching in the street, and they had signs hanging
       over them as well.   We laughed so hard at those dogs
       [laughter]

                                             Lo Amor (1):12-13

4.3   Framing of Interactive Practice

     The framing of the interactive practice refers to the control
over the hierarchical relations between the animator and the members,
and over the members' relation to each other.   On the whole, the
control of the interaction is implicit rather than explicit, informal
rather than formal, suggestive and permissive rather than imposing.
Thus, the framing of the interactive practice is generally weak (-F).

     Control over the interaction refers to the control over the
following conditions of interaction: the framing of questions, who
selects the biblical texts, who selects the reader, expected levels of
participation, order of participation, who controls the transition
between episodes, and who draws the conclusions, as well as the
regulation of mood, regulation of interruptions, and relating the
interventions of members.

We shall now define the rules for assigning framing values with respect to interaction practice. This will be followed by a discussion of the findings.

Control over the Interaction
Rules for Assigning Values of Framing

++F - refers to very strong animator control over the interactive practice which gives rise direct commands and to explicit or implicit verbal sanctions and explicit or implicit verbal rewards. This type of control does not give rise to exchanges about who exercises control in a BCC. The hierarchical relation between animators and members is explicit in these BCCs.

+F - The hierarchical relations are informal, but interaction is subject to control by the animator.

-F - refers to some degree of members control over the interaction.

--F - refers to strong members control over the hierarchical relation and interaction.

There are attributes of BCC groups which influence the framing of the interaction. A group which has been together for a long time is likely to develop an internal consensus which regulates the interaction, and so reducing, or even practically eliminating, the need for animator regulation. This is the case for **John XXIII** and **Lo Amor**. These BCCs come from different areas but are both educational. The internal consensus may be derived from their common religious socialization. In both cases the framing is very weak (**--F**). We can refer also to **Justice** where members share a common religious socialization, but who have not been together for a long time as a BCC. The framing here is not as weak as **John XXIII** and **Lo Amor**, but is still weak (**-F**). The four educational BCCs have weak framing over interaction except where membership is numerically large in the case of **Solidarity**. This BCC is relatively new and numerically large, lacks the development of an internal consensus, and thus, requires animator control over the interaction (**+F**).

In the non-educational BCCs, the framing over interaction closely follows the framing of the communicative practice, varying only in strength, strong or very strong and weak or very weak.

Because of the attributes of the educational BCCs we shall take our examples from non-educational BCCs.

4.4 Discussion of Framing of Interactive Practice

Less marginalized BCCs

Saint Michael ++F

We encounter a restricted non-dialogical prayer discourse strongly regulated by the animator. For example, we find that members are permitted more frequently to address God directly in prayer or song than they are permitted to speak to each other (for example, a member might pray "... Jesus, take care of the poor and those who don't have enough to eat ..."). The animator establishes these conditions for the interaction. Ruth, the animator, issues highly economical explicit verbal directives throughout the second episode which the members seem to follow without much hesitation.

On reviewing the transcripts, we have found numerous examples of very strong framing. In this style of control, members are not permitted to 'make a move' in the sacred episode without the permission of the animator. The members seem to follow the directives of the animator in the sacred episode.

> (a) Ruth: Now we are going to finish the prayer. You arrived
>   here just at the end of the prayer, but it does not
>   matter.
> Saint Michael
>   (1):23
> (a) Ruth: You were going to say something ... Good ... then
>   let's finish the prayer. We can join hands to pray.
> Saint Michael
>   (2):18

Saint James +F

In **Saint James**, the animator tends to control the initiation and closure of micro episodes of talk by introducing an open question and then by closing the episodes. Thus, the animator maintains hierarchy which we refer to as strong framing (+F). However, within those micro episodes, the interaction is quite open. In this sequence members evaluate the responsiveness of their neighbors to this street corner

mission program. Daniel, the animator, had solicited opinions of the
members but is silent in this sequence.

> Aarón: More people, that is, with five, eight or ten people I
> think that we will be doing well because the chapel every
> Sunday has been full because of the new people who have
> filled the chapel ... each Sunday there are more people
> in mass.
>
> Pablo: Yes, but it is _from that sector that nobody comes_, it
> has become a bit isolated, 100 and 101, they always say
> that they will get together for the Month of Mary, but
> they never do.
>
> Tamara: But are those the _gente_ that you are referring to?
>
> Pablo: Yes, but it is that so few come, and _they don't_
> _understand much either_.
>
> Tamara: Nobody comes!
>
> Pablo: _Nobody comes from there_.
>
> Tamara: To the chapel.
>
> Pablo: From your groups there isn't anybody who comes of _esa_
> _gente_ (those people). Nobody from there, I know the
> people in 104.
>
> Aarón: 108.
>
> Tamara: Where I come from there is a _terrible indifference_.
>
> Aarón: Right!
>
> Tamara: It is notable, _esa gente_ (those people) _are unwilling_.
>
> Pablo: That whole sector of people have always been ... and
> nothing happens, not even in mass.
>
> Cristina: Exactly, but _they are strange_ the ones who comes ...
> because ... because ...
>
> Pablo: Right.
>
> Saint James (1):4

Highly marginalized BCCs

Workers of God   --F

The interaction is predominantly members-controlled, where the
animator occasionally will solicit opinions from some because
according to the BCC ideology for interactive practice that says, 'all
should participate in the meeting'. Here members are expressing
opinions about the Cardinal of Santiago. The animator speaks but
neither does her intervention carry more weight in the conversation,
nor did she initiate or the above conversation.

> Elena: The vicariate is of Don Raúl (former Cardinal of
> Santiago)
>
> Pilar: Don Pancho? Well ... he is Fresno Larraín ... he was a
> person of very high social status ... when he was young.
>
> María Victoria: He has not fulfilled the option for the poor
> that the church has made.

Elena: I am not pro ... I am not in agreement with what Pilar
        said about how we should feel proud about the fact that
        he is visiting us. It is he who should feel proud to
        come and visit us. Because we are of the same church and
        we cannot feel less than he, because he is the servant of
        us who are the church, and he is only another part of the
        Church.
Pilar: The only part of what Elena said that I agree with us
        that he should come down to the shantytowns.
(a) Nancy: When I remember Don Pancho, I say to myself that it
        is never too late ... because Oscar Romero was a bishop,
        the same, identical with Don Pancho, and he (Romero) when
        he went to the shantytowns he became aware of the
        reality, and when he saw it he began to struggle.
María Victoria: Right, because there are even some letters
        from the communities that he has not even seen, because
        they were not given to him, he was there, and he saw the
        ones that the messenger passed along to him only.
                                            Workers of God (3):20

Esperanza   --F

    In **Esperanza**, we encounter very weak framing. This is part of
the animator's theory of instruction which was explicitly introduced
in one meeting. The animator admits her lack of special preparation
for the role. She periodically encourages all members to participate,
underscoring that 'all participants learn from each other'. The more
time dedicated to member performance of talk, the more effectively
they will be socialized into the code modality of the religious
discourse. Control over the interaction is members-centered.

Antonio: It turns out that the day of the plebescite,
        Wednesday, I was coming home from work, a kid sat next to
        me, and he said to me, 'What do you say? Is the 'YES'
        going to win? Or the 'NO'? I wouldn't like for the 'NO'
        to win', he said, 'because it would ruin my job (street
        salesman).'
        'And how much do you earn,' I said to him.
        'I make between 1.000 and 1.200 sometimes.'
        'But sometimes the police catch you and they take away
        all of your goods. Right.?'
        'Yes,' he said to me.
        'Then you have to pray and ask to God that the 'NO' win,'
        I said to him. 'Because ... Look! If the 'NO' wins,
        more opportunities will be opened to us, a job for your
        wife. For you a steady job, if this old gentleman
        (Pinochet) gets out.'
(a) Teresa: Yeah!
Antonio: I gave him the vegetable I was bringing home ...
Veronica: So that the young man could arrive at home with
        something to give to [his family].
Jorge: Yeah!

(a) Teresa: Today, I saw the police throwing a young fellow
            off the bus head first, and then they take away all his
            merchandise.

<div align="right">Esperanza (2):19-20</div>

In one meeting of this BCC, the animator delegated the animation
to other members on the grounds that they should learn to conduct the
meeting in the absence of the animator (which in itself enshrines very
weak framing). With the animator present, the members created the
same interactive practice as the animator, that is, they reproduced
the suggestive and indirect animator control associated with weak
framing.

4.5 A Summary of Framing of Communicative and Interactive Practice

Table 5.5

<div align="center">

Values of Framing of
Communicative and Interactive Practice

</div>

	Communicative Practice	Interactive Practice
Less marginalized, non-educational		
Saint James	++F	+F
Saint Michael	++F	++F
Less marginalized, educational		
Justice	--F	-F
John XXIII	-F	--F
Highly marginalized, non-educational		
Workers of God	-F*	--F
Esperanza	-F*	--F
Highly marginalized, educational		
Lo Amor	-F	--F
Solidarity	+F	+F

We notice in Table 5.5 that the framing values are all in the
same direction. In general, framing (with the exception of

Solidarity) in highly marginalized areas are weak and very weak. Competition between members and animator (signaled by -F*) is confined to high marginality. On the whole educational BCCs, for reasons we have given previously in this chapter, have weak and very weak framing over the communicative and interactive practice. The only example of very strong framing are in the less marginalized non-educational BCCs. It is interesting to see that the BCCs with high levels of political discourse have weak framing, and this may rest on the internal political consensus in those BCCs.

5 BCCs and their Contexts and Pedagogic Codes: Discussion and Overall Conclusions

We shall now give the distribution of pedagogic codes among the BCCs, and review the distribution of ritual markers of the organizational context.

Context

The analysis of ritual markers showed that these were in general strong, and so we could infer that irrespective of pedagogic code the organizational base of the BCCs is grounded in OC. The two exceptions to this pattern are found in BCCs where the incidence of church discourse is quite high. This suggests that these BCCs are likely to be concerned with local chapel politics. In the highly marginalized areas, the BCC with weak markers is also the BCC with the highest incidence of political discourse in a liberationist modality.

Pedagogic Codes

The following table formalizes the distribution of pedagogic codes, that is, the classification and framing of discourse, across the sample of BCCs according to the two variables: the degree of marginality and the previous religious socialization.

<u>**Table 5.5**</u>

<div align="center">

**Summary of Classification and Framing Values
of Communicative Practice**

Less Marginalized

</div>

Justice	+C	--F		Saint James	++C	++F
John XXIII	+C	-F		Saint Michael	++C	++F

Educational ———————————|———————————— **Non-educational**

				Workers		
Lo Amor	+C	-F		of God	--C	-F*
Solidarity	-C	+F		Esperanza	-C	-F*

<div align="center">

Highly Marginalized

</div>

Degree of Marginality

(1) With the exception of **Lo Amor**, LT (given as -C and --
C) are the religious discourses in the areas of high
marginality.

(2) Without exception, OC is the religious discourse of
low marginality.

Religious Socialization

(3) With the exception of **Solidarity** all educational BCCs
are OC. In the non-educational BCCs religious discourse
varies according to social class.

(4) Framing also varies between the non-educational BCCs
with weak framing in high marginality areas and very
strong is low marginality. Thus, the greatest code
oppositions are found among the non-educational BCCs
varying in social class.

This analysis validates the selection of our sample as it shows
that with high marginality, pedagogic codes can vary in the case of a
BCC with previous religious socialization. The meaning of these
findings will become clearer when the content of the talk is analyzed.
And to that we now turn.

NOTES for Chapter Five

[1]We discovered a pattern in the interviews with BCC members as they responded to the question about what they had been learning in the BCC. The BCC members always signaled that dealing with daily problems was crucial. The improvement of social and communicative skills was seen as a benefit. Given the overall degree of marginality of the daily lives of the members, the social benefit of face-to-face social relations was a regular feature of the learning experience in the BCC. We now present the impressions of three BCC members of what they have learned or expect to learn in their BCC. "The community helps me ... for example, I explain my problems ... and they explain more what I should do ... they tell me what the bible says ... and they pray for me, all that! (with regard to conflict with her spouse) They tell me that I should comprehend him, that I have to speak to him, make him see ..." Interview 07:11. "We look at the way of living, daily life, the daily problems ... we do not learn from a text. Sure, we have the bible before us, but the greater part of us learn from the example of the other in the community, from life itself, the incidents of life itself, the christian way that some people have of focusing the problems ... they put Christ before all" Interview 04:9. "We have a dynamic, and then people are really loose and we begin ... we begin to talk. We analyze the Word and each one gives his opinion about how he (sic) felt the Word" Interview 05:39.

[2]Most animators regard their role as being both a transmitter and an acquirer in the BCC. Teresa of **Esperanza** sees this dual role as she sets out her aims as an animator: "Not to be just a closed-minded christian closed up in the chapel and forget about the social part; or vice versa, throw yourself into the social struggle and forget about Christ. I think that ... so far, I have the thing pretty balanced out ..." Interview 08:3. "... the community has to worry about human rights, it has to concern itself with those without a home, it has to know how to concern itself with those who suffer, with the political prisoners, with those who are tortured ... I think that a community that does not concern itself with those things, cannot call itself a christian community, because there are many communities which are still standing on the one leg of being conservative, ritualistic, and they throw themselves into the pastoral side and very little on the social side" Interview 08:4. "Afterwards in the BCC, we have had great moments and a friendship has been created, a real mutual care, and we haven't had problems. I mean that I think that it has helped me a lot, as a person, to get to know the brothers and sisters and to see Christ, and sometimes the brothers and sisters have had their problems. In the social part, we have analyzed many things together" Interview 08:26. "It is very nice to get together, and it is nice to participate in the same group, and with the same persons create a climate of friendship, of brotherhood and fraternity ... but ... it is bad to forget about the larger church" (Interview 08:29).

[3]In this talk the "... individual speaks with very little authority, personal tones are muted, editing and elaboration leave little to the

imagination, and no lasting effects flow immediately from the speech itself" (Fenn 1982:101). This everyday talk consists in information, descriptions or representations, but rarely do we discover what have been called "performative enunciations" which promise, order, or affirm (Landi 1985:15 and Recanti 1982:84).

[4] 'Animator' seems to be the most appropriate translation of the spanish term, *animador*. We prefer 'animator' because of its distance from the word 'teacher', which would highly unsuitable because of the informal nature of the context of the BCC meeting, and because of its distance from the word 'facilitator', which tends to create confusion because of its unfortunate overuse in many different literatures.

[5] On one occasion, in a meeting of **Saint James**, after a long discussion of chapel business, a very short prayer is followed by the reading of a biblical text, after which the meeting undramatically draws to a close. In this case, the classification of ritual markers is **−−C**.

[6] In general, a determined period of intercessory prayer lasting from between ten to fifteen minutes is a regular feature of most BCC meetings.

[7] Vocal prayer and song are frequently one aspect of the ritual marking of the second episode of the BCC meeting. However, vocal prayer and song do not form part of the religious discourse within the episode which they mark out ritually. There is one exception to this. Only in **Saint Michael**, do vocal prayer and singing (invocatory register) constitute the religious discourse within the second episode itself. Thus, only in this BCC will the line count of the register of religious discourse include the invocatory register. But for the other seven BCCs, in order to present a more delicate accounting of religious discourse in terms of register, we have decided to exclude vocal prayer and song from the incidence totals (Table 5.2).

[8] We will recall that the theory distinguishes between internal and external values of framing '$F^{I/E}$', however, in our study it does not make sense to talk about controls over the talk which comes from outside because all the talk comes from the outside. We shall, therefore, dispense with the '^{E}' value and refer to framing only as 'F'.

[9] The *Coordinadora de Comunidades de Sectores Populares* is an informal regulatory agency which organizes a self-affiliating BCCs according to the PL theological code.

[10] In the one open conflict between the two positions, Jorge had remained silent throughout the meeting in which members were sharing their impressions of the day of the National Referendum, 05.10.88. Finally, Jorge could not keep quiet, he blurted out that it was the responsibility of the BCC to project itself strategically into the future. A hubbub ensued. The animator said that Jorge was angry. He then said that the BCC had reflected enough on the National Referendum, and that the time had come to move forward. Then, after foregrounding the thinking of the pastor on the purpose of the BCC (reflection on diverse events since the last meeting), the animator conceded and recognized the value of the contribution of Jorge. Jorge introduces the biblical text concerning the Exodus which legitimized his position. See Pratt 1989.

Part III

BCCs and Their Secondary Discourses

Chapter Six
Profile of Members and Animators

Introduction

In this chapter, we shall set out a profile of animators and members according to BCC type. On the basis of this profile, we will show that the members, far from being 'average members' of their marginalized sectors, actually constitute a highly selected group, even though in the official policy documents of the Catholic Church and in the interviews with members themselves, BCC membership is promoted officially and perceived generally as open to all. What the members and animators have in common may point to implicit criteria of selection.

We have organized the various attributes of BCCs, members and animators under three headings. These headings are to assist in the presentation of the data, and some attributes do not sit comfortably under a particular heading. In some cases a particular table showing a distribution may cover attributes under different headings. The three headings are: attributes of the BCCs, attributes of members and animators, and attributes of members' and animators' activities. All data in this chapter has been drawn from interviews with members and animators.

1 Attributes of BCCs:
Founding, Size, Composition, Residence and Age

The overall Catholic population in Greater Santiago has been estimated at 65% (van Dorp 1985), and the percentage of Catholics participating in local chapel organizations has been variously estimated in quantitative research at 15% for all of Chile (*Comisión Nacional de Laicos* 1985), at 6% for Greater Santiago (Van Dorp 1985) and at 5.3% among the marginalized in Greater Santiago (Valenzuela 1987). In a more intensive quantitative study of a small sector *Pudahuel Sur* (high marginality), the percentage of total Catholics who

Table 6.1

Year of Initiation of BCCs

Low Marginality		High Marginality	
Saint James	1980	Workers of God	1984
Saint Michael	1985	Esperanza	1980
Justice	1985	Lo Amor	1969
John XXIII	1973	Solidarity	1986

Table 6.2

Membership of BCCs

Low Marginality	Total	High Marginality	Total
Saint James	8	Workers of God	8
Saint Michael	6	Esperanza	13
Justice	12	Lo Amor	15
John XXIII	8	Solidarity	19

Table 6.3

Distribution of Members according to Gender

BCC	Men (n)	Women (n)
Less marginalized		
Saint James	4	4
Saint Michael	3	3
Justice	6	6
John XXIII	4	4
Total	n=17	n=17
Highly marginalized		
Workers of God	1	7
Esperanza	4	9
Lo Amor	5	10
Solidarity	9	10
Total	n=19	n=36

participated in church organizations was estimated at 5.6% (Güell 1987:24). The above studies indicate that participants in local chapels are already atypical with respect to the overall Catholic population.

We can see from Table 6.1 that with the two exceptions the BCCs were all founded in a six-year period. **Lo Amor** is the oldest BCC and in fact may be one of the oldest in Latin America. There is no difference in year of initiation of the BCCs between the two areas. Table 6.2 shows that BCCs in the high marginality area on the whole contain more members. The gender distribution in Table 6.3 also varies with the areas. In three of the four BCCs in the highly marginalized areas there are twice as many men than women, whereas in the other area there is a balanced proportion of men to women in each BCC. We do not know whether this balance is by accident or design, nor can we account for the differences in the size.

The distribution for age, age ranges of member, years of residence in their respective sectors (neighborhoods) and residence in a BCC are given in Table 6.4. Table 6.4 also indicates by a "[ ]" the rank position of the animator in terms of their age, residence (neighborhood and BCC) and education. For example, in the BCC **Saint James**, Daniel is ranked [10] in his BCC in terms of "Years in the sector" (Column 2). Thus nine of the BCC members have been living in the area longer than he has.

1.1 **Residence**

Table 6.4 does not indicate significant differences between types of BCCs in terms of members' or animators' residence in their neighborhood. It is difficult to compare "years in the BCC" as we have seen that BCCs vary in terms of their date of initiation. However, it is very clear from the animators' rank with respect to "years in the BCC" (Column 3) that the animator is one who has spent longer in the BCC than most members. Thus, this may point to one of the implicit criteria of selection of the animators.

Table 6.4 Animators and Members of the BCCs

(Education, Residence and Age)

Animator				Members				
(1)	(2) Years in Sector [rank]	(3) Years in BCC [rank]	(4) Education Completed [rank]	(5) Average Age	(6) Age Range	(7) Average Years in Sector	(8) Average Years in BCC	(9) Average Education Completed
Name Age [rank]								
Saint James								
Daniel 45[7]	12[10]	6[1]	12[2]	53.3	33-79	17.2	5.1	8.1
Saint Michael								
Ruth 37[4]	6 [1]	3[1]	12[2]	40.0	35-58	4.6	2.0	10.0
Justice								
Inéz 33[10]	18[4]	2[1]	15[2]	38.7	31-47	17.5	1.6	11.1
John XXIII								
Marta 43[5]	18[1]	15[1]	8[7]	49.0	32-65	15.0	11.75	11.0
Workers of God								
Nancy 41[3]	10[6]	4[1]	6[4]	38.5	28-45	14.2	2.4	7.1
Esperanza								
Teresa 41[9]	20[1]	7[3]	6[5]	44.3	30-55	16.1	4.6	5.3
Lo Amor								
Monica 46[9]	22[9]	18[2]	6[7]	47.6	33-56	25.0	10.3	5.9
Solidarity								
Joaquín 40[5]	3[3]	2[1]	7[6]	36.0	28-48	3.0	2.0	7.2

1.2 Age

There is a tendency for BCCs in low marginality areas to contain more older members than in the case of the high marginality area, and this probably accounts for the differences in the average age of the BCCs, as set out in Table 6.4. There are no differences between the animators of types of BCCs in terms of age and the age of members. Perhaps it is worth noting that Inéz, the animator of **Justice**, is by far the youngest of the animators. Inéz' age is associated with the framing of the communicative practice of her BCC which we saw in Chapter Five. Although highly educated (Table 6.4), her age may be associated with her near total lack of control over the discourse in her BCC.

2 Attributes of Members:
Education, Employment, Family Income and Domestic Status

2.1 Education

It is very clear from column 9 of Table 6.4 that, as might be expected, members of BCCs in the low marginality area have more years of completed education than members of the BCCs of high marginality areas. Further, animators in the low marginality areas have much more education than in the areas of high marginality. Only one member in the high marginality area has secondary education compared to three with secondary in the low marginality area. This may well point to a further implicit criteria of selection of the animator.

2.2 Employment

This comparative analysis is made significantly easier because the highly marginalized BCCs are all located in the municipality of **Cerro Navia**, and the less marginalized ones in the municipality of Ñuñoa. Statistical information on employment is available in a document by Schkolnik and Teitelboim entitled, **Employment Survey in Greater Santiago.**[1] When we compare BCC members with the general population in their respective municipalities of Cerro Navia and Ñuñoa, the differences are striking (see below, Table 6.5). When the

rates of unemployment among men are compared, the BCC members have a
'zero' rate compared with rates of unemployment in the respective
municipalities of over twenty-percent. When we compare average family
income for all BCC members in the formal and informal sectors with the
averages for their respective municipalities, the BCC members are
generally better remunerated for their work.[2]

Table 6.5
Comparative Employment Rates and Average Income
for Heads of Household
and the Municipalities of Cerro Navia and Ñuñoa

Municipality	Ñuñoa BCC^{LM}		Cerro Navia BCC^{HM}	
Unemployment (%)	28.7%	(0%)	21.8%	(0%)
Average Gross Formal	45.682	49.333	20.552	29.580
Family Income Informal	27.768	25.875	19.000	19.964

(figures which represent the average gross family income
of the BCC members are **highlighted** in the above table)

Table 6.6 shows that all men are employed in all BCCs. More
women are employed in low marginality areas, 9 out of 14, compared
with only 7 out of 33 in the high marginality area, and this, of
course will effect family income. It is difficult to make a
comparison between animators and members in terms of occupation.

2.3 **Family Income**

It is clear from Table 6.5 that the average gross family income
in higher for BCC members when compared with the average gross formal
income of their respective municipalities. It is very clear that BCC
members are atypical with respect to employment, and thus average
gross formal income. However, it is also clear that members of BCCs
in areas of high marginality have a much lower average gross formal
and informal income than members of BCCs in the low marginality areas.
This is confirmed by the findings in Table 6.6 where columns 8 and 9
show very clearly that the average family income in the low
marginality area in very much higher that the average family income in

168

Table 6.6   Employment of Animators and Members

Animator / Name	(1) Current Employ	(2) Previous Job	(3) Current Income	(4) Income Spouse	(5) Total Family Income [rank]	Members (6) Employed Women [total in BCC]	(7) Employed Men [total in BCC]	(8) Average Income [women]	(9) Average Income [men]	(10) Average Family Income
Saint James										
Daniel	teacher	--	18.000	32.000	50.000[2]	3[4]	2[3]*	48.700	15.500	60.000
Saint Michael										
Ruth	housewife	textile	--	50.000	50.000[2]	2[2]	3[3]	8.000	55.700	50.000
Justice										
Inéz	housewife	cashier	--	90.000	90.000[2]	1[5]	6[6]	25.000	65.500	72.000
John XXIII										
Marta	seamstress	--	8.000	19.000	27.000[2]	3[3]	4[4]	22.400	19.625	42.500
Workers of God										
Nancy	domestic	PEM**	18.500	--	18.500[5]	1[6]	1[1]	8.330	19.000	19.571
Esperanza										
Teresa	seamstress	barber	20.000	20.000	40.000[3]	1[8]	4[4]	16.000	33.250	31.900
Lo Amor										
Monica	housewife	domestic	--	38.000	38.000[4]	0[9]	5[5]	13.750	40.600	35.430
Solidarity										
Joaquín	labourer	labourer	30.000	--	30.000[3]	5[10]	8[8]	9.800	24.400	27.000

* Two of three men are employed full-time (one pensioner)

** PEM (Programa de Empleo Mínimo): a government workfare project

169

the high marginality area, and thus differences in average family income holds when the average income of both men and women are compared. It is possible that in the interview where this data was obtained there may well have been some enhancement of actual income in th low marginality areas, and perhaps even a dimunition of the actual income in the high marginality area in order to draw attention to their oppressed condition.

When we compare the income of animators, it is clear from column 5 of Table 6.6 that animators in low marginality areas are among the top earners (ranked "[2]") of their BCCs, whereas the rank of animators in the high marginality areas is much lower. We could speculate that income might be another implicit criteria of selection of animators in the area of low marginality.

2.4 Domestic Status

When domestic profile is considered, we must recall the overall religious context in which the BCC is located. Hence, in general married state and children are important, and may be of significance for our research. Within popular culture, a married couple is described frequently as either 'con libreta' or 'sin libreta', that is with or without the libreta. A libreta in this case is the church document which indicates that the couple has been married in the Catholic Church in a religious ceremony.

In Table 6.7 we have set out the domestic profile of the animator and the members of each BCC. The animator profile includes marital status, years married, and number of children. The members profile includes the number married with respect to total number of members (in parenthesis), the average number of years that the BCC members are married, and the average number of children per BCC family.

It is of considerable importance to recognize that nearly all members of the BCCs are sacramentally married in the Catholic Church. With the exception of the animator of **Workers of God,** all animators have been 'married in the church'. Eighty-four (84) of the eighty-nine (89) BCC members are married (94.3%), with three divorced and one

170

Table 6.7

Domestic Profile of BCCs

Animator	Status	Years Married	Children
BCC Members	married (Total)	Years Married (average)	Children per BCC family (average)
Saint James			
Animator	married	12.0	4.0
BCC Members	6 (7)	31.0	1.7
Saint Michael			
Animator	married	21.0	3.0
BCC Members	4 (5)	18.5	2.8
Justice			
Animator	married	13.0	3.0
BCC Members	11 (11)	17.0	3.08
John XXIII			
Animator	married	20.0	4.0
BCC Members	7 (7)	20.0	3.5
Workers of God			
Animator	divorced	----	3.0
BCC Members	7 (7)	15.8	2.87
Esperanza			
Animator	married	22.0	2.0
BCC Members	12 (12)	19.0	3.07
Lo Amor			
Animator	married	25.0	3.0
BCC Members	14 (14)	27.6	3.9
Solidarity			
Animator	married	17.0	4.0
BCC Members	18 (18)	14.0	3.1

widowed. The members of all BCCs with previous religious
socialization are married. Thus, to be in a stable marriage blessed
by a priest in a catholic religious ceremony appears to be a criterion
of selection in the BCCs irrespective of BCC type.

Thus, there are no differences among the BCC types or between
members and animators with respect to domestic status. In this
respect members and animators all show the same domestic status. It
would be a matter of some interest to know whether this common
domestic status is typical or atypical for the respective
municipalities. Our impression from the field work leads us to
believe that the domestic status (married in the church) of BCC
members is not customary for the general populations of the respective
municipalities.

2.5 Summary: Attributes of Members

It is very clear that BCC members, irrespective of type, are
atypical for their municipalities with respect to employment, income
and possibly marital status. In this respect they enjoy a relatively
elite status. BCC members in the low marginality area, although
equally employed (except for women) have a much reduced average gross
family income compared with the average gross family income of the
high marginality area.

3 Attributes of Activities

3.1 Activities of Members

Here we shall first consider the organization to which BCC
members belong, whether they are located in the local chapel or
external to it. Secondly, we will examine the political preference
(if at all) of BCC members and animators.

172

Organizations

We have grouped secular activities under the following headings:

labour union: membership in trade unions
political organization: membership in political party or human rights advocacy groups which do not have specific party affiliation
cultural: neighborhood clubs promoting traditional Chilean cultural activities
social: clubs where people socialize

Internal Chapel Activities

As Table 6.8 indicates, all BCCs have a high incidence of participation in chapel activities among their members, both of the educational and service-orientated types (Columns 1-3). In educational BCCs, we have found that the incidence of participation in educational activities (family catechism, sacramental preparation courses, etc.) as instructors is not much higher than participation in non-educational service programs, except among the members of **Solidarity**. The highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs show the highest relative incidence of non-catechetical, service-orientated chapel activities.

External Religious Activities

In Table 6.8, under the category, 'external religious activity' (Column 4), which refers to religious activities beyond the chapel, we have found little or no participation among the members of any BCC. These activities would be those religious activities at another level of the Catholic Church or ecumenical activities.

External Secular Activities

The pattern of participation in outside activities and organizations (political, cultural, social, or labour) is of considerably more interest (Columns 5-9). Table 6.8 indicates that the members of educational BCCs have a lower degree of participation in external secular activities. And in **Justice, Lo Amor, Solidarity,** if we leave aside the participation in recreational social

173

Table 6.8   Activities of BCC Members

BCC(n)	Members in Chapel Activities			(4) External Religious Activity	Members in Other Activities					(10) A	(11) B	(12) C	(13) D
	(1) Catechism Activity	(2) Service Activity	(3) Total* Members		(5) Labour Union	(6) Political	(7) Cultural	(8) Social	(9) Total				
Saint James													
8	3	4	7*	--	1	2	--	--	2	-	4	-	1
Saint Michael													
6	3	3	6*	1	--	--	1	1	2	-	3	2	-
Justice													
12	4	3	7*	2	1	1	--	3	5	2	4	3	2
John XXIII													
8	3	8	8*	--	--	1	--	--	1	-	8	1	-
Workers of God													
8	1	3	3*	1	--	4	--	1	4	3	1	1	2
Esperanza													
13	2	6	7*	1	2	2	--	--	4	2	7	-	1
Lo Amor													
15	8	10	11*	--	--	2	--	2	4	-	7	4	4
Sons and Daughters of Christ													
19	10	4	12*	--	--	--	1	2	5	1	8	4	6

* total members (column 3) is not the sum of columns 1 and 2, as one member may participate in activity types 1 and 2.

'A' refers to those not engaged in chapel activities, but engaged in one or more non-religious activity outside the chapel.

'B' refers to those not engaged in non-religious activity outside the chapel, but involved in at least one chapel activity.

'C' refers to those who participates both in a chapel activity and in an activity outside the chapel.

'D' refers to those who do not participate in any activity.

174

organizations (usually associated with the place of employment), their level of participation in outside activities is even lower.

In the BCC, **Workers of God,** half of the members participate in political organizations, the highest level of ongoing political participation among all of the BCCs. Generally, among the highly marginalized BCCs, we find a somewhat higher level of participation in outside activities than in the less marginalized ones.

We have found (columns 10-13) that only the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs have a significant number of members who only participate in activities outside the chapel (type A: n=8). Generally, across all of the BCCs, a high percentage of members engage exclusively in chapel activities (type B: n=42). Few members are engaged in activities both inside and outside the chapel (type C: n=16). Nevertheless, almost all members are engaged in some activity, with the exception of the highly marginalized, educational BCCs (type D: n=15).

The high incidence of participation in chapel activities seems to confirm an important research finding concerning religious practice among the marginalized in Chile. That is, marginalized catholics associate catholic identity with participation in the chapel, where 'to be catholic' is 'to participate in the chapel', more than 'to adhere internally to a body of creedal statements'.[3]

The focus of activity does vary among types of BCCs with respect to their previous religious socialization. On the whole, educational BCCs have a lower level of participation in external secular activities, and thus, are more focused on the chapel. This may operate as an implicit criteria of membership of this type of BCC. The highest participation in political organizations is found in the non-educational, high marginality BCC, **Workers of God.**

3.2 **Activities of Animators**

One feature stands out in Table 6.9 which outlines the activities of the animators of the BCCs. Animators of the highly marginalized BCCs participate in chapel activities to a significantly higher degree than the animators in the less marginalized ones

Table 6.9   **Activities of BCC Animators**

	Chapel Activities			Other Activities					
	(1)	(2) Non-Catechism	(3) Total (n)	(4) External Religious	(5) Labour	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Catechism Activity	Catechism Activity	Activities	Activity	Union	Political	Cultural	Social	Total
Saint James									
Daniel	--	1	1	--	--	1	--	--	1
Saint Michael									
Marta	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Justice									
Inéz	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1	1
John XXIII									
Marta	2	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--
Workers of God									
Nancy	1	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--
Esperanza									
Teresa	1	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--
Lo Amor									
Monica	1	3	4	--	--	--	--	1	1
Solidarity									
Joaquín	2	1	3	--	--	--	--	--	--

(Columns 1-3). However, only one animator participates in a political organization (Column 6). The overall participation of the animators of the highly marginalized BCCs is higher, but confined almost exclusively to the local chapel. It is interesting to note that the animators in the high marginality BCCs share a very high level of chapel activities with the members of the BCCs.

4 Political Preference

During the interview with members and animators they were asked their preference among the political parties in Chile.[4] The data we shall present here is based on the answers given, and is as valid as the answers. We regard the political preference of members and animators as of some importance to the thesis, and as a consequence we shall carry out a detailed analysis of members' answers to questions on their political preference. We shall first give the pattern of preference for those who made a choice of party. Then we shall carry out a delicate analysis of those who said they had no preference.

In Table 6.10, we can see that, with two exceptions, the BCC members who expressed a preference for a political party, regardless of social class or previous religious socialization, prefer parties who opposed General Pinochet in the National Referendum of October, 1988. Further, the political party with the most adherents among the members who express a preference is the Christian Democrat Party (CDP). Table 6.10 indicates that it is only among the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs that we find a preference for political parties to the left of the CDP. However, among the highly marginalized, educational BCCs, such a preference for the left is absent. On the contrary, these are the BCCs where we find a high incidence of 'no political preference'. The table below gives the distribution of political preference for the Christian Democratic Party (CDP).

Table 6.10   Patterns of Political Preference in the BCC

Animator	Members	Preference							No Preference			Total
		UDI	RD	CDP	PPD	SP	HP	CP	No [a] Preference	Ignorance of Politics [b]	Political Apathy [c]	
Saint James	Daniel CDP	--	--	4	--	--	--	--	1	1	2	4
Saint Michael	Ruth CDP	--	--	3	--	2	--	--	--	1	--	1
Justice	Inéz ---	2	2	3	1	--	--	--	1	2	2	5
John XXIII	Marta CDP	--	--	6	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	2
Workers of God	Nancy CDP	--	--	4	1	--	2	1	--	--	--	0
Esperanza	Teresa CP	--	--	1	--	1	--	5	2	2	2	4
Lo Amor	Monica CDP	--	--	5	--	--	--	--	4	3	1	8
Solidarity	Joaquín PPD	--	--	6	3	--	--	--	1	6	3	10

178

Preference for CDP

BCC Type	n^{CDP}	n^{TOT}	n^{CDP}/n^{TOT}(%)
less marginalized, non-educational	7	14	50.0%
less marginalized, educational	9	20	45.0%
highly marginalized, non-educational	5	21	24.0%
highly marginalized, educational	11	34	32.0%

The less marginalized BCCs clearly favoured the CDP. The highly marginalized BCCs differ according to previous religious socialization, where its presence is associated with a high incidence of no preference and its absence with a shift to the left.

4.1 No Political Preference

We will now examine the distribution of no preference across the BCC types. Table 6.10 indicates that 40.0% said they did not prefer any political party to the open-ended question. This answer was probed to seek the reason for this absence of a preference. We coded the reasons under the following headings:

(A) refers to responses where the members stated that they had no political preference

(B) refers to the responses where the members claimed to be unable to understand political matters

(C) refers to those answers where the members claimed not to care about politics

This distribution of reasons under categories A, B, C is given with their totals under the last four columns of Table 6.10. We shall first give the distribution of no preference in the total sample in Table 6.11, then the distribution for men in Table 6.12 and the distribution for women in Table 6.13.

4.1.1 Total Sample and No Preference

Total no preference across the sample is 40.0% of BCC members. The lowest incidence of no political preference across the sample is

179

found among the members of the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs (28.0%), and the highest incidence among members of the highly marginalized educational BCCs (53.0%). Among members of the highly marginalized, educational BCCs, the most frequently mentioned cause of no political preference referred to a lack of understanding of politics (type B, no-preference). In general, the distribution of BCC members across types of no-preference is similar in each type of BCC, except in the highly marginalized, educational ones.

4.1.2   Gender and No Preference

We will recall that the composition of the BCCs with regard to gender varied according to social class, where we found a much higher percentage of women in the highly marginalized BCCs (66.0%), than in the less marginalized ones (50.0%). The disproportionate number of women in the highly marginalized BCCs must be considered in order to form a truer picture of the no political preference among the BCC members. We will now consider the no-preference patterns among men and women. The number of men who said they had no preference is very small. In fact too small to carry out any reliable analysis. It is perhaps worth noting that six out of nine men gave as their reason for no preference "C" (political apathy). Of half of these, three are members of a highly marginalized educational BCC.

Among the women we find a much higher level of no political preference when compared with the men (Tables 6.12 and 6.13). Even a cursory glance across the bottom line of the tables for men and women indicates this general tendency. When we consider the no-preference among women according to the type of BCC, we find that women of the highly marginalized non-educational and the less marginalized non-educational BCCs have the lowest level of no-preference (38.0% and 42.0% respectively). Whereas the highest level of no-preference is found among women in the highly marginalized, educational BCCs (70.0%).

When we examine the form of no political preference (according to types A, B, C) we find that the majority of women who expressed that they had no political preference (56.0%), did so because they did not understand politics (type B). The tendency differs sharply from

180

Table 6.11

Patterns of No Political Preference in the Overall Sample (n=89)

	educational less marginalized	non-educational less marginalized	educational highly marginalized	non-educational highly marginalized	Totals
	n=20	n=14	n=34	n=21	n=89
A	2	1	5	2	10 (28.0)
B	3	2	9	2	16 (44.0)
C	2	2	4	2	10 (28.0)
Total	7 (35.0)	5 (37.0)	18 (53.0)	6 (28.0)	36

Table 6.12

Patterns of No Political Preference among Men (n=36)

	educational less marginalized	non-educational less marginalized	educational highly marginalized	non-educational highly marginalized	Totals
	n=10	n=7	n=14	n=5	n=36
A	1	0	1	0	2 (22.0)
B	0	1	0	0	1 (11.0)
C	1	1	3	1	6 (66.0)
Total	2 (20.0)	2 (29.0)	4 (29.0)	1 (20.0)	9

Table 6.13

Patterns of No Political Preference among Women (n=53)

	educational less marginalized	non-educational less marginalized	educational highly marginalized	non-educational highly marginalized	Totals
	n=10	n=7	n=20	n=16	n=53
A	1	1	4	2	8 (30.0)
B	3	1	9	2	15 (56.0)
C	1	1	1	1	4 (15.0)
Total	5 (50.0)	3 (42.0)	14 (70.0)	5 (39.0)	27

that of the men, where political apathy (type C) was the reason most frequently mentioned (60.0%). It is a matter of significant interest that among the women of the highly marginalized, educational BCCs, nine of the fourteen who expressed no-preference claimed a lack a understanding of politics to be the reason (type B). This number is extraordinarily high. Nearly three in four of the total number of women in the highly marginalized, educational BCCs (14/20) claim not to understand enough about politics to choose a political party.

4.1.3 Conclusions on Political Preference

Political Preference among the Members

In general, members who have a preference vote CDP, and this is more pronounced in BCCs in the low marginality area. The non-educational BCCs in the high marginality area are the only BCCs with some members preferring the parties left of the CDP (48%).

The higher levels of no political preference is found among the educational BCCs irrespective of their marginality. This seems to suggest an association between previous religious socialization as a group and no political preference. The lowest level of no preference is found among the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs. If political preference is highest among the men and women of the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs and lowest among the educational BCCs in the same area, then this adds force to the suggestion that previous religious socialization contributes to the depoliticizing of the members.

In general, it is women who say they have no preference and especially the women in the educational BCCs in the area of high marginality. Thus, the combination of high marginality and previous religious socialization gives rise to the highest incidence of no preference, and this is essentially because of women.

Political Preference among the Animators

Table 6.10 indicates that seven out of eight animators express a political preference. Whereas women members of BCCs are likely to

indicate no political preference, this is not the case for animators where seven out of eight express a preference. Five out of eight animators express a preference for the CDP. Inéz of **Justice** expresses no political preference.[5] Only in BCCs from high marginality areas do we find preference for left political parties; Joaquín of **Solidarity** prefers the PPD (to the left of the CDP) and Teresa of **Esperanza** prefers the Communist Party. It is worth noting that in **Esperanza** a relation exists between the animator and members' preference. Teresa's CP preference may be an implicit criteria for members' self-selection. Further, It will be of interest to see later in the thesis whether Teresa's left political preference is associated with a higher incidence of political discourse.

5   BCC Membership and Implicit Criteria of Selection

5.1   The Selection of Members

In general BCC members appear to be an elite in their respective areas with respect to employment, family income, domestic status and CDP vote. Members are engaged in a high level of chapel activity. There is on the whole a relatively low level of participation in non-chapel activities. The members then are chapel-focused. However, within these common attributes it does look as if BCC types have members who share similar attributes. We can note the balanced distribution of gender in the BCCs in the low marginality area, and the skewed distribution towards women in the high marginality area. Participation among men is higher in the low marginality area than in the high marginality area although nearly all members are married in the Catholic Church. There is also the association of no political preference with membership of educational BCCs.

Within this small sample it looks as though there are two forms of selection, one separating out BCC members from the general population of the municipality, and within this a second form of implicit selection whereby a BCC tends to choose members like each other. Clearly the number and types of BCCs in the sample are too small to permit generalization, but our findings might orientate larger surveys.

5.2 The Selection of Animators

We have so far presented general and specific profiles of BCCs, their members and animators. Here we shall examine in some detail the procedures for the selection of the animators. The animators play or can play an important role in the BCCs. They have, as we have seen, a number of responsibilities which may shape both the BCC talk and its interactions. Thus, the procedures of selection of animators deserves some analysis.

We shall first give the findings on the selection of animators from a large survey of BCCs carried out by Valdivieso. We shall then relate the procedures of selection found in this research to the procedures of selection of the animators in our sample. In the Bellarmino study (Valdivieso 1989), BCCs responded to a question regarding the degree of formality of the selection process.[6] In the less marginalized BCCs of the Eastern Zone and in the highly marginalized ones of the Western Zone, a high percentage of BCCs select their own animators (Eastern Zone, 61.7%; Western Zone, 68.0%). The following table represents the means of selection discovered among the BCCs in the Bellarmino research.

Table 6.14

Animator chosen by:	Western Zone (n=57)	Eastern Zone (n=167)
BCC Members	68.0	61.7
Official Advisor	4.0	12.0
BCC with confirmation of the parish priest	2.0	3.0
Coordinator of the chapel	8.0	3.6
No permanent animator	6.0	6.6

We have encountered three means of animator selection among the BCCs in our small sample: (a) selection by BCC members (least formal); (b) selection by the BCC with confirmation by the religious personnel in the local chapel (less formal); and (c) selection by the BCC subject to confirmation by local religious personnel, and later ritually installed by the local bishop (most formal). In the

184

Bellarmino research (Table 6.14), we notice that the first two means of selection correspond to two of the means of selection that we found in our sample. However, the third and most formal process, whereby the animator is ritually installed by the bishop/vicar, is not mentioned by any of the three hundred and thirteen BCCs which participated in the Bellarmino research.

Among the BCCs in our sample, we find a significant difference between the marginalized and highly marginalized BCCs in terms of the process of selection of the animator. We have discovered four different means of animator selection which vary from highly informal to highly formal.

less marginalized BCCs (informal)

In **John XXIII**, the selection of the animator by the members occurs at any time (highly informal).

In **Saint James, Saint Michael**, and **Justice**, the animator is chosen by the members of the BCC at the beginning of the year (informal).

highly marginalized BCCs (formal)

In **Lo Amor** and **Solidarity**, the animator is chosen by the members and ratified by the pastor (formal).

In **Workers of God** and **Esperanza**, the animator is chosen by members, ratified by the pastor, and ritually initiated by the local bishop (highly formal).

It is of great interest to note that in the less marginalized BCCs, the process of selection is informal and highly informal, and in the highly marginalized BCCs, that process is formal and highly formal. The more ritualized selection of the animator in the highly marginalized BCC, irrespective of previous religious socialization, is certainly unexpected. In the less marginalized BCCs, the more informal selection of the animator may be indicative of the relative unimportance of hierarchically appointed animators for the proper functioning of BCCs. The high degree of formality of animator selection which includes ritual investiture points to the significant of clear hierarchy for the BCCs of high marginality. It is of great interest that in these BCCs the overall BCC code is liberationist, and

that this code is confirmed and legitimated by the Church hierarchy. We shall see that the theological code of the local chapels to which the BCCs are associated are liberationist. This may have a bearing on orientation and mode of selection.

The formality of the process of animator selection in the highly marginalized BCCs, especially the non-educational ones, invests the animator with a considerable amount of moral authority within the group, where external hierarchy (local religious personnel or local bishop) establishes a recognizable, although rudimentary, internal hierarchy. This tendency toward formality in the process of selection stands in marked contrast to the highly informal process of selection in **John XXIII**, a less marginalized BCC, where the animator appears to be selected by a most informal process. It is interesting that in this BCC, the animator engages in no pedagogic activity except for initiating and concluding the meeting.

5.3 Implicit Criteria of Animator Selection

Six of the eight animators are distinguishable from the members of their BCCs in terms of their participation in highly-valued activities or organizations. Monica, the animator of **Lo Amor** currently works in an informal educational project of the *Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de Educación (CIDE)*. Joaquín was a teacher in a family catechism group which after having completed the two-year course, became the BCC, **Solidarity**. Teresa of **Esperanza** is on the chapel organizational team in close proximity to the local pastor. Daniel of **Saint James**, is the coordinator of all BCCs in his chapel. Ruth of **Saint Michael** is highly skilled in leading charismatic prayer and singing.

We shall first describe those features which are common to all or virtually all BCC animators irrespective of the degree of marginality or previous religious socialization of a BCC. Subsequently, we shall present those features which are applicable to animators in one or more of the types of BCCs.

Common Attributes of Animators in all BCCs:

(1) Seniority among the members of the BCC (Table 6.4).

(2) Seven of eight animators expressed a political preference, although the range of those preferences was wide (Table 6.10).

(3) Seven of the eight animators are married 'con libreta', with the marriage having taken place in a religious ceremony in a Catholic Church (Table 6.7).

(4) All animators, with one exception, participate in at least one chapel activity, and have low participation in activities <u>outside the chapel</u> (Table 6.9).

Attributes of Animators and BCC Type

(1) The rank of the animator is much higher in the less marginalized BCCs (completed education), whereas this is not the case for animators in high marginality BCCs where they appear to be similar to the members (Table 6.4).

(2) <u>In the less marginalized BCCs</u>, the animators are ranked generally much higher in terms of family income than in the highly marginalized ones (Table 6.6).

In general, in our sample, the animators appear to be chosen because of seniority of membership in a BCC, high level of service within the chapel, together with a focusing of activities on the chapel rather than on secular organizations. Animators appear to be exemplary figures. This seems to be the case when we consider types of BCCs. In the low marginality area the informal selection gives rise to a choice where the individual has higher economic and educational status. In the high marginality area the more formal process gives rise to a choice of individual who exemplifies the characteristics of members, and so does not in any way stand apart.

6   General Conclusion

BCC members in our sample are atypical for their neighborhood and resemble an elite. There is some evidence that the process of selection gives rise to specialized differences between BCCs arising out of a process of like choosing like. There is some evidence that

previous religious socialization in the high marginality area is associated with de-politicized members especially when they are women. It will be of interest to see the implications of the attributes of BCC members and animators for the talk and interactions in the BCCs. This analysis now follows.

NOTES for Chapter Six

[1]Schkolnik and Teitelboim 1988.

[2]The individual incomes of the BCC members was calculated for all members who are employed full-time. The definitions of formal and informal sectors of the workforce are available in the opening section of the PET research. See Schkolnik and Teitelboim 1988.

[3]See Güell 1987:141-145.

[4]The range of political parties preferred by members includes almost the entire political spectrum. On the right, the pro-Pinochet party, the *Unión Democràtica Independiente* (UDI). Among the anti-Pinochet parties, we find the Radical Party (RP) and the Christian Democrat Party (CDP) in the centrist opposition. On the left, we find the Pro-Democracy Party (PPD), Socialist Party (SP), Humanist Party (HP), and the Communist Party (CP).

[5]Although Inéz had no political preference, in her interview she express her intention to support General Pinochet in the National Referendum.

[6]We are considering question no.35 of the Bellarmino questionnaire, "Who names the animator of the BCC?"

Chapter Seven

BCC Secondary Discourses: Procedures of Their Analysis

Introduction

In spite of the overall informality of the BCCs, it has been our contention that talk concerning practices is structured, in the sense that the talk issues from particular theological orientations constituted by a complex interrelation of social class position of the members and their previous religious socialization. We expect to find in the chapters which follow that members who are differently positioned in terms of social class and previous religious socialization will speak about their practices and strategies for dealing with problems in different contexts, in different ways.

In addition to these social and religious constraints, we expect to find that these different ways of talking about everyday practices, will be generated according to different theological codes which are tacitly transmitted and acquired, realized and applied during the regular meeting. The theological code is expected to regulate what of the everyday (if at all) is introduced into the talk.

In the highly informal BCC context the talk will be simple in style, and will deal with everyday practices, and in general, will be unprovoked in origin. When we say unprovoked we mean that, unlike more highly controlled talk, more typical of classroom interaction, the interventions in the BCC are more narrative and more personal in form, and are generally not solicited or explicitly evaluated. The BCC members will speak with startling openness about their hopes and fears, about problems in different spheres of marginalized existence. Throughout these meetings, members establish a small network of mutual recognition and mutual help in order to deal with the multiple hardships of marginalized existence.

1 Categories of Analysis of Secondary Discourses

In this section our concern is to describe our procedures for the analysis of BCC talk during the sacred episode. We know the distribution of the various discourses and their relation to the class fraction of the members and their previous religious socialization. Further, from our previous analysis we have knowledge of the classification and framing of the pedagogic practice of each BCC. Thus, we have a good idea of both the theological codes and pedagogic codes received in the BCCs. However, we as yet do not know what members say, what problems trouble them, what solutions they see, how the talk is guided or not by the animator. This section will set out the theory and procedures we will use to analyze such talk.

It will be remembered that we have as data recordings of twenty-two BCC meetings which vary in length one to three hours. This variation in length is not associated with the type of BCC. It is clear we shall have to set up a form of description which is consonant with the aims of the thesis and the time and space we have available.

A major interest of the thesis is to discover the relation between the policy of the regulatory agencies of the Chilean Catholic Church with respect to its view of the BCC as an agency of transformation. In Section 4 of Chapter Four we set out the expectations of the multiple regulatory agencies. There we saw that a BCC is a space for bringing religious faith and texts into relation with the discussion of problems which arise in members' daily lives and that strategies should be developed to deal with those problems from a faith perspective at the micro and at the macro levels.

If one were to examine the extent to which BCCs conform to those aims, the manner in which they conform and their deviation and manner of deviation, then we need to examine the talk from this point of view. The policies of the Catholic regulatory agencies suggest that we should focus upon what members feel needs to be transformed in their lives and how such transformation is to be brought about: in terms of our data this means that we should focus upon what members select as their problems, how they describe and represent these problems, how they see the solution or amelioration of these problems, that is, the strategies they propose and discuss. We can summarize

and say that we must focus upon the representations of their problems and the strategies proposed, followed and discussed. We can then examine how these vary with each discourse and with BCC type.

If we are to go on to ask how can we explain such variation then we must consider the cultural specializations of the groups who make up the various types of BCCs. We have proposed that cultural specializations which will shape the variations in practices, representations and strategies. We expect to find that such specializations arise out of the degree of marginality and previous religious socialization. At this point we require a theory which will explain such cultural specializations of the class subject in a language consistent with our needs. Basically, such a theory should throw light upon how social class relationships reproduce themselves through establishing different cultural grammars in the members through which they construct their representations, practices and strategies in their everyday engagements. We shall now set out our model of the subject, based on the concept habitus from Bourdieu, which focuses on the relationship between socialization of the members and their cultural grammars.

1.1 Bourdieu's Habitus-Practice-Strategy

The fundamental concept in Bourdieu's model of the class subject is that of habitus. In the course of Bourdieu's theorizing this concept has been variously defined and used in a strong and weak sense.[1] Essentially and briefly, habitus is a structuring structure described as an internal system of perceptions, cognitions, dispositions which are durable and transposable. Transposable in the sense that the same system underlies and regulates representations and practices in apparently different contexts and discourses. Members' habitus then underlies and engages with the world through practices.

The concept, practice, is viewed by Bourdieu as a means to "escape the ritual either/or choice between objectivism and subjectivism" (1977a:4) where rejection of one approach implies the necessarily adoption of the other.[2] Thus, practice is not merely the recurrent execution of an explicit rule being applied to a single context as "an acting out of roles" (the subjectivist account), nor is

practice "a negative by-product of a system of objective relations which can be discarded as an epi-phenomenon of structure" (the determinist account) (Bourdieu 1990b:52). Practices then are ways of engagement which are not singular mechanical adaptations (Harker 1984; Harker et al. 1990:11-12), but issue from from a *repertoire* of possibilities whose limit is set by a particular habitus.

The third concept is that of <u>strategy</u>. Here the subject has considerable autonomy. Strategies arise because "... even where the interlocking of action and reaction are totally predictable in totally predictable form, outside uncertainty remains as to the outcome of the interaction as long as the sequence is not completed ..." (Bourdieu 1977a:9). The weak form of Bourdieu's model of the class subject which we adopt here is a model of the subject where habitus does not minutely regulate engagements but rather sets limits, creates a *repertoire* of practices within those limits and permits considerable autonomy in the election of strategies within any given time interval. The weak form of Bourdieu's model recovers the social phenomenon, time interval, as the fundamental feature of strategies, together with the complex human interaction to which it gives rise, indicates the degree of autonomy in his model of the class subject.

We will now consider our BCC members and activities from the point of view of this model. First of all, we are dealing with a class of marginalized groups who share similar economic constraints, chronic social disadvantage and serious problems of elementary survival, giving rise to collective and individual attitudes, relations, practices and values which have been well documented.[3] We will recall that Chapter Six indicated that BCC members are highly selected according to several criteria. Members of each BCC are from the same marginalized class fraction and from the same neighborhood. The members of some BCCs have participated together in prolonged experiences of religious socialization (family catechism). Frequently, their children attend the same schools. Most members participate intensely in one or more activity in the local chapel (Tables 6.8 and 6.9). Of the members who are heads of households, all are employed full-time (Table 6.6). These highly selected participants constitute BCCs; the members are from similar social, cultural and religious backgrounds. Thus, it should not be surprising

192

that features of the common background of the participants inform
their talk about everyday practices during the BCC meeting.

Although all members of the eight BCCs are drawn from the urban
poor, and thus, necessarily share certain aspirations, there are, as
Chapter Six indicated, marked differences in the degree of marginality
that we expect will give rise to different class practices.
Similarly, although all members of the BCCs are practicing catholics,
some have received a specific form of religious socialization, family
catechism; and we expect such socialization to have consequences for
their social practices. Thus, our model must be more complicated
because we must take into account not only the class habitus but also
the specific religious habitus arising out of forms of socialization.
We therefore are in a position of being able to examine albeit for a
very small sample the interaction between class and religious habitus.

Further even a cursory glance at the transcripts of the twenty-
two meetings indicates that members are highly involved in talk about
the practices which they follow in their daily life. In the BCC
regular meetings, members deal frequently with painful problems which
they encounter in their marginalized daily lives in which their own
activities <u>and</u> their relationship with God[4] and with the Kingdom of
God[5] plays an important part. Here members introduce a *repertoire* of
strategies to cope with and possibly change their conditions in both
the short and long term.

Bourdieu's model of the class subject in terms of a specialized
<u>habitus</u>, *repertoire* of <u>practices</u> and <u>strategies</u> seems appropriate for
our concerns in the analysis of BCC talk. In this talk we shall see
how members review their problems, how they describe them (that is,
represent them), how they can control these problems (strategies) and
how they make proposals for their solutions or amelioration
(transformation). And all this takes place in the world of their
everyday practice.

Our analysis of the transcripts will be through the
<u>representations of problems</u>[6] and the <u>strategies</u> proposed, planned and
evaluated by BCC members. *We do not expect to find* that the great
similarities in the background of the BCC participants will lead
inexorably to predictable and determined talk of everyday practices in

the regular meeting. Rather, we expect to find a <u>particular arena of talk</u>[7] in each BCC which is created and maintained pedagogically in the BCC meeting itself according to a theological code. That is, we expect to find, within the limits of this arena, that members will discuss, criticize, and may challenge the perception of a member or of a group of members in the BCC, perhaps even challenging a prevailing or modal discourse in a BCC. Frequently individuals will be relays for the structures which gave rise to their social and religious habitus, yet it is equally true that individuals also may be agents of change of those structures.

1.2 Representations

We shall distinguish <u>representations</u> in the various discourses in terms of the <u>level</u> of social structure to which they refer and in terms of their <u>social base</u>.

1.2.1 Level

Level refers to the macro or the micro or the interpersonal. Representations may shift from macro to micro levels in the context of the same problem as a consequence of the play of the discussion within it.

We may find shifts in their level of representations. The following sequence is an example of a shift from the macro to the micro level in church discourse. After a critical evaluation of the performance of Cardinal Fresno of Santiago in macro political issues, the sequence which we present below deals with the Cardinal's upcoming visit to the local chapel of the BCC, **Workers of God**. As the Key to the Transcripts at the beginning of the thesis indicates, "(a)" indicates that Nancy is the animator and *italics* indicate a strategy.

01 (a) Nancy: I think that he has to come and see us, because
             when he comes to see us, we are going to ask him the
             questions that we should really ask him. He should come
             down here to the poor to see us in our chapel of the
             poor. He should have contact with us, so that he can get
             to know us as we really are.

194

02 Elena: That he know a little more about the problems that
        we have around here.
03 Edulia: What is his name again?   Pancho! Pancho?
04 María Victoria: Juan Francisco Fresno, but everyone calls
        him Don Pancho.
05 Elena: He comes here only with bodyguards, because if it
        happens again what happened to him when they turned his
        car over ...
06 Pilar: But do you think that we would do that?
07 (a) Nancy: No, we are not going to do that, we are going to
        give him a good welcome as we should. But you remember,
        with the strike thing, for example, when the cardinal
        came to the población after the protest and after the
        strike?   NEVER! In the places where they arrested a lot
        of people, and he said before that politics doesn't have
        anything to do with the church.
08 María Victoria: He said that politics is a separate thing.
09 Elena: Right, he said that politics was a separate thing.
10 (a) Nancy: Now we had the national strike, and he said that
        he hoped that there wouldn't be any deaths.   He said that
        he was sorry for the deaths there were, and so we have to
        have a different disposition toward him.
*11 Elena: As I say, I don't know him, he is just one more
        brother of ours, because we are all brothers and sisters,
        and as I tell you I know him only a little and I don;t
        understand a lot because sometimes I listen and then the
        conversation escapes me a little bit.   I understand   ...
        and then afterwards I get lost.*
12 (a) Nancy: I also heard things about him ... but I think
        that he is a limited person ... I bothers me a little bit
        ... all of us have our faults like Mila said.   Don Pancho
        is a person who comes from among the rich, not from the
        poor.   If we were rich?   It is difficult for the rich to
        be with the poor ... to get their feet in the mud and
        share with ordinary people.

In intervention 11 of the sequence, Pilar (a member) shifts the
level of discourse from the negative macro-institutional evaluation of
the Cardinal's performance (interventions 1-10) to a decontextualized
consideration of the Cardinal as a weak human being (*11*).   The
animator moves quickly to support this evaluation (12), expressing
compassion for the Cardinal whose privileged background makes it
difficult for him to associate with the poor.   This shift in the level
of the discourse from macro to micro provides a positive note in the
midst of a comprehensively negative evaluation of the practice of the
Cardinal.

1.2.2 Social Base

The social base of representations may be either individual or
collective. For example, in the representation of a problem the
reference may be to an individual, the poor individual, one who
participates in the chapel, an abusive husband or a disobedient child.
However it may also be in terms of a collective, the BCC itself, the
pueblo, christian democrats, the marginalized classes, the oppressors.

Level and social base give rise to two independent features of
the talk. That is, individual or collective social base may be
understood as independent from the macro or micro level of a
representation. However, these two dimensions may be crossed in order
to form a 'two by two' table in which we shall be able to plot
representations. We shall introduce the following 'two by two'
diagram on which we shall plot the four types of representations. The
social base of representations is represented on the horizontal axis
and level of discourse on the vertical axis. This 'two by two'
diagram will be used to describe four different types of
representations (Diagram 7.1).

Diagram 7.1

<div align="center">

Representations

Macro institutional

A

</div>

```
                   I           |           II
Individual    C  _____|_____   D    Collective
                   III         |           IV
                               B
```

<div align="center">

Micro individual/micro institutional

</div>
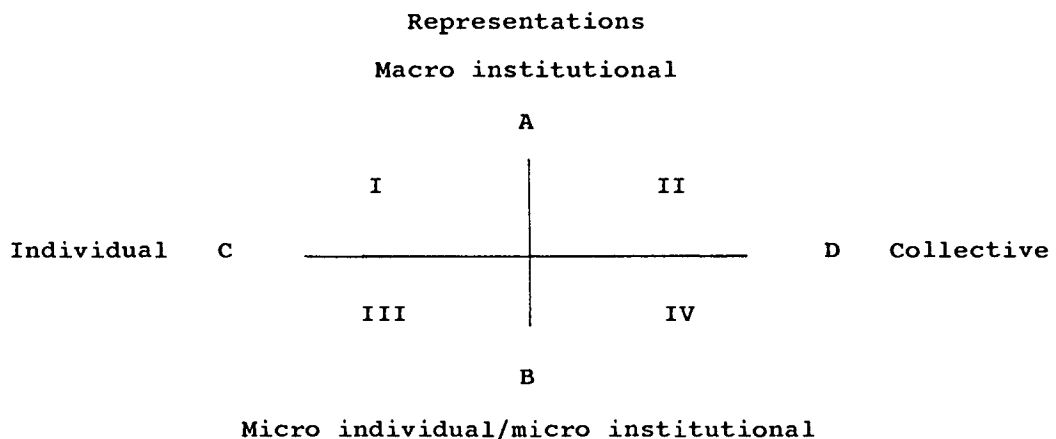
1.2.3 Representations and Their Position: An Example

In Diagram 7.2 below we give here an example partly drawn from a
BCC meeting in one of the highly marginalized BCCs where the painful
situation of a neighbor who is unemployed and whose domestic financial
situation is critical is being discussed. This discussion could

remain at the micro level where the problem is discussed only in terms of the family or it could shift along the horizontal axis in terms of social base from Quadrant III to Quadrant IV where members might discuss the wider problems associated with the painful existence of unemployment on a somewhat larger scale in their neighborhood: a collective problem at the micro local level.

The terms of the representation may shift vertically. A shift in level, along the vertical axis, would occur if members were to broaden the discussion to include a representation of the unemployed neighbor in relation to the economic policies of the government or in relation to the "system". On the one hand, the unemployed neighbor might be discussed in relation to the macro economic context: an individual problem at the macro level which corresponds to Quadrant I of the diagram. On the other hand, the wider problem of unemployment among the marginalized classes might be discussed in terms of wider economic policy of the government: a collective problem at the macro institutional level which corresponds to Quadrant II.

The example of the unemployed neighbor was taken from a BCC meeting **Solidarity 2** (Diagram 7.2). The actual representations introduced were micro collective. But in order to illustrate the range of differences our model is able to describe, we have modified the actual representation to show the full range of representations our model recognizes. Below we have represented the four variations of representations of an unemployed neighbor in diagrammatic fashion.

Diagra.a 7.2

Representations of Unemployment

Macro institutional

A

I	II
Individual neighbor is not	We (or they) the poor are
capable of working in "the	victims of the policies of the
system" properly or he(she) is	government or of the system
a victim of the policy of the	
government	

Individual C ————————————————————————————————————— D Collective

III	IV
Individual neighbor is	Many of the poor (us or them)
unemployed with painful	suffer unemployment
consequences for family	

B

Micro individual/micro institutional

1.3 Strategies

We required a concept of strategy since the regulatory bodies of
the Catholic Church see the BCC as a device for transformative change
of individuals and of institutions. Further, it is clear that much of
the talk of the members is about the problems which they face in their
everyday life and their attempts to deal with those problems. There
is a considerable literature on the conceptualizing and empirical
study of strategies. However, much of the literature does not apply
to our study.

By everyday problem we mean issues, negatively perceived by BCC
members, that are believed to be avoidable and remediable, and which
call out some mobilization of resources to effect change.[8] These
everyday problems may be personal or collective. We recognize that
there are more specialized social movements or organizations[9] in
marginalized sectors of Santiago concerned explicitly with problem
solving-activity, but in our research we are interested in the wide
range of problem-solving talk in the BCC. A discussion about an
everyday problem arises out of a process of selection during the BCC

meeting. In a regular meeting, a description of an everyday problem is never merely a mirror of general objective conditions in society, but a perception which reveals the representations of the subject(s) related to a particular habitus.

Bourdieu's concept of strategy suits our research because it is grounded in a model of the subject which is at once dependent (in terms of structure, habitus and practice) and autonomous (in terms of strategy). His model invests the subject with some autonomy with respect to strategies. The virtual absence of talk concerned to develop a practice on the basis of an explicit rule indicates that recurrent strategies introduced in regular meetings arise predominantly from tacit orientations rather than from consciously selected orientations or goals/objectives.

BCC talk about strategy, realized through a complex and not entirely predictable interaction, usually leads a member(s) to a commitment to action in the future, or it may ratify or negatively evaluate a strategy of other members, thereby celebrating the harmony of a specific strategy with the dominant discourse which sets the limits of possible strategies.

1.3.1 Strategies and Their Position: An Example

Strategies, as representations can vary according to their social base, that is, they can be either the act of an individual or they can have a collective base. In the latter case they would they would be the activities of an agency acting on behalf of the individual or group. They can also, as in the case of representations, vary according to the level of social structure (macro/micro) at which they are directed. Macro strategies are likely to be strategies of change whose aim is to increase power, either of an individual or of a social group. Thus, a macro individual strategy would be a strategy for individual social mobility utilizing education, whereas a macro collective strategy might be a strategy to change government policy in favour of the marginalized classes. Micro strategies are likely to be strategies of support either through individual or collective activity.[10] We can illustrate the four possibilities by returning to our previous example of the unemployed

199

man in grave financial situation. The actual example is partly based
on a discussion in a BCC. Diagram 7.3 represents the four types of
strategies for dealing with the problem of the unemployed neighbor.

Diagram 7.3
Strategies toward an Unemployed Neighbor

Macro institutional

A

I	II
An intervention to regain the employment of the individual	BCC or another neighborhood organization would intervene to change government policy on behalf of the marginalized classes

Individual C ——————————————————————————— D Collective

III	IV
An individual offers some economic support to the family to alleviate some consequences painful of unemployment	BCC or another organization offers economic support to the family to alleviate some consequences of unemployment

B

Micro individual/micro institutional

We may find that representations and strategies for change do
not always correspond in terms of level or social base. That is, it
does not necessarily follow that if a problem is represented at the
macro level that the strategy will be developed also at that level.[11]

2 Conclusions

We have adopted a weak reading of Bourdieu's model of the class
subject based on the concepts of habitus and practice in order to
emphasize the greater autonomy of the religious and class subject than
perhaps Bourdieu would allow. Whereas Bourdieu sees the habitus as
being constituted essentially by social class position, we have found
it necessary to develop the concept of habitus so that we are able to

analyze the embedding of religious socialization in class
socialization.

We saw that the relation between Bourdieu and the description of
representations and strategies as follows. While Bourdieu gives a
model of the subject, this model in itself does not offer any terms
for making descriptions of specific discourses whereby the subject is
constituted. Thus, it gives us no purchase on the analysis of ongoing
talk in the BCC. We used the concept of representation as a means of
identifying the social base and level of problems, and, therefore,
detecting the presence of strategies. Representations and strategies
thus become a means of identifying specific practices.

BCC talk may be analyzed effectively in terms of representations
and strategies. In the following chapters we shall be concerned to
analyze representations and strategies in each secondary discourse,
and the relation of these to the social class position of members and
their previous religious socialization.

Notes for Chapter Seven

[1]Bourdieu's explanation of habitus cannot be adopted without reservation. He places different limits on the power of this concept with respect to the constitution of the subject: in the strong definition, habitus is described as an internalized system of perceptions and actions. "The habitus can be considered a subjective but not individual system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class and constituting the precondition for all objectification and apperception: and the objective co-ordination of practices and the sharing of the world-view could be founded on the perfect impersonality and interchangeability of singular practices and views" (Bourdieu 1977a:85,86). And in a weaker definition, habitus is conceived as a capacity to engender products, whose limits are set by class-specific conditions of its production. "Through the habitus, the structure which has produced it governs practice, not by the process of mechanical determinism, but through the mediation of the orientations and limits it assigns to the habitus' operations of invention ... the habitus is an endless capacity to engender products - thoughts, perceptions, expressions, actions - whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production, the conditioned and conditional freedom it secures is as remote from a creation of unpredictable novelty as it is from the simple mechanical reproduction of the initial conditionings" (Bourdieu 1977a:95). We ascribe to the weaker definition of habitus, where it is a structure of perception, rather than the content of specific perceptions or of a world view. Further, we consider Bourdieu's concept of habitus to be contradictory at times since while he defines the habitus as durable, he considers also that it is open to change. Yet, Bourdieu does not consider seriously how and under what conditions this "durable" habitus might change (DiMaggio 1979:1467). Finally, he does not consider the means by which habitus is transmitted, that is, the rules according to which that transmission might take place (Bernstein 1990b:13-62). Moreover, when we refer to habitus, we will be careful not to adopt the rather limited social base given to the term by Bourdieu since he considers that habitus is strictly a function of social class as it would ignore the second fundamental stratifying variable of our sample: previous religious socialization which constitutes the BCC members not only as class subjects but also as religious subjects.

[2]Bourdieu's conceptualization of practice is problematic, and its importance lost amidst his effort not to pit definitions of practice in the either/or antinomy of objectivism and subjectivism. By resisting positive definitions of practice (DiMaggio 1979:1467; Jenkins 1982:272) Bourdieu complicates his explanation of practice as he scrupulously avoids subjectivist accounts based on a pre-constituted subject (DiMaggio 1979:1461). Bourdieu also distances himself from determinist (objectivist) accounts of practice as structured practical and textual realizations which reproduce mechanically (without mediation or variation) the structure of objective relations (Bourdieu 1977a:21). In this case the subject is only a site, "an interest-maximizing actor as a link in the middle" (Swidler 1986:276).

[3]Bengoa 1986, 1987; Güell 1987.

[4]See K. Pargament et al. 1990:90-104, for an interesting discussion of the problem-solving process in terms of the individual's relationship with God. Individuals are categorized as self directing ("God gave me the strength to solve my own problems"); deferring ("I let God decide and wait for a sign from as so what I should do"); and collaborative ("God is my partner. He works with me and strengthens me"). BCC members present a collaborative and deferring relationship with God in their problem-solving discussions.

[5]In addition to its relation to everyday contexts and to God, it is crucial to understand the relation of BCC members to the christian utopia, the Kingdom of God. In christianity, the social hopes and ideals of BCC members far outstrip their actual ability to change everyday situations which they consider to be problems. In reading the bible, BCC transcend the observable to describe what Martin calls the transcendent.

> ... the basic images, words and acts go beyond reflection
> of what already exists. These societies contain
> possibilities and potentialities as well as reflections of
> the *status quo*. The word and the image transcend the
> ensemble of what is, and are able to suggest what might be
> (Martin 1980:6).

> ... the language of social reality must be counterpoised
> with the language of transcendence. The social 'is' is
> confronted with the transcendent 'might be' (Ibid.:19).

In the spirit, the BCC animator and members talk frequently about the Kingdom of God as the yet-to-be-realized christian utopia. The concept, Kingdom of God, is the social vision, the transcendent, possible 'might be', against which christians evaluate individual and collective representations and strategies (Fontaine 1985a; Levine 1990; Seligman 1988). Research has indicated that in marginalized social organizations in Santiago like the BCCs a new social fabric has been reconstituted, a situation which has had powerful utopian overtones (Rammsy 1987:11). On a wider scale, the Vatican has reminded christians that "human beings are to find not only 'salvation' but 'the fullness of a more excellent life'" (Pope John XXIII 1961 in McNamara 1979:331). Yet among christians, there have always been dilemmas and tensions between the vision of what might be or ought to be and what is (Lehmann 1990:213). As we saw in Chapter Four, PL and CL discourses may be seen as developments within the christian tradition of "a utopian vision, (domestic, church, economic, and political) offering a reformulation of the prevailing mode of salvation in catholicism" (Seligman 1988:13,24). Th following text, entitled "The cry of the poor" and written by a local chapel priest, Pablo Fontaine, is taken from an imaginary declaration subtitled, "An Imaginary Meeting of the Voiceless Communities of Latin America".

> The Kingdom of God will bring a new joy. But that Kingdom is also a
> seed hidden in our small lives, where it is a cause for the beginning of
> our joy (Fontaine 1985a:408).

[6]We use the concept of representation only insofar as it refers to the BCC members' everyday problems. There is a considerable literature on the definition of 'problem' (Banck 1990; Beckford 1990; Hadden 1980; Hilgartner and Bosk 1988; Maton 1989; Opp 1988; Pargament et al. 1990; Singh and Pandey 1989). However, these specialized notions of social problem do not apply to our research (a) because of their formality, (b) because they are limited to macro collective problems, and (c) because they are developed from 'outside' a context by specialized agents. We are not interested in how many of the everyday problems introduced into the BCC meeting would be considered as social problems according to a specific concept of problem. We are interested in describing what the BCC members consider to be everyday problems, whatever their level or social base. Since members will discuss everyday problems of marginalized life, we expect to find that the representations of the BCCs will give rise to talk concerning the attribution of causality. The BCC members will construct interpretations and causal explanations concerning events which affect them which refer to the level of the cause: individual or collective, either at the micro or macro level. Research has indicated that when questioned about their socio-economic situation, a small sample of marginalized individuals from Santiago considered that internal causes of poverty included lack of education, lack of effort or individual mentality. Macro level causes were frequently mentioned, they include the dictatorship, lack of work opportunity, low salaries, the economic system, the abuse of the rich (Ortíz 1988:4-5).

[7]By referring to the BCC context as an <u>arena</u>, we are recognizing that it is not simply a mechanical unfolding of class relations, but rather a sphere of debate and discussion, struggle and potential conflict.

[8]This more generalized definition of everyday problem will serve our purposes better because of more general purpose of the BCC. By more general purpose, we mean that the BCC deals many kinds of problems. An important feature of everyday problems is their avoidability and remediability (Beckford 1990:1). Further, this definition is more suited to our research than more specialized ones like the following. "... a social phenomenon identified as intolerable by a BCC and subsequently made the object of an expected mobilization of resources to effect change" (Hadden 1980:102).

[9]Examples of highly specialized groups would be a cooperative food shopping scheme or a human rights action committee. In some cases, animators and members participate in these specialized organizations. These organizations, in spite of the magnitude of their social exclusion have turned the marginalized sectors into in self-referential microcosms (Campero 1987a in Rammsy 1987:11). See Hilgartner and Bosk (1988:57) for a discussion of other properties of these social movement organizations. See also Lehmann (1990:190-214) for a discussion of the emergence of modern grassroots organizations.

[10]When we speak of strategies of support, we refer to Durkheim's notion of the revivification of no-kin social solidarity (Alexander 1988:49). We are referring to different degrees of group solidarity which goes beyond mere economic survival, but we are talking about what might be referred to as "... moral and social survival in a situation marked by unemployment, and at the same time blocked from the tradition

mechanisms of participation. We are referring to organizations which have, at the same time, an instrumental and expressive symbolic dimension" ... which are "less political and demanding are more symbolic and expressive" (Campero 1987a:71, 253). Individuals or groups may offer this moral support as stress-buffering strategies to individuals or groups (Maton 1989; Singh and Pandey 1989).

[11]We expect to find that the level and social base of representation and strategy to coincide. However, it will be of great interest to discover if and when a considerable gap between representation and strategy were to develop either in terms of orientation (social base) or in terms of its level. It may be the case that a representation in economic discourse would be macro collective, yet effective strategies may be micro individual.

Chapter Eight

Domestic Discourse

Introduction

The aim of this chapter, like that of those which will follow,
is two-fold. First, we will review differences in the incidence of
domestic discourse among the BCCs. Secondly, and more importantly, we
shall offer a fine-grained analysis of the representations and
strategies which constitute domestic discourse. Representations of
the family and domestic relations will be inferred from the
description of pertinent problems which are introduced into the
regular meetings of the BCC. Strategies proposed by the animator and
members to deal with those domestic problems will be described
according to the categories outlined in Chapter Seven. We will recall
our definition of domestic discourse from Chapter Five; this
definition of domestic discourse was developed in terms of
representations and strategies.

> **Domestic discourse** refers to the members' representations
> and strategies of the domestic division of labour (between
> spouses, parent-child relation, sibling relations), of the
> relations of biological reproduction, and of the external
> relations of the home to other contexts such as school,
> neighborhood, church and work. It considers also
> strategies of change or maintenance of those relations.

Several features of domestic discourse have already been
discussed. Data from interviews with PL and CL theologians and
analysis of theological texts reveals an absence of domestic
discourse. Chapter Six indicated an extraordinarily high incidence of
traditionally constituted families among BCC members (Table 6.7).
Stability, fecundity and permanence of the family through time seem to
be highly valued by the BCC members, and 'to be married sacramentally
in the Catholic Church' appears as an implicit criteria of selection
for BCC members. Chapter Six also indicated that in members'
households, every head of household was employed full-time in the
formal and informal private sectors of the economy (Table 6.5). Thus,
the members' domestic profile indicates that BCC members form a kind
of elite in the marginalized sectors. These domestic features would

206

seem to indicate a high degree of domestic stability which research indicates is increasingly less likely to occur in families as the degree of marginality increases. The research indicates that in the general population the degree of marginality is associated with single-parent families (Campero 1987a; Valdés 1988).

1 Incidence of Domestic Discourse

The data concerning the incidence of domestic discourse found in Chapter Five (Table 5.2) reveals an extraordinary difference among the BCCs in the research. We will recall that the data was organized in terms of the four fundamental types of BCCs in our sample. The data indicates that the differences in the incidence of domestic discourse among the BCCs in our sample appears to be related to class and religious socialization.

The higher incidence of domestic discourse among the educational BCCs than among the non-educational ones irrespective of degree of marginality may be attributable to their previous religious socialization in family catechism programs. Further, Table 8.1 suggests some interesting features of domestic discourse emerge when the incidence of domestic discourse is crossed with both class and religious socialization. The strongest differences in the incidence of domestic discourse appear when the less marginalized, educational BCCs, where we find the highest incidence, are contrasted with the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs, where we find the lowest incidence. We notice this strong difference when we compare the data for the BCCs, **Justice** and **John XXIII**, with that of the BCCs, **Esperanza** and **Workers of God**. The members of these types of BCCs differ according to class habitus and religious socialization. BCCs with a high degree of marginality and no previous religious socialization are associated with a very low incidence of domestic discourse, and BCCs with a low degree of marginality together with previous religious socialization give rise to higher incidence of domestic discourse.

Table 8.1

Incidence of Domestic Discourse
(in lines of text)

Less marginalized educational				Less marginalized non-educational			
BCC meeting	(1) Tot	(2) Dom	(3) (Dom/Tot %)		(1) Tot	(2) Dom	(3) (Dom/Tot %)
Justice (1)	1267	20	1.5	Saint James(1)	858	31	3.6
Justice (2)	1667	238	14.2	Saint James(2)	917	04	0.4
Justice (3)	1358	362	26.2				
John XXIII(1)	1351	101	7.3	Saint Michael(1)	898	64	7.1
John XXIII(2)	1029	185	17.6	Saint Michael(2)	1008	---	---
John XXIII(3)	1407	405	28.7				

Highly marginalized educational				Highly marginalized, non-educational			
BCC meeting	(1) Tot	(2) Dom	(3) (Dom/Tot %)		(1) Tot	(2) Dom	(3) (Dom/Tot %)
Solidarity (1)	1864	10	0.5	Workers of God(1)	1129	32	2.8
Solidarity (2)	1610	86	5.3	Workers of God(2)	2128	243	11.4
Solidarity (3)	1212	115	9.4	Workers of God(3)	949	18	1.8
Lo Amor (1)	953	729	76.4	Esperanza (1)	449	---	----
Lo Amor (2)	662	25	3.7	Esperanza (2)	2037	---	----
Lo Amor (3)	719	109	15.1	Esperanza (3)	935	---	----

(1) total lines of text in sacred episode
(2) total lines of domestic text
(3) domestic text as a percentage of total text

Table 8.1 indicates that other interesting differences can be found within the group of educational BCCs, when we consider differences according to degree of marginality. The data indicates that the highest incidence of domestic discourse occurs in the less marginalized, educational BCCs, **Justice** and **John XXIII**. Among the highly marginalized, educational BCCs, the only prolonged stretches of text in domestic discourse occur in **Solidarity**. In the other BCC of this type, **Lo Amor**, if we disqualify the meeting **Lo Amor (1)**[1] where the high incidence of domestic discourse is due to a pedagogic text being used,[2] the only prolonged stretch of text occurs in **Lo Amor (3)**. Even here, 47 of the 109 lines occurred in a single narrative intervention at the end of the second episode which gave rise to little interaction. Within educational BCCs, the incidence of

208

domestic discourse is higher in areas of low marginality. As Chapters Eight to Eleven unfold, we expect to find other features of the discourse which illustrate how religious socialization might reorientate or simply confirm the class habitus of the members.

Before proceeding to the analysis of representations and strategies, we must recognize the principal difficulty of this type of analysis. The differences in incidence of domestic discourse across the sample may be attributable to two factors: to immediate relevance or to theological code. First, where we encounter a higher incidence of domestic discourse, this may be because a member has a particularly pressing domestic problem, or it may be because the members in the BCC consider the other secondary discourses as less relevant. And where we encounter a low incidence or virtual absence of domestic discourse, it may be because other issues are more pressing for the members of that BCC. Thus, according to this analysis, the distribution of the incidence of domestic discourse across the sample may be attributable to factors other than theological code.

2   Representations and Strategies

Chapters Eight to Eleven on secondary discourses represents the distillation of a great amount of data which has had to be brought under control through our categories of analysis. We have selected interactive sequences of domestic discourse which we consider to be realizations of exemplary representations and strategies. Through a careful process we have selected nine sequences from the data. We should recognize that we cannot draw inferences from this data as it is presented in this chapter, a limitation which we shall encounter in the subsequent chapters as well. However, we can draw inferences from this data in as much as the selected sequences are exemplars for the data as a whole.

We may discover a relationship between representations and strategies. One of the difficulties in making comparisons between the BCCs in terms of representations and strategies arises out of the fact that different problems arise in different BCCs, and the same problems are differently contextualized. This methodological issue is intrinsic to the sites of our study, but may not rule out the presence

of similarities among the representations and strategies across the sample. Thus, we find that on the one hand, problems and certain aspects of problems may be associated with the highly marginalized BCCs, and give rise to certain strategies. On the other hand, among the less marginalized BCCs other problems and aspects of problems may be introduced, and give rise to other types of strategies. Among the less marginalized BCCs, it is less likely that violence will be used as a strategy to solve a domestic problem.

In this analysis, we shall infer what we take to be the underlying representations from the flow of the ongoing interactional talk. Virtually all talk in BCC meetings is related to problems of BCC members, but talk related to those problems may be introduced in several different registers in the same sequence. Description, analysis, causal attribution, evaluation, and prognosis are registers in which talk is introduced in relation to perceived domestic problems. It is our object to describe sensitively the fundamental representations which underlie textual realizations whatever their register. Given time, the various registers through which representations are realized deserve analysis in their own right, but such analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Within the differences of incidence of domestic discourse across the sample of BCCs, we are interested in a more finely grained description of the contour of representations of problems and strategies in domestic discourse, and the association between those differences and BCC type. We shall seek to discover features of the representations of the family through an analysis of the terms in which domestic problems are described. Further, we shall examine strategies developed by members as responses to those problems.

We will recall that domestic discourse is present most consistently in **Justice** and **John XXIII**, both less marginalized, educational BCCs. In these BCCs, domestic problems tend to be strongly insulated from other secondary discourses, that is, the terms of domestic problems, causal attribution and strategies are all located within domestic discourse. Domestic problems, their causes and their solution tend to lie within the family. Where "a lack of communication" is considered a problem, patterns of causal attribution might contain some recognition of "cultural shifts" in the

contemporary family (**Justice (3):5**⌐-55), yet strategies to improve the
"lack of communication" are rarely located outside the family unit.
In all of the strategies, the agents of change are usually the BCC
members themselves who will enact strategies to improve domestic
communication. In these less marginalized BCCs the family is
idealized as a network of negotiated relationships realized through
felicitous communication.

Domestic problems introduced into the regular meeting of the BCC
include domestic relationships (husband-wife, parents-children,
parents-married children living at home), the domestic division of
labour, biological reproduction (adolescent sexual experience,
childbearing, family size), child raising and education (primary
socialization), domestic finance and health.

The order of presentation of the data shall be as follows. We
shall proceed by presenting and discussing nine sequences selected
from the data on domestic discourse, here we shall present the actual
text, indicate the type of representation and strategy and discuss the
interventions of the animator where that is of significance. On the
basis of this data we shall conclude this chapter with a discussion of
the common features as well as differences in domestic discourse
across the sample of BCCs.

We shall give exemplars of domestic discourse which concern (a)
intergenerational relationships in Sequences One to Four, (b) the
conjugal relationship in Sequences Five to Seven, (c) working mothers
and the domestic division of labour in Sequence Eight, (d) and family
health care in relation to the national public health service in
Sequence Nine. Each sequence is offered as a representative of a
their modal types of representation and strategy in domestic
discourse. In each of the nine sequences, strategies will be marked
with *italics* (see key to transcriptson page 15 for other text
markers). The type of strategy will appear in brackets, "{ }".

3 Intergenerational Relationships

In this section we shall present four sequences in which members
describe the problems associated with their children. Sequences One

and Two are taken from a <u>less marginalized BCC</u>,[3] John XXIII, and Sequences Three and Four are taken from highly marginalized BCCs, **Workers of God** and **Lo Amor**.[4]

Sequence One
less marginalized, educational BCC: John XXIII

Sequence One from the less marginalized, educational BCC, **John XXIII**, exemplifies the modality of discourse found most frequently in this type of BCC. In **John XXIII (2)** (27.03.89), Marta narrates an episode of conflict and tension with her teenage son, Patricio, where he challenged Marta over the amount of time she has spent with him. In this first sequence, Marta is the animator.

(a) Marta: Now I must tell you this. At home I had a problem with the children and Patricio wound up hurt. So we started to talk and he said to me, 'I don't understand ... you give good example outside, you prepare couples and you tell them that they have to be friends with their children, tell me how much time you spend with us.' God, I felt terrible. I felt dead. When we entered the church [in the first place] it was for them, for us too, but more for them to learn more and be better parents to lead them along a better way. He told me everything, and he was very hurt.

Guillermo (Marta's husband and Patricio's father): [But] the children are very intelligent and they know how to push you around, because when we are in the house they are not there. When they have something to do they just go off. This last weekend, Patricio went to the beach and it didn't matter to him if we were going to be here or not, he just left.

    :
    :

(a) Marta: [I said to Patricio] *Your father will be coming in from work now to listen to you, but we do not have the strength to solve all of your problems* ... we must take care of ourselves too {personal accountability}.

[later]

(a) Marta: *I told them that I loved them, that we loved the four of them equally* {communication}.

Guillermo: No!

[laughter]

(a) Marta: The four the same, because *we try to make sure that none of them is favoured because the four are equal, because if one is sinking, you have to help that one and the other three have to help that one. So we speak a lot, and I asked the Saint James to help me, if not, I would have said the wrong thing* ...{communication}

María: Did he calm down?
(a) Marta: Yes, I calmed him down and he told me to go to the
      meeting in the chapel.

                                          John XXIII (2):34-36

In this sequence from **John XXIII (2)**, the representation is micro individual and the strategy is micro individual. Field notes indicate that Marta seemed to be undergoing a high level of affective distress caused to her by Patricio's challenge. During this sequence Marta recounts how she invoked God to help her bring this conversation with Patricio to a happy end. This invocation or appeal to God may be introduced to bring a more sacred quality to a particular strategy. We notice that the arena of the narrative is the family itself, where the generational conflict takes place in the home without the mention of other mitigating circumstances, thus exemplifying the isolation of domestic discourse from the secular discourses among the less marginalized BCCs. Marta relates how Patricio introduced into the conversation her own modern notion of less hierarchical power relations in the family, where he criticized her, "... you tell them that they have to be friends with their children." Patricio implicitly challenges Marta's participation in the local chapel, and criticizes the lessons she gives in the marriage preparation course about parent-child relations. Marta's rebuttal defends her time commitment in the chapel since she joined "... for them [in order] to learn more and be better parents to lead them along a better way."

Marta's strategy is to seek emotional equilibrium among the members of the family, where she says, "... if one is sinking, you have to help that one." There is a sense in this intervention that a solution (a return to equilibrium) is possible, and that the vehicle for that solution is domestic communication, and she reminds Patricio that "... your father will be home from work soon to talk to you." Domestic equilibrium may be restored through strategies of communication and personal accountability. Marta is herself the animator of the BCC.

Sequence Two
      less marginalized, educational BCC: John XXIII

In **John XXIII (3)** (15.04.89), Eduardo relates the story of the unfolding failure of his son, Roger, with respect to his educational attainment, to his low entry level in the labour market, and his future marriage. In this sequence, Marta is the animator.

      Guillermo: How is Michael by the way?
      Eduardo: Roger has given us a little surprise because he has
            become engaged.
      Guillermo: Really?
      Eduardo: Two weeks ago ... and he did not invite us. Because
            he thought that we wouldn't go.
      (a) Marta: He didn't dare ask.
      Eduardo: Huh?
      (a) Marta: Maybe, he didn't dare.
      Eduardo: He just didn't invite us, and afterwards we were
            talking and he was very emotional because he thought we
            wouldn't go. *I have tried to help him* {communication}
            because he had so many miserable jobs ... like selling
            spaghetti and bathroom cleaning products ... and they pay
            him a misery and they exploit him. *So I said to him ...*
            I can offer you $20.000 (chilean pesos) to start a
            business ... but now he is in something called Electro
            Lux {support and communication}.
      (a) Marta: Where is that?
      Eduardo: Where they see some machines which are worth $90.000
            (chilean pesos) and they give them a day and a half
            course, and after that they go out to sell, and to make
            contacts ... and he is in this for two weeks already ...
            You see? *I have wanted to approach him ... to help him,*
            but I don't know. Do you understand? Well, if he wants
            to sacrifice himself ... *I say to him, 'But Roger, for*
            the last time, there is a possibility that you could
            study, it is for you to decide, because I recommend that
            you study'. ... it hurts me because he is my son ... he
            is our son and the way he is now ... he does not
            participate ... he doesn't talk. We have no
            communication. {communication and personal
            accountability}
                                          John XXIII (3):48-50

In this sequence, the representation is micro individual and the strategy is micro individual. Eduardo (father) sees his son without prospects, where Roger has some kind of personal problem which has affected negatively their communication. When Eduardo says, "I can offer you $20.000 pesos to start a business," he laments that his son did not understand what was happening to him. In this sequence, although Eduardo acknowledges the multiple problems of his son outside the context of the "four walls of the home", the principal problem is

framed by Eduardo as an individual one: Roger's personal reticence to communicate with Eduardo. Eduardo acknowledges the root of the problem when he says, "he [Roger] does not participate ... he doesn't talk. We have no communication." For Roger, the family is a communicative network in which each member should actively participate so as to be more capable to face life's challenges. Eduardo introduces strategies of communication, individual accountability of his son, and financial and affective support. in his problem. Marta, the animator, intervenes three times provoking Tito gently to continue his story.

In Sequences Three and Four to follow, taken from highly marginalized BCCs, a slightly different modality of domestic discourse emerges. Whereas in the BCC, **John XXIII**, we noticed a strong insulation between domestic discourses and the other discourses, here that insulation is somewhat weaker. We shall present a sequence from the highly marginalized, non-educational BCC, **Workers of God (2)**, and another from the highly marginalized, educational BCC, **Lo Amor (3)**. Here, family is not presented as a highly autonomous network of communication (as in the sequences above from the less marginalized BCCs), but as a context which is considerably more open to and dependent upon its complex relations to external contexts (neighborhood, school, local chapel, economy). At the same time, despite the higher degree of marginality, the evidence suggests the persistence of an individual social base at the micro level both with respect to representations and with respect to strategies.

    Sequence Three
        highly marginalized, non-educational BCC: Workers of God

In **Workers of God (2)** (11.10.88), in accordance with the suggestion of Nancy (animator), Cecilia relates the problem with her son, Cristián, who has been detained by the police for a burglary which he and several others committed recently in the home of their next door neighbor. In this highly marginalized, non educational BCC, a micro collective strategy is developed to deal with this problem. In this sequence, Nancy is the animator.

(a) Nancy: All of you will know that Cecilia has a big problem
       ... she has one of her children in prison. One of her
       kids ... Cristián.
María Victoria: The one who went with us that time on the day
       trip?
(a) Nancy: Yes, him.
Cecilia: The blond haired one.
(a) Nancy: And the other day, I met Cecilia and she told me
       because ...
Cecilia: Because I was rushing over to my mother-in-law's, so
       I managed to tell her only part of it. Today we talked
       it over better.
María Victoria: And what happened to him?
Cecilia: Nothing. It is that they told him to rob, a child of
       twenty-one and they order him to rob a house next to
       ours. Everyday, I go over to that house and do some
       chores for her (the owner), and each day I earned 500 or
       800 pesos. And one day when she told me to wax the
       floor, she said to me, 'OK, I'll give you 1000 pesos.'
       [She can pay] because she works. So it was there that
       they sent him to rob but at least I have the happiness of
       knowing that my boy did not break into the house, but
       that it was the nephew of Chabela on the other side. He
       broke through the roof with a brick and then Cristián
       entered the house because they threatened him.
(a) Nancy: The worst thing is that they robbed a gun.
Cecilia: But guns they have ... all kinds of guns.
(a) Nancy: But everybody accused her son.
Cecilia: But now they want to send him to Rancagua, they do
       not want to hand him over to me. *But then I told Nancy
       what Fr. Francisco* [local chapel priest] *said.*
(a) Nancy: Yes.
Cecilia: *Because I want to see if maybe they could get him out
       and ask that Francisco send him to the countryside,
       something like that, because Cristián is bad ... like all
       small children* {intervention by outsider to remove son
       from context}.
(a) Nancy: He never robbed anything from me.

                                        Workers of God (2):76-
       78

     In this sequence, the representation is micro collective, and
the strategy is a limited micro collective strategy where Cecilia
together with the BCC would persuade the local chapel priest, Father
Francisco, to intervene with the police on behalf of Cristián in order
to send him away to the countryside. Whereas we saw a strategy of
personal accountability among the less marginalized, here we see
Cecilia blaming the environment for her son's problem.

     Whereas Tito of **John XXIII** (in Sequence Two) described the
failure of his son, Roger, in terms of his son's own poor choices and
poor communication skills, here Cecilia (mother) positions Cristiàn

(her son) as a child-victim of circumstances beyond his control even though he is twenty-one years old. We notice immediately that the problem is described more in terms of Cristián's survival in the wake of this failure. The social base of Cecilia's description of Cristián's behaviour is both individual and collective. The social base is individual because Cecilia recognizes that Cristián did commit burglary, and collective because Cecilia claims that "Cristián entered the house because they (a delinquent gang) threatened him." Further, Cecilia defends Cristián who is "bad ... like all small children" even though he is 21 years old. In the meeting, by attributing some blame to delinquent elements in the neighborhood and by the misrecognition of her son's age, Cecilia suspends the delinquency of her son, revivifies the possibility for altering his delinquent behaviour and restores the dream of his future successful integration into society.

Nancy the animator intervenes seven times in this sequence to support aspects of Cecilia's explanatory narrative. Nancy (animator) elicits Cecilia's narrative (one intervention), encourages the progress of the narrative (two interventions), provides certain details of the narrative (two interventions), and supports Cecilia's claim about the innocence of Christian (two interventions). Nancy establishes the context for the narrative, and once established, Nancy confirms the feasibility of Cecilia's analysis of events.

Sequence Four
highly marginalized, educational BCC: Lo Amor

In a meeting of highly marginalized, educational BCC, **Lo Amor** (3) (17.04.89), at the end of the sacred episode of the meeting, Laura analyzes the developing problem of a son, Carlitos, whose behaviour in school has been deteriorating rapidly. Carlitos' inability to integrate into the school community or to acquire social recognized behaviours is taken seriously by Laura. Research indicates that Laura's attention to Carlos' failure at school reflects a predominant representation among the marginalized who attribute crucial importance to some level of scholastic success.[5] Field notes indicate that Carlitos' problem causes considerable tension in the meeting, and Laura is quite distraught. In this meeting, Carlitos' problem and the

strategy to cope are described in micro individual terms. In this
sequence, Monica is the animator.

Laura (mother): And Carlitos (son) is suspended from class,
    and he can't go to class. He said that he wasn't
    whistling in class, but they said that he was. *But I
    think that it was another child and they blamed him for
    it* {third party blame}. But the same thing happened two
    weeks ago. He has a special registration which says that
    if he does one thing wrong they will throw him out. So I
    say to myself, 'A child of seventeen, how can someone who
    comes to the youth group [in the chapel] every saturday
    not learn anything?'
(a) Monica: *He should speak with the person in charge there
    ... you should speak to him* {negotiation/communication}.
Laura: Sister Gladys is there with them as well. *Today, I
    spoke a lot with him* {communication}. I said to him,
    'Until when are you going to keep this up?' When I go to
    the school, I only want to hear great things about him,
    never negative things. Some times we both start crying,
    and he says to me, 'Mom, I don't know what happens to
    me.'
Silvina: *On Saturday, on the Don Francisco show, they showed
    how parents, when they shout a lot at their kids and
    correct them too much and treat them harshly, the kids
    never know which way to go [which thing to choose]*
    {physical and verbal violence}.
Laura: His father is the *one who shouts at him most* {verbal
    violence}, and the father is the one who shouts at him
    most because he brings the money into the house, he gets
    here tired. He doesn't have time to listen to him and
    that's what I think happens to us with Carlitos. All our
    lives *we have gone out with our kids, and we have never
    left them alone* {parental support}. But you see that my
    husband sometimes he gives me a hard time ... how many
    times do I have to tell him because Juan (husband) is
    submissive ... *when I tell him, 'We are going to go and
    we are going to do this as a family', he comes with me*
    {communication}.

                                        Lo Amor (3):27-28

In this sequence, the representation is micro individual and the
strategies are micro individual. Laura's intervention is a narration
of the "history of strategies" used by the father to deal with
Carlitos' (her son) situation, together with the most recent
recurrence of Carlitos' chronic misbehaviour. The father is
represented as the "bread winner" who arrives tired to the house at
the end of the day, and who should not be forced to deal with his
son's discipline problems. José Domingo's (husband) strategies are

described by Laura principally in terms of their violence (verbal abuse).

Laura casts about for an explanation for her son's inappropriate behaviour which concedes some personal responsibility, but which, at the same time, does not disqualify her son from the dream of being able to acquire sufficient cultural skills in order to be integrated in society at some level. As we have said, Laura seems to be aware that in order 'to be somebody', some level of educational attainment is indispensable for the individual: to get along in life, to present oneself in the job market, to participate and to speak effectively. Laura's harsh treatment of Carlitos is criticized by Silvina when she quotes Don Francisco (a popular working class television personality who has significant moral power among the working class and the marginalized). Further, Laura wonders how Carlitos could have developed patterns of inappropriate behaviour when he goes "... to the youth group [in the chapel] every saturday."

In a pattern typical of **Lo Amor**, Monica the animator intervenes only once. However, Monica suggests that Laura speak to the head teacher of Carlitos' school in order to solve the problem successfully.

In this section on the representations and strategies of intergenerational relations, we have seen that the level of domestic discourse is micro local, and the social base of that discourse is individual (individual local problems with individual local solutions). However, there are differences among BCCs in the degree of insulation of domestic discourse according to degree of marginality. Among the less marginalized BCCs, that insulation is strong, but among the highly marginalized, descriptions of problems in the family are less isolated from other discourses, where in their attribution of causality, they allude to the effects of constraints beyond the family.

4   Conjugal Relationship

BCC texts reveal that considerable importance is attributed to the conjugal relationship in those BCCs which introduce domestic

discourse. We shall now present three sequences, one from the less marginalized, educational BCC, **Justice**, and two from the highly marginalized, non-educational BCC, **Workers of God** which exemplify representations of the conjugal relationship. It has been difficult to get a balance between less marginalized and highly marginalized BCCs because of the differences in incidence of sequences which deal with conjugal issues. Nevertheless, it will be of considerable interest to contrast the representations and strategies according to the degree of marginality.

Sequence Five
  less marginalized, educational BCC: Justice

At the end of the second episode in **Justice (2)** (07.10.88), Inéz abruptly introduces her conjugal relationship in a low voice. She whispers quietly, and field notes indicate that her head was lowered as she spoke. Speaking metaphorically about her family as a four-legged table, Inéz describes how the table is a bit wobbly (*cojo*), since a table with one leg in disrepair cannot stand well. Inéz is the animator.

> (a) Inéz: Here I am wobbling a little.
> Vicente: Why?
> (a) Inéz: Because I am wobbling a little.
> María Angélica: She has got one leg which has fallen asleep.
> Vicente: But why are you wobbly? It is not the fault of the community.
> (a) Inéz: Uh, I know ... *I know that I have [your support]*.
> Vicente: Allright then. And *we are the support to help fix that leg*.
> Elisa: That's it! *We will start to fix that leg right away* {communication}.
> Vicente: Right.
> María Angélica: To strengthen that leg.
> Vicente: But you must tell us, and tell me, 'Brother, I have this problem, and I need help.'
>   Justice (2):65
>
> :
> :
>
> Vicente: *Look, with Elisa we have had many problems but we have always tried to have a dialogue, and she has always been very strict about it* {communication}.
> (a) Inéz: *Hhmm* ...
> Vicente: Sometimes I fall, and sometimes I am down because a lot of things happen which have nothing to do with the house, with home, or with the community. Nothing! But they have to do with work. *But Elisa always lifts me up. She has lifted me up, so I think that maybe Ricardo needs*

220

*to be talked to, to have a conversation with us, and I
think that it would be convenient in the next meeting to
talk with Ricardo ... with him, to openly say some things
{communication in the BCC}.*

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Elisa: (in the pre-marriage course) *So there we have been
noticing that we are not have so beautiful marriage so as
to be teaching other young couples about it.*

Vicente: *It is beautiful, María Angélica! It would be
beautiful if you were to join the pre-matrimonial course.*

Elisa: *No, you know what we could do, something beautiful, for
example ... do the four meetings of the course ourselves
once a month.*

(a) Inéz: *The things which you do?*

Elisa: *Right, do one session per month.*

Vicente: *And each couple would have to be there.*

Elisa: *No! It is the community, us?*

Vicente: *Right, the community, the community, but ...*

(a) Inéz: *Once a month?*

Vicente: *Right, once a month.*

Elisa: *Right, do a session on the first Friday of every month.
We could do a theme where we could get to know ourselves
more as couples.*

(a) Inéz: *Right.*

Elisa: *To see if we are acting well or badly, and it helps
because the community starts with us.*

Inéz: *Logical!*

Elisa: *How are we going to fix the world if we are not in a
good way.*

Justice (2):68-69

In this sequence, the representation of the problem is micro
individual and the strategies introduced to deal with it is micro
collective. Inéz introduces her marriage problem metaphorically
through the image of the "wobbly four-legged table", whose structure
we might represent in the following way.

If one leg	of the table	is missing,
(husband)	*(family)*	*(away from home)*,
the table	is wobbly.	
(family)	*(in crisis)*.	

Inéz is rebuked by Vicente for not having approached the BCC for help
earlier (micro collective strategy), where he says, "but you must tell
us, and tell me, 'Brother, *I* have this problem and *I* need help.'"
Vicente and Elisa are teachers in the marriage preparation course in
the local chapel, where effective communication is introduced as the
tonic for a modern stable marriage. Thus, Vicente and Elisa offer to
direct a marriage course once a month in the regular BCC meeting as a
micro collective strategy of support for Inéz and her husband.

221

The social base of the description of the problem is individual,
but the social base of the strategy proposed is collective. Since the
BCC, **Justice**, emerged immediately from an experience of previous
religious socialization it should not be surprising that a collective
strategy is proposed to deal with an individual conjugal problem. We
will recall that the discursive arena of this BCC was constituted in
relation to domestic discourse. It will be interesting to detect
whether this BCC generates micro collective strategies of group
solidarity in other secondary discourses.

The animation in this sequence is complicated by the fact that
Inéz introduces her own problem. Elisa and Vicente move in swiftly to
direct this event in the meeting. And in the second half of the
sequence, Inéz approves the strategy introduced by Elisa and Vicente
with these phrases, "Once a month?", "Right!", "Logical!".

Sequence Six
> **highly marginalized, non-educational BCC: Workers of God**

In a meeting of the highly marginalized BCC, **Workers of God (2)**
(11.10.88), Cecilia narrates a long story concerning the volatile
relationship with her husband, giving special attention to Carlos'
(husband) domineering attitudes and behaviour toward her when he is
intoxicated. The long story is a "narrative explanation" of her
"problem", which is actually a long answer to a previous question by
Nancy (animator) concerning whether or not Cecilia will be continuing
as a member in the BCC. Nancy is the animator.

> (as an answer to the community about whether she will be in the
>   community or not)
> Cecilia: Look ... for my part I would be in the community
>   absolutely ... but if *I am going to have to lie a little*
>   *to get here* {deception}, I mean, I am referring to
>   sometimes Carlos (husband) is drunk.
> (a) Nancy: I see!
> Cecilia: *When the meetings are on, here, I have to say,*
>   *'Listen, I have to go and see your mother', only then can*
>   *I come* {deception}.
> (a) Nancy: Because the Month of Mary is coming up, and
>   everybody ...
> María Victoria: You will have to tell the mother as well
>   because ...
> Cecilia: No, if I don't go there.
> (a) Nancy: No, it is that we have work to do and all of the
>   community has to be there, all of us have to do it.

222

Cecilia: OK.

(a) Nancy: The Month of Mary.

Cecilia: *If I go to see him and I tell him, 'I am going to*
        return to the community, even if you tell me I can't go,
        I'm going'. He said to me, he said, 'Go ahead' {verbal
        confrontation}.

(a) Nancy: I have always spoken to him and I find him to be
        ...

Cecilia: You know what it is? It is that Nancy (the animator)
        does not understand me. Look, when he is good, he is a
        perfect gentleman, Nancy knows him.

(a) Nancy: Yes.

Cecilia: Whatever I ask permission for, or if I say to him, 'I
        am going to the community'. 'Go ahead, it is a good
        distraction for you and it it good for you.' He does not
        prohibit me anything, but when he drinks? He starts in
        with the 'no', with the 'come over here', with the 'sit
        over here', with the 'go over there' ... it is not that
        he doesn't trust me, but he doesn't like to be alone,
        because if he wants a glass of water, Alejandra
        (daughter) will not give it to him. If he asks for
        something ... and you see a drunk person is not capable
        of getting himself a glass of water or of warming up a
        little bit of food, so he likes me to be around when he
        has been drinking for a few days ... since there are no
        meetings during the day, but only in the evening ... *I*
        give him a pill, I knock him out and I go {physical
        violence}. *[laughter]*

(a) Nancy: *Get that down!*

Cecilia: *I do.*

(a) Nancy: *Knockout! It is a good idea, isn't it girls?*
[laughter]

Pilar: *So, no more excuses about the meeting ... give him a*
        pill and you can come to the meeting {physical violence}.
[laughter]

<div align="right">Workers of God (2):72-73</div>

In this sequence, the representation of the problem is micro
individual and the strategy introduced to deal with her conjugal
relationship is micro individual, where the BCC can offer only limited
moral support during the meeting itself.

The point of the narrative is to answer the question of
Cecilia's continued participation in the BCC, given that Carlos does
not "give permission" for Cecilia to leave the house during those
prolonged periods when he is intoxicated. The family is represented
as a private world of conflict and violence provoked by the husband, a
situation from which the wife can escape periodically through clever
deceptions. Cecilia has adopted two strategies with her husband: (a)
where she lies by telling Carlos she is going to his mother's house

when in reality she is going to the BCC meeting, and (b) where she renders him unconscious with a tranquilizing pill so that while he "is asleep", she can leave the house unimpeded. It seems that only a narrow repertoire of violent strategies is available to Cecilia to deal with her husband.

Nancy, the animator, intervenes no less than eight times in this sequence. Nancy elicits the narrative (two interventions), places explicitly before Cecilia her obligations in the chapel (three interventions), confirms the good nature of Cecilia's husband when he isn't intoxicated (one intervention), and Nancy approves the use of violent strategies with "problem husbands" (two interventions).

Sequence Seven
highly marginalized, non-educational BCC: Workers of God

This third sequence concerning the conjugal relationship portrays the multiple responsibilities of Lilian, during a meeting of the highly marginalized, non-educational BCC, **Workers of God (2)** (11.10.88). Although married, Lilian receives little or no cooperation from her husband in domestic duties, especially with respect to family-school responsibilities. Lilian is engaged in many functions: (a) wife and mother, (b) housekeeper, (c) worker, (d) and active participant in political and church related activities. Nancy is the animator.

> Lilian: It is that the problem is that one has to be a mother, housewife, and sometimes work and go to the kid's school. Where is there a man who goes to the [parents' meeting in the] school. It is always the mother who goes.
> María Victoria: The saddest thing is that when you have the man there [at home], that you still have to do everything alone.
> (a) Nancy: The first year the same thing happened. Uuhh ...
> Lilian: It happens that my husband went on vacation in February and he did not want to come back ... He didn't want to do anything. My husband is very difficult, allright, and I have a lot of problems in my marriage.
> (a) Nancy: *You should invite him here. So that he can see what the meetings are about* {BCC communication}, because there are a lot of men who when they do not participate think that it is about something else.
> Lilian: No! He does not prohibit me. He said to me, 'Well, if you go into the community, I am not going to say

224

anything.' *I have a abusive mouth in my house, and I like things to be straight* {verbal violence}.

(a) Nancy: *Right, we are going to try to talk with him* {BCC communication}. There are a lot of people who don't participate because they have a certain idea, but once they do, they get to like it.

Lilian: Right, remember the baptism of the child. *I had to tie him up in order to get him here. And the language I used to get him there, may God forgive me* {verbal violence}.

(a) Nancy: *Let it fly ... we are speaking the truth. If the men understand like that, you must use that kind of language to get them to understand* {verbal violence}.

<div align="right">Workers of God (2):6</div>

In this sequence about the conjugal relationship, the representations are micro individual and the new strategies which arise are micro collective. The strategies proposed are micro collective where we find stronger group solidarity in the BCC with Lilian's problem than we found with Cecilia's problem. In the face of a highly uncooperative husband several strategies are proposed, the first two seek a short-term solution of a chronic feature of her problem. First, Lilian uses abusive language toward her husband in order to shock and compel him to be responsible on a case by case basis as the need arises (a micro individual strategy). Secondly, Nancy (animator) makes an unspecific offer "to speak to him" (an micro individual support strategy of limited group solidarity). Thirdly, as a more permanent solution of the dysfunctional family behaviour of the husband, Nancy (animator) offers membership in the BCC as a way to correct the behaviour of Lilian's husband (a micro collective strategy).

In this sequence, Nancy (animator) intervenes four times: she recalls the history of Lilian's problem (one intervention), proposes specific strategies (two interventions), and affirms Lilian's violent strategy: shouting of abusive language at her husband (one intervention).

It is of considerable interest to compare the two sequences taken from **Workers of God (2)** with Sequence Five above. It appears that **Workers of God (2)** has a more extensive *repertoire* of strategies concerning the Lilian's husband than concerning Cecilia's husband: lying and rendering him unconscious in the case of Cecilia, and shouting abusive language, speaking to him, or inviting him to the BCC

in the case of Lilian. These strategies are never called out in the less marginalized. It is of great interest that in the three description of conjugal problems and strategies for their solution, domestic discourse is strongly insulated from other secondary discourses.

5 Domestic Division of Labour

In the next two sequences, we shall shift our focus from problems related to domestic relations to ones related to economic survival and the domestic division of labour.

Sequence Eight
highly marginalized, educational BCC: Solidarity

This sequence focuses upon the problem of low family income and working mothers. The terms in which the problem is focused, and the way in which it is evaluated enable us to draw some important inferences with respect to representations of the domestic division of labour among the marginalized. In a meeting of the highly marginalized, educational BCC, **Solidarity (3)** (20.05.89), the problem of working mothers is introduced as a domestic problem, not primarily because it is related to strategies of domestic economic survival, but because the practice of "a mother working outside the home" contradicts the traditional domestic division of labour. Joaquín is the animator.

> (a) Joaquín: Now, I was saying ... I was thinking that, that
>   the woman ... how much she is suffering as well, right?
>   How many of you, uuhh ... there are several of you here,
>   *have had to leave your children in order to go out and*
>   *work ... to go out and work hard, to help your husband*
>   {woman as breadwinner} ... huh? How many of you ... huh?
> Yolanda: *It's difficult to leave the children* {women as
>   homemakers}.
> Vera: It's difficult to leave the children.
> (a) Joaquín: Right?
> Augusto: That is one of the greatest sufferings for us men ...
> Arturo: Yes, it's more difficult for us.
> Augusto: ...Yes, because ... it is the greatest suffering for
>   the men because the rich man today here in Chile is
>   becoming richer and the poor man is sinking more each
>   day. And that is a reality that we are living and it is
>   is a suffering, because ... I say to you ... *what father*

> *among us would not like his wife to be at home with the*
> *children* {men as breadwinners}. I think that the
> situation that we are living today does not make it
> possible to stay at home.

Yolanda: I'll tell you an example from where I work ... where
I work they take care of about 500 kids, and all the ones
who arrive there in the morning have the same economic
situation. The mothers work, or they cannot put up with
them in the house ... I sometimes look at those kids and
I feel ... I don't know ... pain when I see them without
a sweater in the morning and with shorts in winter. The
kids come to have lunch because they do not have anything
in the house. *I sometimes want to take a lot of them and*
give them something or take care of them for a while ...
but I can't do it {support children of working women} ...
but I see so many things.

<div align="right">Solidarity (3):13-14</div>

The representation of the problem is micro collective, where BCC
members seek to survive in a difficult economic situation. As Augusto
says, "I think that the situation that we are living today does not
make it possible to stay at home." The strategy introduced is micro
individual, where each family decides whether the wife will work
outside the home in order to supplement the monthly family income.

In the last intervention of the sequence, Yolanda introduces a
second problem attendant to the increased number of women working
outside the home: children in local day care centres. Yolanda
introduces a micro individual strategy of some individual solidarity
when she says, "I sometimes want to take a lot of them and give them
something or take care of them for a while ... but I can't do it."

Of crucial interest in this sequence is that the macro
constraints imposed on the family by the present economic situation
lead the working mother practices which seem to contradict and
otherwise bring pressure upon the representation of the domestic
division of labour. This sequence revivifies the representation of
the traditional domestic division of labour. In this BCC, the
man/husband/father is the breadwinner and the woman/wife/mother is
manager of the domestic activities. The "proper" place of the man is
the workplace, and the "proper" place of the woman is the home.
Joaquín laments that women have to work and underscores that women
have had to help the men with their "proper" role, "... you have had
to leave your children in order to go out and work ... to go out and
work hard, to help your husband." And Augusto asks rhetorically,

"... what father among us would not like his wife to be at home with the children?" No answer is necessary. Women seem to accept this division of labour, when they admit, "It's difficult to leave the children." This sequence recognizes the macro economic constraints on the family , but it revivifies the durable representation of the family in terms of a traditional division of labour.

In this sequence, we find vague allusions to macro economic relations which constitute their so-called "economic situation". Frequently in this BCC, **Solidarity**, collective material problems are not analyzed but simply mentioned (micro collective representation), and members will develop local individual strategies to deal with those problems

Joaquín exercises considerably more control over the discourse in this sequence than the other animators in the exemplary sequences. Joaquín proposes directly the problem to be discussed, and seeks the confirmation of the other members of his evaluation of the problem of working women.

6 Domestic Health Care

Sequence Nine
highly marginalized, educational BCC: Solidarity

In **Solidarity** (3) (20.05.89), Jorge introduces a health care problem into the second episode of the BCC meeting. Unlike the micro individual support strategies which members adopt in response to low family income, here Jorge confesses he has no strategy in his repertoire to respond to his problem: inability to provide proper health care for his family. His wife, Maritza, does not work outside the home. A cost of $5.000 pesos represents 33% of the total family monthly income. He seeks the help of the members of the BCC by asking if anyone can lend him a state health insurance card (FONASA), an illegal practice which means that his wife must perjure herself in order to gain access to the clinic at a reduced price. We consider this strategy to be a micro collective support strategy of strong

228

group solidarity. In this sequence, Joaquín the animator does not intervene.

> Jorge: In these moments I have a problem, which is pretty difficult for me to solve ... it turns out that my wife went to the doctor yesterday to get some tests done, and as many of you know, I work ... but the work that I have ... well, they do not give me any medical provision since they contract us. We have a contract for 30 days, and after 25 days the contract runs out and then they make a contract for another 25 days. We are always being tested. My wife had to have some tests done, and that cost us over 5.000 pesos. *How can we lower the cost of that? If someone were to have a medical provision, and they could lend us the FONASA membership card {deception}?* My wife feels a little bit guilty, because it was a mistake that she made which has had some terrible consequences, with a medical visit and all of these tests.
> Adriana: But the examination will have to be under somebody else's name.
> Jorge: That is what the doctor said, he works there in the Medical office on Salvador Gutiérrez street where Rosita works. The doctor said that one had to be careful with the person who lends the membership card. You have to answer with that name or else you will be there all afternoon. If someone lends me the membership card, it will cost only $3.000 pesos.
> Adriana: Less! Because the X-ray only costs $2.700 pesos.
> Rosa: But you have to have a card of a women and the age must be about the same.
> Augusto: No! *I will give you the card ... look ... I will give you the card ... no problem but you will have to learn Nydia's name {deception}.*
> [Laughter]
>
> Solidarity (3):35-36

The representation which gives rise to this description of a domestic problem considers the father in the family to be responsible to provide for the needs of its members. Thus, Jorge says at the beginning of the sequence, "In these moments I have a problem which is pretty difficult for me to solve." Faced with a problem which is "difficult to solve", Jorge's strategy involves in the first instance turning to the BCC for help. As the sequence unfolds, this micro collective support strategy for gaining access to the health clinic is located within a wider strategy concerning how to be a valid patient in the public health service when presenting oneself under a false identity. This strategy involves assuming another identity (either Yolanda's or Marcela's instead of Maritza), in effect, becoming

someone else during a "health care interview", a strategy outlined by a doctor who advised Jorge.

As we shall discuss in the conclusions below, Jorge appears to be more interested in finding a way (strategy) to work the public agency at the local national health service clinic in his favour than in discussing health care policy at the macro institutional level.

7 Discussion and Overall Conclusions

Table 8.1 indicates that the incidence of domestic discourse is quite low, especially among the non-educational BCCs. Thus, it may be the case that previous religious socialization in the family catechism program may predispose the members of the educational BCCs to introduce domestic discourse with greater frequency.

It is a matter of interest that in the nine sequences, representations and strategies all fall "below the line", that is, their level is micro local. Irrespective of the degree of marginality or previous religious socialization the family is not discussed in any macro institutional context. The issues raised are not in a macro context where problems of survival within the family would be discussed in their relation to some aspect of public or even of church policy.

This tendency may have something to do with the notion of the family as "responsible" for its own survival, equilibrium or improvement. Or this may have something to do with how the family is expected to be talked about in the BCC. Although we find differences with respect to religious socialization, all BCC members are practicing Catholics, and this feature as such may be expected to have consequences on how the family is presented and spoken about in the BCC. When we examine the causal attribution in the representations of domestic problems, person-blame rather than system-blame tends to predominate. We find person-blame attribution in Sequences One, Two, Five, Six and Seven, a combination of person-blame and system-blame attribution in Sequences Four and Nine, and system-blame attribution in Sequence Three. In domestic discourse system-blame causal attribution is found exclusively among the highly marginalized BCCs.

230

This predominance of the representation of the "responsible family" at the micro level is apparent especially with respect to the conjugal relationship. In the case of exemplary sequences Five, Six and Seven, the problems are micro individual, attributing the blame for a domestic situation to the individual (person-blame rather than system-blame causal attribution). Irrespective of degree of marginality or previous religious socialization, the durable representation of the conjugal relationship in the BCCs is the "responsible married couple." This tendency may reveal the sacred quality of representations of marriage among BCC members.

Attention to the micro precludes by definition the introduction of macro level changes of structures which prejudice marginalized families. It is of considerable interest that we have seen examples of how the highly marginalized BCC members appear to be more concerned with how to "work the system" of a public agency than with changing policy which affects the family at the macro level. In Sequence Six, Cecilia is more concerned to justify her son's criminal behaviour and to secure his release from prison through the intervention of Fr. Francisco than to discuss the problem of delinquency in marginalized sectors, gun control and their corresponding public policy. And in Sequence Nine, Jorge is more concerned to work the public health service to obtain a fee reduction on X-rays for his wife than to discuss strategies for changing national regulations on employee health care provision among small businesses in the private sector.

Across the sample, the representation of gender relationships appears to be unaffected by code orientation, either by orthodox-conciliar or by liberation theological codes. Patriarchal domestic relations and in some cases, an arbitrary *machismo*, constitute the representation of the gender relations especially in families of the highly marginalized BCCs. The sequences above display patriarchy in the domestic division of labour, and in some cases, in the strategies of husbands' violence toward their spouses. It is a matter of great interest that, in some cases, women respond with a violence which is more indirect. Further, in the case of Cecilia in Sequence Six, her strategy of violence and deception is approved enthusiastically by the animator and members. We shall now set out our overall conclusions.

Low Marginality

(1) Domestic problems in BCCs of low marginality arise
from representation of the family as an autonomous network
of felicitous communication. Problems and their causes
are described only in terms of conditions within the
family in person-blame causal attribution.

High Marginality

(1) The incidence of domestic discourse is low, but is
found to be even lower among non-educational BCCs.

(2) High marginality is associated with representations
of the family as dependent on outside contexts, i.e,
neighborhood, State and church, a representation which
gives rise to system-blame causal attribution.

(3) Domestic problems in BCCs of high marginality are
described in terms of a traditional division of domestic
labour where the husband is the liaison with agencies and
contexts outside the home, except for school and church.

(4) High marginality is associated with problems of
machismo, domestic violence and in three cases strategies
for their solution may be described generally as violent.

Although we have analyzed only a small number of sequences
because of the restrictions of the thesis, these representations and
strategies are modal for groups with respect to the total domestic
discourse.

NOTES for Chapter Eight

[1] "(1)" refers to first meeting of **Lo Amor**.

[2] The high incidence of domestic discourse in **Lo Amor (1)** (76.4%) is attributable to the animator having used a pedagogic text designed by the Family Life Office and published by the Archdiocese of Santiago, *"La Semana de la Familia"* (1988).

[3] Our examples of domestic discourse in the less marginalized BCCs will be taken from among the educational ones, because domestic discourse is not introduced into the non-educational BCCs, **Saint James** and **Saint Michael**.

[4] If we calculate the incidence of domestic discourse over the six meetings of the less marginalized, educational BCCs, **Justice** and **John XXIII**, as given in the table of the incidence of discourse, where we would take the total number of lines of domestic discourse as a percentage of the overall total number of lines of the six meetings, that percentage is 16.1%. After performing the same calculation with the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs, **Esperanza** and **Workers of God**, the overall incidence of domestic discourse in this type of BCC is only 3.72%.

[5] Valenzuela 1987:84 and Cariola et al. 1992.

Chapter Nine

Church Discourse

Introduction

The link of the BCCs to contexts of the Catholic Church was
expected; Chapter Six indicated a high level of members' participation
in at least one educational or service-orientated activity in the
local chapel. Thus, a high incidence of church discourse was expected
since BCCs are an integral part of the local chapel. Given this
general expectation, in order to keep the thesis within its prescribed
limits we have decided to cut drastically the space originally given
to church discourse. Essentially this discourse deals with the local
politics of the chapel, the relation between the BCC and the local
chapel, the BCC and local neighborhood, and the BCC and the national
Catholic Church. We shall proceed by discussing the incidence of
church discourse, and secondly, by inferring the underlying
representations of problems and examining the strategies in a small
number of exemplary sequences.

1 Incidence of Church Discourse

Even a cursory glance at the distribution of incidence of church
discourse indicates that differences are less severe across the sample
than in the case of domestic discourse. As we might expect, church
discourse is introduced into every meeting of the sampled BCCs.

Table 9.1

Incidence of Church Discourse
(in lines of text)

Less marginalized educational				Less marginalized non-educational			
BCC meeting	(1) Tot	(2) Ch	(3) (Ch/Tot %)		(1) Tot	(2) Ch	(3) (Ch/Tot %)
Justice (1)	1267	42	3.3	Saint James(1)	858	827	96.3
Justice (2)	1667	606	36.3	Saint James(2)	917	814	88.7
Justice (3)	1358	187	13.7				
John XXIII (1)	1351	738	53.8	Saint Michael(1)	898	137	15.2
John XXIII (2)	1029	820	78.2	Saint Michael(2)	1008	368	36.5
John XXIII (3)	1407	928	65.9				

Highly marginalized educational				Highly marginalized, non-educational			
BCC meeting	(1) Tot	(2) Ch	(3) (Ch/Tot %)		(1) Tot	(2) Ch	(3) (Ch/Tot %)
Solidarity (1)	1864	1297	69.5	Workers of God(1)	1129	311	27.5
Solidarity (2)	1610	1118	69.4	Workers of God(2)	2128	284	13.3
Solidarity (3)	1212	134	11.0	Workers of God(3)	*949	815	85.8
Lo Amor (1)	*953	75	7.8	Esperanza (1)	449	172	38.3
Lo Amor (2)	662	489	73.8	Esperanza (2)	2037	929	45.6
Lo Amor (3)	719	393	54.6	Esperanza (3)	935	133	14.2

(1)   total lines of text in sacred episode
(2)   total lines of church text
(3)   church text as a percentage of total text
*   The star indicates that in a BCC meeting, a specific topic was imposed. Thus, in **Workers of God (3)**, the high incidence was due to a rumoured visit of the Cardinal of Santiago to the chapel within a fortnight. In **Lo Amor (1)**, the low incidence is attributable to the extended use of a pedagogic text concerning domestic issues in one session.

If we look at the distribution as a whole (while eliminating the exceptional starred meetings) the educational BCCs have a higher percentage of church discourse than the non-educational ones. Thus, a relation exists between previous religious socialization and the higher incidence of church discourse.

2 Church Representations and Strategies

We must recall the definition of church discourse set out in Chapter Five.

> **Church discourse** refers to the members' representations and strategies of any level of institutional church life, i.e., the local chapel, the national church, and the international Catholic Church. This talk refers to intramural practices, i.e., relation of local pastor to the BCC, as well as extramural practices, i.e., BCC/chapel to neighborhood or church-state relations. Church talk also refers to expected strategies of change or maintenance, that is, we will refer to the representations of church contexts as well as to how the members deal with the problems which arise in those contexts.

We are considering representations as they might be inferred from problems described by BCC animator and members. The definition underscores that BCC members discuss not only problems 'within' the Catholic Church (intramural), but they also introduce problems with respect to the relation of the Catholic Church to contexts 'external' to it (extramural). Extramural problems may range from recruitment practices in the local neighborhood to the activity of the Catholic hierarchy in national public debate.

In general, the more balanced distribution and quantity of church discourse compared with domestic permits us to alter the presentation of the data. Thus, exemplary sequences appear "above" and "below" the line separating macro and micro discourse. In the presentation of the data on church discourse we shall describe the representations and strategies in accordance with the four quadrants, where **Quadrant I** refers to macro individual church discourse, where **Quadrant II** refers to the macro collective, where **Quadrant III** refers to the micro individual, and where **Quadrant IV** refers to the micro collective. Further, within each quadrant, we shall discuss intramural and extramural representations and strategies. In the following diagram we give the dimensions along which we shall plot the representations and strategies of church discourse.

<u>Diagram 9.1</u>

Dimensions of Representations
and Strategies

Macro Institutional
A

I	II
local chapel	national church

C **Individual** ———————————————|——————————————— **Collective** D

III	IV
local chapel and the relation of BCC member to to the chapel and its organizations	local chapel, the relation of the BCC to the chapel and the role of the animator in that relation

B
Micro Local
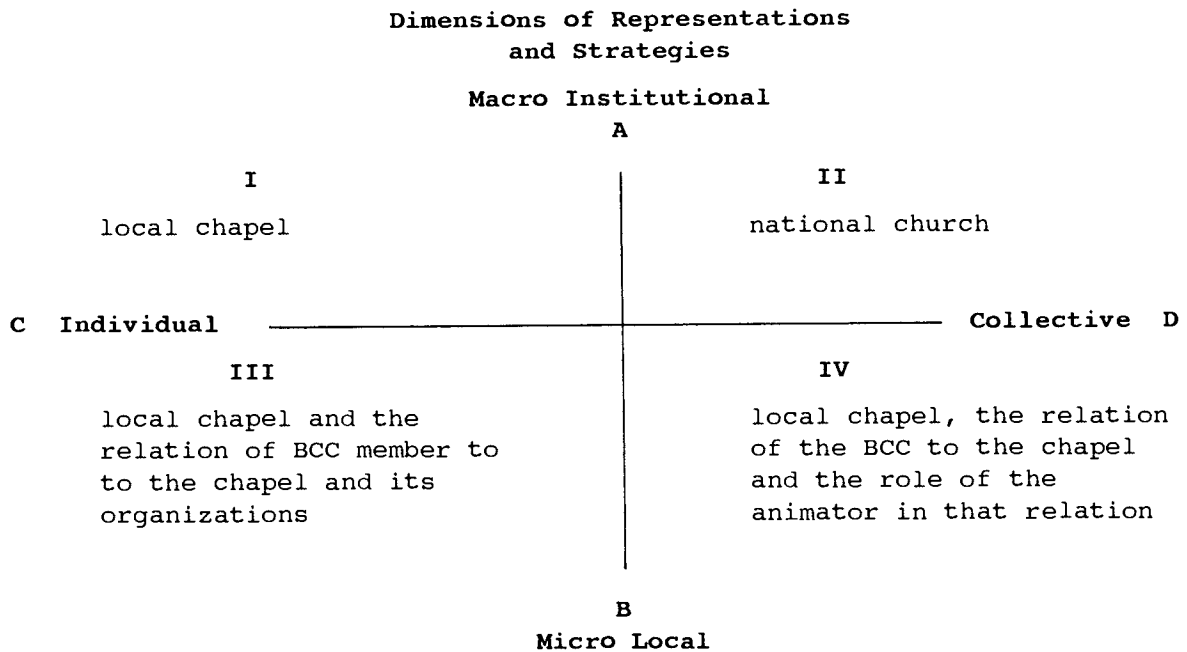
Diagram 9.1 indicates that the local chapel is considered as a macro context. We have proposed this designation because we are referring to the local chapel as positions of power, and which is a site for vertical mobility. It is only with respect to the local chapel that we encounter a church context as a site for vertical mobility. Members do not refer to other church contexts as sites for vertical mobility.

The order of our discussion of each quadrant shall be as follows. First, we shall establish the dimensions according to which representations and strategies will be classified. Then we shall discuss the exemplary sequences.

3 <u>Quadrant I</u>
   <u>macro individual discourse: change in social position</u>

We are interested in those problems which rest upon representations of the local chapel as a site for the attainment of hierarchical position and power within the chapel.

3.1 Representations

Hierarchical chapel positions are highly valued by the BCC members, and appear in the talk in terms of accessibility to chapel positions. In this quadrant, change occurs in terms of an individual moving from one position to another, rather than with respect to the challenging the structure of positions themselves. The representations of the chapel is as either open or closed to individual mobility. In Quadrant I we shall find no extramural discourse since members speak of mobility only in the context of the local chapel.

3.2 Strategies

Individual mobility to positions in the chapel refers to strategies of attainment (through licit and illicit campaigning). Surveillance is a strategy used by individuals or groups who exercise a conservative function where they attempt to maintain control over the stability of their positions in the chapel and over who may and may not occupy those positions. Protest is a individual strategy where a member, animator or BCC might propose opposition to the perceived impermeability or permeability of the chapel structures.

Strategies shall be marked by *italics*, and other markers are described in the key to the transcripts on page 15.

3.3 Exemplary Sequences
Sequence One
less marginalized, non-educational: Saint James

Sequence One from the less marginalized, non-educational BCC, **Saint James**, exemplifies the modality of discourse found frequently in two of the less marginalized BCCs. In the sequence of **Saint James (1)** (23.10.88), Daniel leads a discussion of the regulations for voting for chapel coordinators. Members recall the restrictions on which chapel members have the right to vote. Daniel is the animator, and he is interested in maintaining his right to vote.

238

Tamara: Daniel, do the parents in the Family Catechism have a
         right to vote, those in the second year?
Paul: The services, no. They have to belong to a BCC or a
       pastoral (chapel service organization).
(a) Daniel: They are receiving a service so that they do not
         belong. The people who are giving the catechism classes,
         yes.
Paul: ... the people who are receiving a service [do not have
       a right to vote], the same for many people who go to
       mass, about 100 will come but only 50 will have the right
       to vote.
Tamara: The voting is from six o'clock?
(a) Daniel: The voting period will begin at 6 p.m.
Luis: *Who is our candidate in the BCC?*
Cristina: Look, *this year we do not have* [have not put
         forward] *a candidate* ... but two years ago we had two
         candidates ... *but we did not say they were our
         candidates* ... *we did it hush-hush* {attainment: illicit
         campaigning}.
Susana: I like what Father said about no candidates.
Aarón: *There are some who are doing a silent campaign*
       {attainment: illicit campaigning}.

                                          Saint James (1):14-15

     The representation of the chapel is a site for individual
mobility through electoral politicking, a procedure which must be
carefully monitored. In this case, the chapel is a permeable
structure of political participation where individuals seek to
increase their power or prevent others from damaging their position
through an attainment strategy of illicit campaigning. Only certain
chapel members have a right to vote, and in our sequence members
delineate carefully which members may vote. After careful evaluation
of the chapel statutes, the strategy employed by members is
surveillance of the polling place. In this sequence we notice the
communicative practice has strong animator control.

        Sequence Two
                less marginalized, educational: John XXIII

     Sequence Two from the less marginalized, educational BCC, **John
XXIII**, exemplifies the modality of discourse found among those who
hold positions of power in the chapel. In **John XXIII (1)** (07.11.88),
members criticize the immature and politicking attitudes of chapel
members during the recent election of chapel coordinators. Marta is
the animator in this sequence.

(a) Marta: But did you notice that the election was good?

Benjamín: But there is a lack of maturity because they arrive
          there and throw out a name which they haven't even spoken
          with the person ... if he would want to or not ... they
          throw out the name, and so they make it difficult for the
          person to say yes or no.   There are even people who don't
          even know the one whom they proposed. They don't even
          know him!   'Listen!   Nominate me [whispering]!'   So they
          nominate him.   He would have to be presented by his
          community, because the community knows him.

María: It is that way, but perhaps they do not have a clear
          idea about what is happening.

Guillermo: Yesterday I was speaking with Sergio and Sergio
          said that Victor had said that *each BCC had to bring a
          candidate* {attainment: illicit campaigning}, and that
          never has been said ... But there have been eight
          candidates, if each BCC would have brought a candidate.

Eduardo: *Sure, we brought two candidates* {attainment: illicit
          campaigning}.

(a) Marta: *Not us* [as a BCC].

Guillermo: Well, but [the candidates were] from our BCC.

Benjamín: *But we didn't ask them in the BCC meetings.*

(a) Marta: *No, but we spoke about it in another BCC meeting.*

Benjamín: Right, Eva and Daniel.   And he was proposed by
          Liturgy.

(a) Marta: Right.

Benjamín: And now.   Candidates ... It would be good if they
          were to give a reason ... like the Rosita was proposed
          and Rosita said that she didn't have time.   *No! She
          doesn't have a right to be elected, or to be a candidate.
          She does not fulfill the requirements* {surveillance}.

Pato: She doesn't have the picture very clear.

                                        John XXIII (1):19

     The representation of the chapel is a structure which is
permeable under strict conditions.   The chapel election problem is
introduced as a threat to the structure of the chapel caused by the
'illegal nomination' of Rosita by her BCC as a candidate for the
chapel council.   The BCC is considered to be a platform to the chapel
council, since the BCC can bring candidates.   Surveillance over the
selection of candidates for chapel coordinator and surveillance over
chapel politics is a strategy used by the BCC which reaffirms the
position of long time chapel members who occupy positions of power in
the chapel.   Animator control over the discourse in this case is very
weak.

4 Quadrant II
macro collective discourse: national Catholic Church

This type of church discourse is concerned with representations of the Catholic Church as a national institution, and concerned with the relations within the Catholic Church as a site for problems whereas macro individual discourse was concerned with the local chapel. These macro collective representations and strategies are revealed in talk about national church affairs, which may be either intramural or extramural.

4.1 Representations

Research in Chile indicates that, among the marginalized, the representation of the relation of the citizenry to the State constitute a national populist tradition and the relation to the president may be referred to as *presidencialismo*, associated historically with Eduardo Frei, christian democratic president of Chile, 1964-70 (Valenzuela 1987). It is interesting to note the degree of similarity between representations of the State/president and the Catholic Church/Cardinal in Sequence Three, where members express regret over the lack of charisamatic leadership of the *pueblo* in the Catholic Church. Do the BCC members include a degree of *Freismo* in the representations of ecclesiastical authorities? Macro collective church problems are concerned with the attitude of the highest ecclesiastical authorities toward marginalized Catholics (intramural), and concerned with the performance as advocate on behalf of the poor with respect to their material and political plight (extramural).

Intramural representations will be inferred from problems associated with the relation established by the hierarchy with the marginalized, i.e., the relation of the BCC to the national hierarchy. Intramural problems refer to the low degree of recognition by the hierarchy of marginalized Catholics. Members call for a change in attitude of the hierarchy in order to promote their proximity to the marginalized. This cooperation can only be initiated by the hierarchy, thus underscoring the desire among the marginalized for a direct and personal relation with leaders, typical of Catholic populism.

241

Extramural representations will be inferred from evaluations of "the Catholic hierarchy as advocate" with respect to the material and political problems which the marginalized classes face in their daily lives. BCCs evaluate the performance of the hierarchy in terms of its efficacy as an advocate on behalf of the marginalized in agencies in the political and economic fields and to agencies of the State. The advocatory practices of the Catholic hierarchy is discussed by BCC members in terms of the openness or closedness of the church hierarchy toward the problems of the marginalized and advocacy on their behalf.

4.2 Strategies

When we turn to BCC strategies, a complex picture emerges because of the distance of the Catholic hierarchy from the marginalized sectors. We might ask what strategy can be initiated by the marginalized to deal with and change the performance of the Cardinal of Santiago? In extramural contexts, in order to counteract the hierarchy's neglect of the plight of the marginalized, the BCCs strategies seek to increase the *advocatory power* of the hierarchy on their behalf. These problems have given rise to a range of strategies: surveillance, solicitation and protest. Surveillance refers to the ongoing monitoring of the activities of the hierarchy. Solicitation is a strategy where the marginalized would invite a member of the Catholic hierarchy to their chapel in order to inform the hierarchy about the needs of the marginalized. Protest is strategy where BCC members testify to their disapproval of the performance of the Cardinal.

4.3 Exemplary Sequences

Sequence Three
    highly marginalized, non-educational: Workers of God

We shall now present how the material plight of the marginalized classes is recognized by the Catholic hierarchy. This long sequence from the highly marginalized, non-educational BCC, **Workers of God (3)** (20.04.89), exemplifies a representation where the Cardinal's advocacy on behalf of the political and material plight of the marginalized is evaluated negatively by the BCC. The performance is criticized in terms of the relation of the Cardinal to the *barrio alto* and to the

población. Reference is made to the celebrated Vicariate of Solidarity case where the military regime tried to gain access to confidential medical records of cases of torture, etc. held by the Church. Nancy is the animator.

(a) Nancy: Thinking about the visit of Don Pancho (Cardinal of Santiago). What do we think about that. How do we see it? It is like Don Pancho has thrown himself a little over to our side. Not for the poor, but rather he returned the ball, something that he hadn't done in a long time. On the contrary, he barely sided with the Vicariate ... so one felt it and one saw it. For a person who is serving and who has made a promise to serve God and the poorest people, he was not doing it.

Elena: But now he is changing a little.

María Victoria: But he wasn't taking on his responsibilities as he should have.

Elena: I don't feel very confident in him.

(a) Nancy: If you had to ask him a direct question, what would you ask him. What would you say to him?

Elena: I would say to him ... *what I would propose to him would be that he direct himself a little more to the chapels in* población *and that he had more contact with the poor* {solicitation} ... that he is there in the cupola above there and that he shouldn't confide in what they tell him only, but that he come more into the area in order to better see the problems of the poor, the chapels of the poor should be the one that he visits most of all ... that would be the proposition that I would make to him.

Pilar: That he not present himself on a balcony there ...

Edulia: What is his name there? Pancho? Pancho? Listen, Pancho?

María Victoria: Juan Francisco Fresno, but everybody calls him Don Pancho.

(a) Nancy: Well, I would say he has always been a father and that he has always approached those above, in the *Barrio Alto* and almost never has he come to the poor communities. Why doesn't he approach us more? To any *población*, I don't mean to this one only, but to any *población*, because they have never said that Father Fresno has been in such and such a *población* or that he went to this church ... never have I heard that ... never! If he comes here, it would be a wonderful thing if he were to come here, if he were to come and see the poor.

Pilar: Well. I can say that I have never met him and I would have to meet him and I don't think that I would be capable of asking him a question.

(a) Nancy: *The question will be asked by one person only* {solicitation}.

Pilar: But I mean, on having him there in front of me, it wouldn't have to be in the chapel, I don't know if I would be capable of asking him a question ... I don't know, because I don't know anything.

243

Elena: What hurts is that he is loaded so much on the one
        side, when something happens, he is on the side of the
        other band. And why does he not give so much importance
        when they kill a brother from the community of the poor,
        the one killed in a just struggle?
(a) Nancy: So he passes to the other side, he needs to be
        impartial and be on the two sides and not feel like he is
        on one side, because I have always heard that he is
        loaded on one side, and I have always criticized him for
        that reason.
Elena: Sure because it is a human being who has died ... so
        just because it is a poor person who dies, that he is
        going to be the same as killing an animal. No! He has
        the same value, so *I would say to him that he visit the
        poor people more frequently, and that he be more
        concerned and that he not spend his time going to his
        pulpit there above where they only take him messages from
        the poor. But that he come down to shantytowns, the
        chapels of the población and that he find out personally
        what is happening in these shantytowns, because he is the
        person in charge and he is the person most indicated to
        know what is happening* {protest}.
María Victoria: That is a lack of respect but the other thing
        is that to him we are not persons who are really part of
        the *pueblo*.
(a) Nancy: Sure! I don't think that it is so black and white,
        because now he has actively denounced on account of the
        Vicariate.
Elena: The vicariate is of Don Raúl (former Cardinal of
        Santiago)
Pilar: Don Pancho? Well ... he is Fresno Larraín ... he was a
        person of very high social status ... when he was young.
María Victoria: He has not fulfilled the option for the poor
        that the church has made.
Elena: I am not pro ... I am not in agreement with what Pilar
        said about how we should feel proud about the fact that
        he is visiting us. It is he who should feel proud to
        come and visit us. Because we are of the same church and
        we cannot feel less than he, because he is the servant of
        us who are the church, and he is only another part of the
        Church.
Pilar: The only part of what Elena said that I agree with us
        that *he should come down to the shantytowns*
        {solicitation}.
(a) Nancy: When I remember Don Pancho, I say to myself that it
        is never too late ... because Oscar Romero was a bishop,
        the same, identical with Don Pancho, and he (Romero) when
        *he went to the shantytowns he became aware of the
        reality, and when he saw it he began to struggle*
        {solicitation}.
María Victoria: Right, because there are even some letters
        from the communities that he has not even seen, because
        they were not given to him, he was there, and he saw the
        ones that the messenger passed along to him only.

                              Workers of God (3):15-20

We have given this episode at length because it conveys so
clearly the relationship and performance the BCC requires of the
Catholic hierarchy. The strategies introduced are solicitation and
protest. The relation of the Cardinal to the marginalized is
expressed in terms of his being a 'servant' of the 'poorest people'
who should be familiar with the problems of the poor. The great
distance members of **Workers of God** feel between themselves and the
Cardinal of Santiago stands in contrast to his being referred to as
Don Pancho, a familiar reference. The Cardinal's performance as
advocate is evaluated critically (a) with respect to his criticism of
the government in the wake of politically-motivated killings in urban
Santiago, and (b) with respect to his criticism of the State
interference in the human rights office of the Chilean Episcopal
Conference. After referring to his upper class origins, the Cardinal
is perceived as open to advocate and protest on behalf of the about
middle and upper class victims of politically-motivated killings,
while being closed to the cases of victims from marginalized sectors
of Santiago. In the celebrated legal case of the military regime
against the human rights office of the Episcopal Conference, the
Cardinal intervened in order to prevent the military regime from
obtaining confidential medical records of torture victims which had
been accumulated since 1973.

BCC members represent this relation (Cardinal of Santiago-
marginalized) in a **Catholic populist** framework, in a way analogous to
national populism. In the Catholic version of national populism, the
marginalized idealize a direct and personal communion between "rank
and file" Catholics and church hierarchy.

In this meeting **Workers of God** are preparing a question which
they shall ask the Cardinal of Santiago when he visits their chapel in
a fortnight. In this section of the meeting, the animator exercises
more control over the discourse where Nancy (a) leads by example which
members imitate.

5 Quadrant III
   micro individual discourse: individual in the local chapel

Here, members talk about their participation in the local
chapel. Problems are introduced which concern individual members'

245

experience in chapel organizations in terms of the relation with their leaders, rather than in terms of the leader's performance with respect to organizational objectives. Recognition by the leaders of chapel organizations is similar to that expected of the Catholic hierarchy. Recognition in the local chapel is of less importance because a member can withdraw from the chapel organization without jeopradizing their Catholic identity.

5.1 Representations

Intramural representations of the chapel are in terms of the tensions and dilemmas which arise in the relation of leaders in chapel organizations to individual BCC members. These representations are in terms of positive leadership and in terms of negative leadership. Extramural representations are inferred from BCC talk about the relation of individual members to the local neighborhood. The representations are classified as either missionary where members recruit neighbors to the local chapel, or as stratified where members refer to the relation of the local chapel or BCC as a problem, and where the local chapel would be insulated from the neighborhood.

5.2 Strategies

Intramural strategies of participation are concerned with individual participation in chapel organizations seeking to revivify shared beliefs of the participants, or are directed to the improvement of the social relations of leadership. Strategies of withdrawal, endurance and confrontation are related to the problem of leadership.

Extramural strategies are used by individual members in relation to the local neighborhood are recruitment, cooperation and dismissal. Recruitment is an individual strategy where a member seeks actively to recruit outsiders. Cooperation is an individual strategy where a member seeks to promote the interaction of a chapel organization with neighborhood organizations in common projects. The dismissal of neighbors is a strategy used by individuals who perceive the chapel as strongly religious and more closed to the neighborhood.

246

5.3 Exemplary Sequences

Intramural Sequences: individual in the local chapel

Sequence Four
highly marginalized, educational: Lo Amor

In this double sequence of the highly marginalized, educational BCC, **Lo Amor (2)** (10.04.89), members analyze Marcia's "come-in-and-take-over" leadership style which has created considerable tension for two BCC members who work under Marcia in the group food-purchasing cooperative in the chapel (*Comprando Juntos*). This discussion reveals the representation of leadership in the local chapel organization. Monica is the animator in this sequence. The first section of this sequence reveals the general perception of Marcia's attitude, and the second section refers specifically to her tenure as leader in the chapel organization.

Silvina: Sometimes I see that we go from discussion to discussion, I always insist that that the people must come through the communities and afterwards to the church, this has always been said but it is never accomplished.

Ximena: I saw on Saturday when we were arranging the flowers, I mean after they had finished fixing the flowers there, the person responsible for a group arrived and took out all of the flowers because she did not like the flower pot ...

(a) Monica: We already know who it is.

Ximena: I think that she is a person who preaches the word of God and doesn't accept what other people do ... and we stayed there watching her. But I found that she did not do it well, she should have accommodated herself to it and not have taken all of the flowers out.

(a) Monica: To see if we can take it or not. *I am already here for 20 years taking it from many people* {endurance}.

[laughter]

Silvina: Thanks Monica!

Hernán: But in some part ... is one part *the Lord says that sometimes you have to stop their train cold* {confrontation}.

Ximena: What has happened is that she is accustomed to, and *all of the time people let her do what she wants* {endurance}.

Silvina: ... We all know who it is (Marcia) ... we can say, 'Well, she can't change.'

(a) Monica: I have always said that she is getting older and the older she is, the worse she gets ...

Silvina: So, we who are in the community have more knowledge, sure, we have to accept it because ... people who come from the outside see her and they get afraid ... Well, if

the people from the community are this way, why would we
ever go to the community.

:

:

Julieta: ... sometimes the persons when they are in one place
and they have authority, they can destroy other people,
that is, they squash them so much that they leave ...
because they have that condescending way of treating
people ... and the people sometimes leave. *We are few
people who remain, but we are going to see if we can hang
on and see if she* (Marcia) *resigns* {endurance}.

(a) Monica: To see if she resigns ... just like Pinochet.

Paulina: ... We are few remaining (in *Comprando Juntos*: the
cooperative food buying programme), *we were a big
organization, the oldest members had to leave* {withdraw},
some people arrived to the authority position of the
Comprando Juntos and with much enthusiasm for work and
with desires to help the organization. But because of
the authority and condescending attitude of the leaders
many people left {withdraw}.

Silvina: *I am going to return to* Comprando Juntos *when she
leaves.*

Paulina: It (the group buying scheme) helped everybody because
it was a help, now there are six of us.

Julieta: *I thought of leaving, but I am going to fight until
the end* {endurance}.

Silvina :   ... we had 50 members.

(a) Monica: And now there are six, they had a good fund.

Lucy: The coordination was good, one could see immediately the
difference in the prices. We can see that one person can
destroy a lot. They can do a lot of damage in an
institution.

Hernán: *I say that we should put her in her place even though
it hurts* {confrontation}.

Ximena: If a bad seed falls into good ground, where there are
good plants, it destroys the plants.

Lo Amor (2):11-12; 14-15

The intramural representation of a chapel organization or group
is a context of friendly social relations maintained by good
leadership. However, Marcia is an example of <u>poor leadership</u>. The
evaluation of the negative features of Marcia's leadership reveals the
representation of the chapel organizations and their leaders.
Marcia's leadership problem is discussed not in terms of the project
aims, but in terms of the friendliness of the social relations. In
spite of the indispensable material assistance made available to
participants through this scheme, membership dwindled from 50 to 6
over a period of three years because of the deterioration of social
relations caused by the leader.

Strategies to deal with this problem range from <u>withdraw</u> or <u>endurance</u> to <u>confrontation</u>. Many individual participants have withdrawn (more than 45), and others have chosen to endure (only 6). Other BCC members BCC have decided to endure in order to outlast Marcia's tenure. On two occasions, a man (Pascual) proposes a confrontational strategy, suggesting that someone ought to '... stop her (Marcia's) train cold' and that 'she should be put in her place even though it hurts.'

In the last intervention, this evaluation of Marcia's leadership is raised in power through its being related metaphorically to a biblical text. Ximena extends metaphorically aspects of the the Parable of the Sower into the present context.

Bad seed falls on good ground
Marcia   *as a leader of the* Comprando Juntos

and kills the plants
participants withdraw from organization

Biblical metaphors are introduced which legitimize the opinions of the BCC members. The animator exercises little control over the discourse, thus exemplifying the weak framing of the communicative practice. She confirms the identity of the leader in question, and reinforces the strategies of the members.

Extramural Sequences: chapel members in the neighborhood

Sequence Five
      highly marginalized, educational: Solidarity

This sequence from **Solidarity (1)** (05.11.88) reveals an extramural representation of the boundary between the chapel and an emerging neighborhood organization, a relationship which an individual member (Jorge) is trying to negotiate. Jorge was approached by a group of neighbors about the problem of litter and refuse accumulating around the neighborhood, and is trying to negotiate and secure the use of the chapel for a meeting of this group. The association of the chapel with this political organization is problematic for the BCC.

In this sequence, BCC members help Jorge to formulate an effective strategy. Joaquín is the animator.

> Jorge: Sure, one of the things that they want to do is (an emerging neighborhood political group is seeking permission to use the chapel). I said to them that that if they are going to do something (try to correct the trash problem), that *they can count on me for anything {full cooperation}*. And they went away from that with the impression that I was going to work with them ...
> Rosa: That you were going to call the group together ...
> Jorge: I told them that they could count on our support ... and that they can count on our support in whatever I can do. But I think that they thought that we were going to work with them intensively ... to work with them but that we don't pass the limit of what the church can do for us.
> Rosa: *Put the brakes on if necessary.*
> Jorge: Right! If one has to tell them: We can work with you to a point because these conversations are impossible, so they said to me, '*the chapel said that someone from there had to work with us {cooperation}*. So we (political organization) told them (in the chapel) that it was going to be you (Jorge).' So I said to them, 'they should have consulted me for me to work with you. No way', I said.
> (a) Joaquín: You were going to be the onlooker.
> Jorge: ... I am concerned about that sort of thing ...
> (a) Joaquín: You are going to be the censor!
>
>   :
>   :
>
> Rosa: ... Luz María (pastor) was more agreeable when she heard that you were going to be there. ... *Luz María went to the Zone office and they said that we shouldn't go outside the schemes of the church ... The trash here is really a problem, it is going to be political, it is a reality that we are living {tentative cooperation}*.
> Jorge: One of them (in the has a little store there which sells ice cream ...he is one of the head honchos ... they come in here supported by a political party to work, and I told them that *here (in the chapel) they were not going to accept that it be done in the name of a political party {tentative cooperation}*. Because they should act like young people helping our society, to our *población*, something like that ...
> Arturo: Mama the trash is coming. Honey, tell them we'll take three bags.
>   [laughter]

Then the BCC goes on to discuss the opinion of the religious personnel in the local chapel with respect to the problem. Subsequently, Jorge refers to the increasingly political behaviours of the neighborhood organization which includes the inscription of new members.

> Jorge: We have to take a look at this, that is what I told Luz
> María (pastor), she said to me, 'What are they
> (neighborhood organization) going to do?' And I said to
> her, 'I didn't know', and she said to me, 'it was
> marvelous'. But I said to her, 'we really have to take a
> look at this' {surveillance, tentative cooperation}.
>
> :
> :
>
> Rosa: Right ... it is a serious job (negotiation with this
> organization).
>
> Jorge: Right! They are making a general invitation to the
> youth, so that we don't know what type of youth will be
> there.
>
> Rosa: 'First', they said, 'it was going to be a few people,
> ten or twelve persons'.
>
> Jorge: Yes, but ... last night I was talking with them and
> they were going around with a notebook writing down the
> names of people.
>
> <div align="right">Solidarity (1):52-53</div>

The extramural representation of the relation of the chapel to
this organization is <u>stratified</u> (strong boundary between chapel and
political organizations), and the strategy introduced is <u>tentative
cooperation</u>. Jorge was to be the 'censor' and 'onlooker' in charge of
guarding the boundary between politics and church. In this sequence,
members encourage Jorge, and assist him in establishing the political
boundary of the chapel with respect to emerging neighborhood political
organizations.

In the neighborhood, the chapel is the only site large enough to
accommodate a meeting of more than 30 people. This discussion of the
relation of politics to the church seeks to define their relation in
terms of the limits for the use of the chapel for apparently political
reasons. This sequence reveals the representation of the relation
between the sacred and the profane as tension-filled. While the
members seem to support a strategy to deal with the trash, the problem
for the BCC concerns "in which discourse the problem of the trash is
to be discussed." Jorge considers that the chapel would not accept
that the trash problem be solved in the 'name of a political party'.
A general aim of this discourse is consistent with the concern of
Solidarity to link faith and reality without promoting political
recruitment.

The BCC animator functions as a mechanism of institutional
control with respect to the relation between the local chapel and

explicitly political organizations. In this sequence, the animator reinforces Jorge's surveillance and tentative cooperation strategies.

6   Quadrant IV
micro collective discourse: the BCC in the local chapel

Two types of representations are discussed in Quadrant IV: the relation of the BCC as a unit to the local chapel (intramural) and the relation of the BCC to the local neighborhood (extramural). We are interested in the degree to which a BCC considers itself to be the arbiter of its relation to the local chapel. Section 4 of Chapter Four indicated that Catholic policy on BCCs sees the chapel as a mechanism of institutional control over the BCC. We are interested also in the control of the chapel over BCC practice, and the degree to which the animator is a mechanism of that control. There is potential tension between the independence of the BCC with respect to its own objectives and their change, and the control the Catholic Church seeks to exert over the BCC.[1]

6.1   Representations

Intramural representations are in terms of the BCC as enjoying a high or low degree of autonomy from the local chapel, especially with respect to the establishment of objectives. **Extramural** representations are in terms of the relation of the BCC to the neighborhood, that is, its relation to non-chapel bodies outside the chapel. The extramural representation are missionary (open) and stratified (closed).

6.2   Strategies

Intramural strategies are compliance, or protest. A strategy of compliance accepts the imposition of conditions of membership from the local chapel. Protest is a strategy of resistance to such impositions. When faced with imposed criteria of chapel membership, a BCC may seek to establish autonomous goals or may comply with such impositions. **Extramural strategies** are used by the BCC to deal with problems in the neighborhood, which members face in relation to

252

individuals, groups or organizations. The strategies are as follows: recruitment, cooperation and dismissal.

6.3 Exemplary Sequences

Intramural Sequence: BCC in the local chapel

Sequence Six
        less marginalized, non-educational: Saint James

This sequence from **Saint James (2)** (09.04.89) concerns two related problems: the problem of chapel disunity and its perceived causes, and the aggressive negative reaction of the chapel council to a BCC member (Daniel, the animator) when he introduced the problem of chapel disunity. Daniel was not allowed to introduce a contentious subject concerning the spirit of disunity in the chapel. We should recall that Daniel uses the BCC as a political springboard to his career ambitions in the chapel. This sequence reveals the tense relation of this type of BCC to the local chapel, and the role of the animator with respect to that relation.

> Aarón: We are loosing our identity as a chapel ... and we have
>   been passing to the orders of the parish ... Armando
>   (pastor) is not to blame but the coordinators are being
>   bland.
>   :
> [A letter of protest is read by Daniel]
>   :
> (a) Daniel: Miguel has told us that, what Miguel has said is
>   that [we have lost our identity as a chapel because] we
>   work in separate groups, and I think that's true after
>   analyzing the thing.
> Cristina: In the BCC we are united and there may be a little
>   disunity in the other pastorals. The youth may be united
>   ... in the youth pastoral, and the family catechism may
>   be united, confirmation may be united, and different
>   groups of family catechism ... within themselves .. but
>   it is the union [of the chapel] that is missing. That is
>   what is missing, ... we should unite everybody ...and we
>   could all be brothers.
> Susana: There is a lack of prayer which Daniel mentioned, it
>   is not the lack of community prayer, but the lack of
>   prayer of each one of us. Daniel has always fought for
>   the Blessed Sacrament to be opened, but now it is locked
>   up each week until the following Sunday. And the chapel
>   meeting?
> Pablo: The finance committee was not there, nor the sister,
>   nor the Liturgy [committee] ...

The problem in the chapel is set out in terms of the critique of the chapel made by BCC members, especially Daniel. The chapel is criticized as a place where the most sacred part of the chapel precincts (the altar where the Consecrated Host is reserved in the Tabernacle) is made "out of bounds" to chapel members during the week. In the next segment of the sequence, members introduce the biblical metaphor which legitimizes the attitude of the members and gives power their strategies of resistance and protest to chapel politics. Jesus Christ is associated metaphorically with the BCC, and the resistance of the chapel to Saint James's criticisms is identified with Israel's resistance to the message of Jesus Christ.

> (a) Daniel: Listen. Let's stop talking about the chapel council, and return to what is our reality, I invite you to listen to a paragraph of Matthew.
> Aarón: Right you are.
> Cristina: We are persons, right? We have our dignity and we are conscious that we are doing good work and that we are complaining about something personal, ours, *we are refusing to dance according to the tune of the flute that they are playing for us* {protest}.
> Pablo: But the thing about the bible, is that we are seeing that the imposition they are putting on us is an administrative thing.
> Cristina: *... they played the flute for us, but we are not dancing* {protest}.
> Pablo: Then, we will have to enter to reflect on all of this, and the mentality of other new people who arrive with a new mentality and they are going to continue the debate the same way for the good of the Caballero (God) and for the good of the material world here below. It could vary. We set the agenda yesterday, but others can set the agendas, not only us, *because we are always with Daniel, we can say that clearly that we are with Daniel always ... because we are not going to keep quiet ...* {protest}
> Cristina: For me the agenda of Armando (pastor) is good, right? *And one had to go along adapting it, adapting the agenda to our own needs* {compliance}, and if we see that something does not go in the direction of the agenda, that means that we must look for other paths, but always stating within the agenda, right?
>
> Saint James (2):29

In this sequence, the intramural representation of the relation of the chapel to the BCC is one of <u>great autonomy</u>. The strategy introduced is <u>protest</u> to the local chapel council. Daniel, the animator, is the vehicle for maintaining the autonomy of the BCC. The metaphorical extension of a biblical text celebrates the BCC, and

underscores its more authentically christian ideal when contrasted with the chapel. Through this mechanism, Daniel's position of resistance gains in currency.

In this sequence we have very strong animator control over the discourse, where he legitimizes his position and strategy through a biblical metaphor.

Extramural Sequences: BCC in the local neighborhood

Sequence Seven
highly marginalized, non-educational: Esperanza

In **Esperanza (1)** (01.09.88), members discuss the extramural mission of the BCC in response to a letter from the chapel priest, Fr. Francisco. Rather than speak of the BCC in relation to to the local chapel, the local religious personnel is integrated into the representation. Jorge evaluates sequence the actual practice of the chapel and the BCC is evaluated according to the three aims of the chapel as determined by Fr. Francisco: mission, solidarity and prophecy. Teresa, the animator, does not intervene. In this case, where a more formal mastery of church discourse is required, Jorge is the principal speaker. Jorge introduces three formal concepts, mission, solidarity and prophetic, and he exercises considerable control over the discourse as the sequence develops.

Sergio: We have proposed to mission in our sector ... has your community done this? Francisco (pastor) asks us ... That we not be enclosed in our community ...
Rosa: The BCC that are walking a bit more strongly ... have to help those that are a little weaker.
Antonio: The community (BCC) that had the *Cena* (*Cena* or meal is celebrated on Wednesday evening instead of mass on Sunday morning)
Marisa: But last night they didn't have to prepare the *Cena* ... last night was the night of forgiveness ...
Sergio: But two weeks ago, the same thing happened, there was nothing ready.
Jorge: But to speak about the topic a bit ... we were talking about the letter, right. There are several things there. It doesn't only call us to a mission. Above all, the community has lost a little of its spirit from when the community was born. That is, the community *Los Mártires*. Francisco (pastor) proposed several very concrete things. A missionary community, a solidaire community, and prophetic community. With these three qualities we are

255

going to advance, *Los Mártires*. In the first part
(missionary) we are not doing so well, because we go out
only in the Month of Mary. There is not that enthusiasm
that there was at the beginning, when everybody went out
to mission (recruit). Now we are few who go out to
mission (recruit). In the other two points I think that
we are doing better. We are solidaire and the prophetic
part, announce and denounce so that the *gente* participate
in the mobilization of the *pueblo*. We are for the human
rights and we are struggling for the Kingdom. Where we
are not so good is the missionary part (recruitment).
And that is the job of everyone according to Francisco
(pastor).

<div align="right">Esperanza (1):5</div>

The representation of the BCC is <u>missionary</u>, yet no real
strategy is introduced. Here, we might assume that the BCC would tend
to offer full compliance with the criteria of the local priest. Jorge
takes the "official" three-fold character of the chapel and the ideal
BCC and transforms them into criteria of evaluation of BCC
performance. In this evaluative register, Jorge criticizes **Esperanza**
in terms of its missionary function, and brings the "voice" of the
local religious personnel into this BCC meeting. The representation
concerns the local priest in relation to the BCC and the function of
the animator with respect to that relation. Jorge positions the BCC
in relation to the extramural practice of the local chapel, and he
positions himself in a regulatory function with respect to BCC
practice. It is important to note that it is not the animator who is
directing this sequence, but a member (Jorge). We will recall from
the Section 4.1 of Chapter Five that Jorge competes with the animator
over the communicative practice of the BCC, while the animator
regulates the interactive features of the meeting. Jorge's final
intervention is a final intervention is an implicit criticism of the
communicative practice of the animator. We will recall that in this
BCC, conflict occasionally arises between the animator and Jorge for
control over the discourse.

Interestingly, no strategies are introduced in this sequence.
This sequence seems to revivify the representation of "the idealized
BCC in the idealized chapel".

7 Discussion and Overall Conclusions

In this general discussion, we shall summarize the data of the
exemplary sequences in this chapter according to BCC type,
underscoring where the location of church problems is related to
degree of marginality or to the previous religious socialization of
the members.

Table 9.2

Summary of Representations and Strategies

I	II
Intramural	**Extramural**
1. Saint James (1)	**3. Workers of God (3)**
low marginality, non-educational	high marginality, non-educational
chapel as structure of	mixed evaluation (negative and
limited permeability	positive) of the performance
	of the hierarchy
surveillance of local chapel	*solicitation and protest*
2. John XXIII (1)	
low marginality, educational	
chapel as structure of	
limited permeability	
surveillance and protest	

III	IV
Intramural	**Intramural**
4. Lo Amor (2)	**6. Saint James (2)**
high marginality, educational	low marginality, non-educational
dysfunctional leadership	great autonomy of the BCC
social relations	with independent goal
	establishment
withdraw, endurance and	*protest*
confrontation	
Extramural	**Extramural**
5. Solidarity (1)	**7. Esperanza (1)**
high marginality, educational	high marginality, non-educational
stratified	missionary
tentative cooperation	*(-----------)*

7.1 Less marginalized, educational BCCs

We have found that in the less marginalized, educational BCCs, great attention is is given to power relations and individual mobility in the local chapel, where members discuss how to control mobility and introduce strategies of surveillance to control access to hierarchical positions in the chapel and strategies of protest to gain access (Quadrant I). Problems in relation to wider church contexts are never introduced into the regular meeting (Quadrant II). In addition, virtually no micro level discourse is introduced in these BCCs.

Extramural problems of the chapel, the neighborhood and their relation to their BCC do not arise in the talk. Justice and John XXIII are examples of a BCCs where members virtually never speak about the "outside", except for the case of individual charity to indigents who beg door to door. In this extreme form, an elitist representation of the relation of the chapel or BCC to the neighborhood is highly stratified, which gives rise to this virtual absence of talk concerning the relation to the neighborhood.

The modal church discourse of the less marginalized, educational BCCs is individual in terms of social base. Although the incidence of church discourse in these BCC is consistently high in each meeting, the range of talk is more restricted than the range of church talk in the other three BCC types.

7.2 Less marginalized, non-educational BCCs

These BCCs concentrate on politics in the local chapel, and represents the chapel as a structure permeable to individual mobility where members seek to remain in positions of power in the chapel through strategies of surveillance of the chapel committees and organizations (Quadrant I). As in the less marginalized, educational BCCs, wider church contexts are never introduced (Quadrant II). The representation of the individual BCC member with respect to the neighborhood is stratified, which gives rise to strategies where members dismiss their neighbors as ignorant, indifferent and unreceptive especially in the BCC, Saint James (extramural) (Quadrant III). Given the little interest in mission, no extramural discourse is introduced (Quadrant IV).

258

The modal church discourse in the less marginalized, non-educational BCCs is in terms of intramural power relations, either in terms of individual mobility or in terms of BCC autonomy from the chapel.

Representations of the chapel as a site for individual mobility (Quadrant I) are found only among the less marginalized BCCs irrespective of previous religious socialization. Moreover, in these BCCs, church talk with respect to wider church contexts is virtually absent (Quadrant II). It appears as though the outside world is of little concern to these BCCs. If their members are concerned about the "missionary character" of the BCC, they do not speak about this in the regular meetings. The low marginality of these BCC members is associated with their having attained a certain social level as Chapter Six indicated. However, while members may enjoy already a certain recognition in contexts outside the chapel, our evidence suggests that their marginality directs actual strategies of social mobility to the local chapel.

7.3 Highly marginalized, educational BCCs

In these BCCs, we have found no sequences which introduce the chapel as a permeable structure open to individual mobility which members attempt to exploit (Quadrant I). In addition, like the less marginalized BCCs, we have found virtually no macro collective discourse (Quadrant II). National politics in the Catholic Church do not arise in highly marginalized, educational BCCs since they speak rarely about the performance of the church hierarchy. Previous religious socialization influences church discourse in the case of high marginality. We see that previous religious socialization in cases of high marginality produces church discourse associated with low marginality.

We have found long stretches of talk in terms of the individual experience of poor leadership in chapel-sponsored organizations to which members respond with a limited range of strategies, withdraw, endurance, and confrontation (intramural) (Quadrant III). With respect to non-chapel bodies outside the chapel, members of Solidarity dedicate significant emphasis to establishing the boundary between

259

church and politics. Ambiguity in the relation of the lccal chapel to
the neighborhood is discussed on two occasions. As no official policy
exists in the chapel, the tension is resolved in terms of a strong
boundary between local chapel and local political organizations. This
ambiguity is cleared, not in terms of a policy which originated in the
local chapel, but in terms of boundary rule (strong classification:
+C) learned in the family catechism program. Here members organize
their relation with local political organizations in terms of certain
orthodox-conciliar principle like "linking faith and daily life" and
"drawing the boundary for the chapel". The BCC seem to be a site for
the confirmation and revivification of this principle of strong
classification. The extramural representation of the BCC is
missionary and the strategies are recruitment and tentative
cooperation (Quadrant IV).

The modal church discourse in the highly marginalized,
educational BCCs is micro individual and micro collective.

7.4 Highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs

In these BCCs, the chapel is not represented as a site for
individual mobility (Quadrant I). These BCCs discuss at length
problems of the national leadership of the Catholic Church in terms of
the relation which the hierarchy maintains with the marginalized.
This representation of the Catholic Church is in terms of the
performance of the hierarchy as mediator on behalf of the
marginalized. In Sequence Three the hierarchy is evaluated as closed
in terms of its attitude and performance. The strategies of change of
the hierarchy's attitude and performance are solicitation and protest
(Quadrant II).

We have found no talk introduced in terms of the relation of the
chapel member to chapel organizations (Quadrant III). A significant
feature of church discourse refers to the relation of the BCC to the
local chapel in terms of chapel-imposed recruitment practices, and the
role of the animator in that relation as a mechanism of institutional
control. Here, the local chapel has decided that an authentic BCC is
one who recruits people from the neighborhood. Here, the animator
functions as the regulatory mechanism who evaluates the BCC in terms

260

of its participation in chapel-imposed recruitment activities. The
representation of the BCC is in terms of its hierarchical relation to
the chapel to which it is subordinated. Given the multiple objectives
and high profile of the BCC, it may be particularly vulnerable to
impositions from the local chapel.

In the case of recruitment practices, the BCC enjoys <u>little</u>
<u>autonomy</u> in the establishment of aims, and the strategy is one of <u>full</u>
<u>compliance</u> with chapel norms. The extramural representation of the
BCC is <u>mission</u>, and the strategy is generally one of <u>recruitment</u>
(extramural) (Quadrant IV). Highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs
talk about their mission in the neighborhood only when the animator
functions as a mechanism of institutional control. <u>Institutional</u>
<u>control operates only in the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs</u>
<u>with respect to its explicit extramural mission</u>. The animator serves
as a relay for control by the local chapel whenever the urgent
extramural objectives of the chapel displace the objectives of the
BCC.

It is important to note the difference between the strategies
adopted by non-educational BCCs according to their degree of
marginality <u>with respect to</u> the relation to the local chapel. In the
less marginalized, **Saint James**, impositions from the local chapel are
contested through <u>protest</u> and <u>confrontation</u>. In the highly
marginalized, **Workers of God** and **Esperanza**, the strategy adopted with
respect to questions of the relation of the BCC to the local chapel is
<u>full compliance</u> with chapel plans.

The modal church discourse of the highly marginalized, non-
educational BCCs is collective, where the social base of church
problems is in terms of marginalized Catholics and marginalized
classes (Quadrant II), or in terms of BCC (Quadrant IV).

7.5 **Overall Conclusions**

The distribution of church discourse across the macro level
(Quadrants I and II) is given according to degree of marginality.

> (1) Local chapel is a site for individual mobility <u>only</u>
> among the less marginalized, irrespective of previous
> religious socialization.

261

(2) Problems related to recognition by the Catholic
hierarchy are introduced only in BCCs of high marginality
with no previous religious socialization. In the case of
previous religious socialization, all church discourse is
related to the local chapel at the micro level.

(3) BCC animators function as mechanisms of institutional
control with respect to intramural and extramural church
practices. It is crucial to underscore that this only
occurs with church discourse. However, these control
practices are not always efficient from the perspective of
the interests of church authorities. Occasionally,
biblical texts are extended metaphorically into church
discourse in order to support the strategies adopted by a
BCC.

(4) Irrespective of the degree of marginality or
religious socialization, BCC members never introduce
problems of extramural recruitment or their missionary
function. It appears that they do not represent
themselves as chapel members in terms of individual
recruitment problems. No BCC members refer to problems
concerning themselves as chapel recruiters in the
neighborhood. This stands in marked contrast with the
official policies of chapel and its individual members as
missionary recruiter. The BCC is not a site where
individuals discuss spontaneously their missionary
function as chapel member.

NOTE for Chapter Nine

[1]Emprical research indicates that BCCs have greater autonomy than
family catechism groups in establishing their group objectives. Nearly
twice as many of the BCCs considered their group likely to change their
objectives over time when compared with the family catechism groups.
Over 91.0% of BCCs studied thought it likely that they would change
their objectives over time, whereas under 46.0% of family catechism
groups thought that they would change (Güell 1987).

Chapter Ten

Economic Discourse

Introduction

The evidence for domestic and church discourses has been set out
in Chapters Eight and Nine in terms of their representations and
strategies. We will now consider economic discourse. We will recall
our definition of economic discourse from Chapter Five, a definition
developed in terms of representations and strategies.

> **Economic discourse** refers to BCC members' representations
> and strategies with respect to the division of labour of
> material production as well as their position in those
> relations, with particular reference to strategies of
> change and maintenance of the distribution of individual
> or collective economic power.

Chapter Six indicated that economic atypicality of the members
with respect to their local sectors. Members' families, although
marginalized, are financially independent since the heads of
households are employed full-time in the formal and informal areas of
the private sector of the economy (Table 6.6). The data also
indicated that the members' average salary exceeds the average salary
of heads of households in the respective municipalities (Table 6.5).
Nonetheless, given the deterioration of the workers' position in the
private sector in the last twenty years, severe hardship is
experienced, especially among the highly marginalized. Research
indicates that the monthly salary of the majority of the members'
salaries is inadequate to cover the basic needs of their families.[1]

1 Incidence of Economic Discourse

Two features of the data on incidence of economic discourse are
significant for this introduction. First, we notice the unevenness of
the distribution across the BCCs in the sample. Secondly, the
incidence of economic discourse is low when compared to church
discourse. In fact, in only four of twenty-two BCC meetings do we
find the incidence to be above five percent of the total lines (>

5.0%). The highest incidence of economic discourse occurs among the highly marginalized, educational BCCs.

Table 10.1

Incidence of Economic Discourse
(in lines of text)

Less marginalized educational	(1) Tot	(2) Econ	(3) (Econ/Tot %)	Less marginalized non-educational	(1) Tot	(2) Econ	(3) (Econ/Tot %)
BCC meeting							
Justice (1)	1267	100	7.8	Saint James (1)	858	---	----
Justice (2)	1667	30	1.7	Saint James (2)	917	21	2.2
Justice (3)	1358	---	----				
John XXIII(1)	1351	38	2.7	Saint Michael(1)	898	85	9.4
John XXIII(2)	1029	---	----	Saint michael(2)	1008	---	----
John XXIII(3)	1407	---	----				

Highly marginalized educational	(1) Tot	(2) Econ	(3) (Econ/Tot %)	Highly marginalized, non-educational	(1) Tot	(2) Econ	(3) (Econ/Tot %)
BCC meeting							
Solidarity (1)	1864	28	1.5	Workers of God(1)	1129	---	----
Solidarity (2)	1610	77	4.7	Workers of God(2)	2128	---	----
Solidarity (3)	1212	351	28.9	Workers of God(3)	949	7	0.7
Lo Amor (1)	953	26	2.7	Esperanza (1)	449	---	----
Lo Amor (2)	662	31	4.6	Esperanza (2)	2037	134	6.5
Lo Amor (3)	719	---	----	Esperanza (3)	935	---	---

(1) total lines of text in sacred episode
(2) total lines of economic text
(3) economic text as a percentage of total text

The incidence of economic discourse is relatively low in all of the BCCs, with one exception. This low incidence seems crucial when one considers the grave problems associated with the conditions of living of the members. Secondly, within the highly marginalized BCCs it is fairly clear that the educational ones have more economic discourse. In the meetings of the two highly marginalized, non-educational ones there is no economic discourse, whereas there is only one meeting of the highly marginalized, educational BCCs where there is no economic discourse. Further, the greatest amount of economic

discourse is found in the highly marginalized, educational BCC,
Solidarity. There is no difference between educational and non-
educational BCCs among the less marginalized BCCs. It is not possible
to compare the highly marginalized with the less marginalized because
of the great difference between educational and non-educational BCCs
in the highly marginalized BCCs. Thus, the major findings with
respect to incidence are:

> (1) relatively low incidence of economic discourse across
> the BCCs

> (2) the relatively high incidence of economic discourse in
> highly marginalized, educational BCCs.

The full significance of these findings can be explained only in
the light of a comprehensive discussion of the other secondary
discourses. But it would appear that the BCC does not have a complex
economic function for the BCC members.

2 Economic Representations and Strategies

As in the case of church discourse, the data on economic
discourse will be presented across all four quadrants. We have
selected exemplary sequences which reveal the distribution of types of
economic discourse in the sample as a whole. As Diagram 10.1
indicates, in Quadrants I and II we shall set out problems which arise
out of macro representations, and in Quadrants III and IV we shall set
out problems which arise out micro representations. And subsequently,
we shall set out and discuss the strategies proposed to deal with
these problems.

<u>Diagram 10.1</u>

Dimensions of Representations and Strategies
of Economic Discourse

Macro Institutional
A

I	**II**
Representation	
economic structure as as permeable or impermeable to individual mobility	economic system as open or closed to change
Strategies	
education	*protest*
'pituto'	*fatalism*

C Individual ———————————————————————— Collective **D**

III	**IV**
Representation	
the individual in relation to family as a unit of economic survival	BCC in relation to the family as a unit of economic survival
Strategies	
solidarity	*collective self-help*
charity	*BCC as an agency of solidarity with individual neighborhood families*

B
Micro Local

We expect to find that the social base of economic discourse is
predominantly individual, especially with respect to the macro level.
Research indicates that <u>even among the highly marginalized sectors of
Santiago</u>, economic change is represented as being possible essentially
through strategies of individual mobility (Tironi 1985).

3   <u>Quadrant I</u>
    <u>macro individual discourse: change of economic position</u>

In this quadrant we have located problems which arise out of
representations whose social base is individual and whose level is
macro institutional. We shall describe the underlying representations
of economic problems and the strategies of members to deal with them.
This type of discourse refers to individual problems with respect to

one's economic position and strategies for its change. Research indicates that strategies of individual mobility continue to predominate in Chile, even among the highly marginalized where statistical evidence contradicts its perceived efficacy.

3.1 Representations

We are interested in problems which rest upon representations of a hierarchy of economic positions as a site for the attainment of an improved individual position. To that end, we shall be interested to describe the degree of permeability members attribute to this economic hierarchy, as well as the relation of the individual to that hierarchy. The economy may be represented as permeable or impermeable to individual movement within it. Thus, the type of change considered here will not be in terms of the social principle of hierarchy as such, rather it will be in terms of a vertical or horizontal change in individual position within the established structure of economic hierarchical positions.

3.2 Strategies

BCC members are confronted by their grossly inadequate conditions of life. Direct strategies aimed at improving individual position in the work place (i.e., labour organizations), either in terms of work conditions or remuneration, are never introduced in the BCCs, irrespective of degree of marginality or previous religious socialization. However, more indirect strategies are introduced which could improve individual access to the work place and/or give access to economic benefits usually available only to higher class fractions. There are two basic strategies to improve basic economic position: education and the pituto.

Education is considered by the BCCs as the preferred strategy to ensure social mobility. The aim of BCC members here is to improve their financial position and/or the eventual position of their children. Research indicates that in Chile a direct relation is perceived between level of scholastic attainment and prospects of individual mobility (Cariola et al. 1992; Valenzuela 1987),

irrespective of social class fraction. Other research indicates that
marginalized women consider that educational attainment increases the
likelihood that their children will be equal to others (Cariola et al.
1992). We have found that although the BCCs differ with respect to
degree of marginality and level of scholastic achievement, education
remains a principal strategy for future individual mobility. Even
among the highly marginalized BCCs, among whose members high
educational achievement is infrequent and _its real relation_ to better
employment is largely unfounded, education remains the preferred
strategy for the future of their children. Educational attainment,
and the possession of an academic or technical certificate is
perceived as the crucial mechanism to improve individual opportunity.

A second strategy of individual mobility introduced into the BCC
is the _pituto_. _Pituto_ is a friend, relative or colleague who is
capable of gaining access to the job market or to an agency closed to
the class fraction of a BCC member. The _pituto_ is a strategy of
vertical and well as horizontal mobility.[2] To be _bien pituteado_
('well-connected') refers to a network of _pitutos_ which permits an
individual to gain access to the job market or other institution from
the higher position of the _pituto_. The _pituto_ intercedes in the work
place or other institution in order to improve the lower individual
economic position of a BCC member.

Strategies are marked with _italics_, and other markers can be
found in the key to the transcripts on page 15.

3.3 Exemplary Sequences
Sequence One
    less marginalized, non-educational: Saint Michael

In this sequence from **Saint Michael (1)** (10.09.88), members
discuss the problem of the poor and their strategies to deal with
them. After initially discussing diverse criteria for giving food to
indigent persons who call at the front door of their homes, members
open the discussion to talk about their attitude toward the poor. A
judgemental attitude toward the poor (more marginalized than
themselves) is condemned. Finally, Alejandro talks about the

268

principal cause of begging to be the poverty of the individual who begs. Ruth is the animator.

(a) Ruth: When they ask for a bit of bread.
Alejandro: A person passes along to ask for a bit of bread or
        something, *I try to help him because he is a brother,
        also those who wander the streets, you have to help them*
        ...{charity}
Claudia: It is that many times those who pass by to ask for
        some bread are adults who can work.
Alejandro: When young people get on the buses and beg ...
        sometimes it is harder to beg than to work.
Claudia: there are some people who get used to it.
:
:
Alejandro: *Give to the person the first time, and the second
        time teach him to work* ... {charity and education}
:
:
(a) Ruth: What happens sometimes is that, as you said before,
        one becomes accustomed, but we fall into judging the
        person, because what does it matter to us if the person
        gets used to it (begging), that person has to explain
        himself before God.
Claudia: I always, when someone asks me for something, I
        always think ... *I always give to children and to older
        people* {charity} ... do you see?
Alejandro: A person who has looked for work and not found it,
        how can one know.
Claudia: Right.
Alejandro: One can't judge.
(a) Ruth: But there are always people who say, 'And why don't
        these people work?'
Alejandro: Sure, that is important, that one notices that not
        because one is well and that one has work, has a house,
        that others are the same. One should look at one's
        brothers as brothers, and, perhaps, it is possible that
        they don't have work, and so I set myself to analyzing in
        a specific way. Suppose that I see a person in the bus
        begging and my face drops. I couldn't do it. It would
        be easier for me to shine shoes, do anything, but not
        beg, I wouldn't have the spirit to do it. And when I see
        young men trying to beg, it is because, they have not
        found work, they do not have any other way to look at it.
        Or they don't have the development or the education, they
        don't know how to do anything else. Probably they did
        not prepare then to do manual work ... I think that each
        person does what he is able to do, I do not believe in
        bad intentions, except in the case where they are
        delinquents, in an extreme case.

                                        Saint Michael (1):15-16

    In the last intervention of Alejandro beginning from, 'Suppose I see a person who is begging on the bus and my face drops', the fundamental economic representation is introduced. The social base of

representation is _individual_, where economic success and failure and advancement rests ultimately on _individual mobility_ and initiative. Alejandro refers to the poor person as a product of his/her 'lack of education', of not knowing 'how to do anything else [but beg]', and of a 'lack of preparation for manual work'. According to Alejandro, since the poor person is probably doing everything that he/she can, one should give generously to those who beg. Since lack of individual preparation, development and education seem to be the cause of individual economic suffering, we must assume that _education_ is the strategy for change of individual economic position. Charity is a second order strategy restricted only to those for whom strategies of individual mobility are ruled out (older people and children).

Sequence Two
    highly marginalized, educational: Solidarity

In this sequence from **Solidarity (3)** (20.05.89), some members question the durable representation of the relation of educational attainment and future economic and career position. In contrast with the enduring myth that "education breeds success", several explicit examples of its failure are introduced here. Arturo and Augusto challenge the efficacy of educational attainment given their perception of the respective real salaries of secondary school graduates as compared with those of non-graduates. A son of Arturo acquired his '_cartoncito_' or diploma, and when he defended himself as being overqualified for some menial manual tasks in his place of work, he entered into conflict with his manager. He defended himself by saying that he had worked hard in school, and 'was not for washing bathrooms'. Subsequently, Arturo introduces the problem of the access of the marginalized to the university. This problem of the distribution of university access among the social classes is historically one of the most contested and volatile aspects of State educational policy in Chile. Joaquín, the animator, does not intervene.

> Arturo: ... and she said to me, 'Don't worry, because I'll finish high school,' and it was very difficult for him because he had health problems ... but he finished high school. 'I have my sheep skin,' he said. 'And ... let's see? What do I do with the sheep skin now?' He was working in Telias House, a birthday gift shop, selling

270

gifts, and the owner there sent him to wash the bathrooms
... but he told her that he had studied and worked hard
and that he was not for washing bathrooms ...

Augusto: ... but he got his degree and he went to a factory
and with his sheep skin and all and he earned 25.000 and
a kid who is a recent school leaver, and the lowest he
ought to be is at 50.000. So, why study?

Arturo: If you put an advertisement in the paper which says
that they are seeking a doctor, imagine how much they are
going to pay ... a professional who studied a career for
years and years and he has to go looking at the
newspapers, and for the advertisement there were 100
people who arrived, and of the 100, 80 have a precarious
situation and will work for any salary.

Augusto: Sure! That's what I was trying to say ... without
the degree we earn more than the kids and nonetheless,
the kid knocked himself out for the degree ... and is
earning 25.000.

Arturo: The ... my work, with the hour that I have to get up,
imagine to arrive at a better hour, I am getting up at
4:30 ... sure I'm earning more than my daughter who
studied ... but the thing is that in a couple of months
more, will I be able to do it?

:

:

Arturo: We have good universities ... but I want some people
named, workers like ourselves who have had a child arrive
at the university? How far do they get? How far can the
son of a worker go in the university? Until first year
only ... the scholastic aptitude test costs more than
3.000 pesos.

Augusto: I can give you an example in which my son who says to
me, 'I will get my degree and I am going from here to
Canada {education}.' 'Where are you going to go?,' I ask
him. 'Anywhere, but I am not staying here because I will
die of hunger,' he says. 'And then afterwards I'll go
and sort out my own situation , and I'll send for you
... but I am not going to stay here {'pituto'}.'

Yolanda: But you need to have a good contact to get there
(Canada) and to study there ... because alone it is
difficult {education and 'pituto'}.

Augusto: Yes, we do, we do.

Isaac: It is very difficult because there are so many who want
to go.

Arturo: But it is easier to try than to stay.

Yolanda: Yes, that is true, I won't argue with you.

Augusto: Yes I have a nephew in Canada, he went there because
they expelled him from the country, and he came here for
Christmas, and he said to Panchito (Augusto's son),
'Finish your studies well, and you know that you have a
place to come in Canada {education and 'pituto'}.'

Arturo: A brother of a colleague of mine, had the chance to
study medicine, and he became a doctor in another
country, but he wants to come here to be a doctor. But
he cannot practice because he studied in country which is

> *unapproved by the regime {education}. What does he have*
> *to look forward to?*
> Marcela: To die of hunger.
>
> <div align="right">Solidarity (3):10-11; 22-23</div>

This sequence reveals a representation of the relation between education and work, specifically with respect to the relation between level of educational attainment and income. The ambivalence of the relation between education and work is revealed, where Arturo and Augusto challenge the traditional view in which educational is perceived as leading to a better income. In spite of their strong challenge to the efficacy of education, individual upward mobility through strategies of education and *pituto* are introduced nonetheless. Augusto recommends education as a strategy of mobility to his son, where his educational attainment would be a stepping stone to life in Canada.

It is a matter of some interest that strategies of individual mobility rather than ones of macro economic change are the most commonly introduced by BCC members as means to a better life in spite of the ambivalence of these strategies. Change through individual mobility is introduced frequently in the highly marginalized, educational BCC, **Solidarity**. This is a matter of interest because the members of this BCC have the lowest average family income, and quite possibly are the least likely BCC members in our sample to be upwardly mobile. The representation of 'the economic system as open in the distant future to one's children' is a particularly resilient representation. Further, although we find ambivalence in the relation between educational attainment and income, education emerges nonetheless as a strategy of individual mobility.

4   Quadrant II
macro collective discourse: change of economic structures

Whereas in Quadrant I we considered economic problems in terms of individual access to an unquestioned hierarchy of economic positions, here we shall discuss problems introduced by the BCC in terms of the degree of openness to change of the economic system itself.

4.1 Representations

We are interested in how members discuss the distribution and redistribution of economic power among the economic classes at the macro level <u>as a problem</u> in terms of the degree of openness to change in that distribution. We found that macro collective economic discourse is introduced <u>only</u> in the highly marginalized BCCs.

4.2 Strategies

Strategies to deal with macro economic problems depend on the degree of openness to change in the distribution of economic power at the macro level. The only strategy to change macro economic imbalance among social classes introduced into the BCC is <u>protest</u> at the macro level. Where the macro economic relations are perceived as closed to change, the strategy to cope with this stable imbalance is <u>fatalism</u>. <u>Fatalism</u> is a response to the perceived inevitability of chronic economic imbalances in the distribution of economic opportunity or benefits among the classes. Since BCC members find themselves at a great distance from economic policy-making agencies, they perceive themselves as powerless to redress the policies which perpetuate economic imbalances, especially with respect to economic opportunity.

4.3 Exemplary Sequences

Sequence Three
highly marginalized, educational: Solidarity

In this sequence from the highly marginalized, educational BCC, **Solidarity (3)** (20.05.89), Arturo speaks of his own poverty, specifically of his deteriorating work situation and the progressive decline in his real income as a bus driver. He has seen his real income decline slowly during the period of the military regime. This talk gives rise to several negative interventions which end in morbid humour about funerals.

Subsequently, Joaquín intervenes in the second segment of the sequence by evaluating the problem of low wages and lack of economic opportunity. Joaquín's intervention arises out of the predominant representation of the economic system operative in the BCC, one in

273

which economic structures are not easily changeable. Joaquín is the animator.

Arturo: I said that I am on a level a slightly better level, a little higher up, and I talked always about the poor bloke who was lazy ... but no, not now ... I began to work at 20% or 25% [of the fares I collect] for eight hours, now I work 16 hours for 14% [of the fares I collect] ... and if you like it ... good ... and if not ... look for something else. Unfortunately, we who are over 40 are old ... over 40 we are already old ... and ... why speak of retirement, yes, I understand, I know people who have worked all of their lives, they reach retirement age, and they can't work and they collect a pension of 4.000 or 5.000 pesos a month (US$20.00 per month).

Augusto: I am talking now about something else ... at sixty-five years of age, with the diet that we have, who will live to be sixty-five? ... that is only for the bionic men.

[laughter]

Augusto: 70 [years old] and into the box.

Arturo: If you have the money to buy one ... because if you don't have the money ... you have to go in a plastic bag only.

Isaac: A funeral joke ... I can give you a good tip on where to get one on the cheap.

[laughter]

Arturo: From Mandrake the magician.

:

:

(a) Joaquín: ... The women have managed to understand that in this age in which we are living, in this country, that it (to be poor and uneducated) is not one's fault. If we didn't have some things, and if we had to do without some things, Rosa ... sure, *it turns out that it wasn't my fault*, but that of the system {fatalism} ... Now ... returning to ... a little of what you talked about before about the difference that there is between then (twenty-five years ago) and now ... which was talked about. You spoke of food, right? of clothing ... that we have compared with the times of our parents ... there is a lot of difference. *What we have to do is take advantage of our experience ... and tell it to our children ... so that they can go along overcoming these difficulties* {education}... If we cannot give them a color television set, for example, we can't, but *we can encourage toward the future, to something better ... study ... study ...* Why I could not study, and could not be what I wanted to be. Why? Because I couldn't be. But they can with their effort. When having dinner you have to encourage them that with their effort they can become something better than oneself ... it is sort of the goal of this ... *to sensitize children to the fact that this thing is not that easy, but that with their effort, they can get out ... they can live a little more comfortable than us* {fatalism and education for children}.

274

Rosa: One has a little more projection because the children
        are younger still and this (the system) will someday
        change, that is, we have the hope that someday this is
        going to change ... the day our children will finish high
        school ... perhaps they are going to have more prospects,
        because those who are finishing school now don't have any
        prospects.
                                        Solidarity (3):20-21

In the initial segment of this sequence, we find a representation of the life expectancy of the poor as a function of the economic system. This life expectancy is low, because of the harshness of the life of the poor brought on by poor working conditions. No strategy is introduced to correct this problem. One must accept one's fate. Thus, the strategy open to the poor here is to make funeral arrangements within one's economic means.

In the second segment of the sequence, Joaquín introduces the husband and father as the responsible provider for his family, a representation found in this BCC which we shall recall from Chapter Eight on domestic discourse. In this sequence, the economic system is perceived as closed to change, and thus, no positive strategies are introduced. As a child, Joaquín had wanted to be studious and responsible, but he 'couldn't study because he couldn't study'. With respect to his own situation, fatalism prevails. Speaking in tautologies, Joaquín recognizes that he is poor and doesn't have an education, but it is not his fault, but the fault of the system which was closed to him.

Subsequently, Joaquín and Rosa shift from speaking of themselves to speaking of their children. Rosa dreams of some future change in the system which will provide more prospects, but in the meantime, parents must educate their children. This change is not described specifically, but is introduced as a situation to be hoped for. It is interesting that at no time does any member of Solidarity describe in any detail those future changes in 'the system'. Further, the 'hoped for' changes are not introduced as resulting from a strategy initiated by the BCC members. In fact, there is no mention of who the protagonists of such changes might be.

Sequence Four
        highly marginalized, non-educational: Esperanza

        In this sequence, from **Esperanza (2)** (14.10.88) Isabel narrates
her encounter in an informal job interview with a housewife in a
middle class household in Santiago's *Barrio Alto*.   Isabel is a 55 year
old widow, mother of four, who lives alone in a ramshakle house in the
neighborhood.   She went to the family in the hope of being hired as a
domestic servant.   It is significant that Isabel went to her interview
the day after Pinochet's loss in the national referendum on October
5th, 1988.   Field notes indicate that during the BCC meeting, the date
of the interview added to the emotional impact of Isabel's narrative.
It was perhaps in the euphoria of Pinochet's defeat that Isabel went
to her interview with extra enthusiasm.   She was hoping that 'things
would now be better'.   Teresa is the animator in this sequence.

> Isabel: I feel a little sad today ... I was hoping for a job
>   on October 6th.   They told me, 'After the national
>   referendum (October 5th) come up (to the *Barrio Alto:*
>   middle and upper class sectors).'   And I went up and the
>   lady wasn't there, and she told me to come back on
>   Monday.   I went back on Monday, and she told me that she
>   did not want to receive me.   She said to me, 'Where are
>   you from?'
>   'I come', I told her, 'from the Borough of Cerro Navia.'
>   'Is that so, where the 'NO' won (anti-Pinochet
>   opposition),' she told me.
>   '*No?. I don't know ...*' *I said, playing the stupid one*
>   {fatalism}.
>   So she said to me, 'You know?   Why don't you,' she said
>   to me, 'I have another woman,' she said, 'why don't you
>   come tomorrow?'
>   I said to myself, this woman is trying to play around
>   with me. So I said to her, 'Look! If you don't want to
>   take me, tell me right away,' I said to her, 'don't make
>   me come up here, because you know, I am not working and I
>   do not have the money to spend on transportation.'
>   'Why don't we do something better,' she told me, 'go and
>   come back tomorrow, I'll send you a message or you can
>   call me on the phone?'
>   'No,' I told her, 'Tell me if you want me or not, *I'll go*
>   *quietly, if you take me or not* {fatalism}.'
> Sergio: Excuse me! And did you have to pay for the bus from
>   your own pocket, wasn't she even able to give you the
>   busfare?
> Isabel: She didn't give me the money.   On Tuesday, I called
>   her on the phone, and she says to me, 'Come up.'   I get
>   up there and she says to me, 'Better that you do not
>   stay, go away!'
>   '*Sure*', I said, '*no problem at all* {fatalism}.'
>   Afterwards she turns around to get the money because she
>   was going to get busfare, and she comes back out and she

276

says, 'You know, why don't you stay.'
                Sure, how was I going to stay. She had a pile of laundry
                ... who knows how long it was piling up there. I'm sure
                she said to herself, 'Here, I'll take advantage of her.'
                'No,' I said to her. 'I'm sorry, you said 'no' to me. I
                am not staying,' I said to her {protest}.
        Sergio: That's it! So you told her.
        Isabel: *I am not staying.*
        (a) Teresa: Sure!
        Isabel: Yesterday she sent me a message and she told me to
                come up today and *I called her by phone and I said to
                her, 'Look! I said, I am not coming up,'* I told her. 'I
                need a job, but I am not going up there,' I told her,
                'because you have humiliated me,' I told her {protest}
                ... 'You will understand,' I told her, 'that I am a poor
                person, but with my poverty, I live happily,' I told her,
                'I don't need a job that badly,' I told her. 'It has
                been two or three months since I had a job, and I still
                have not died of hunger, and as you say, the people of
                Cerro Navia,' I told her, 'are all deceptive,' I told
                her. 'I do not come to deceive,' I told her.
        Veronica: For sure she was a pinochetista.
        Chorus: Sure!

                                        Esperanza (2):22-23

        This sequence is a representation of class relations. Isabel's
narrative about her recent job interview represents the power of the
dominant class, the humiliation of the poor and their struggle to
maintain dignity. For Isabel her job as a domestic is less important
than the indignity of being a victim of class exploitation. The class
relation being discussed is the employer-employee relation. The
representation of the employer-employee relation is that it is <u>closed
to change</u>. We find a representation of the chronic unequal
distribution of power in the employer-employee relation, especially
the labour relation in domestic service. Isabel has little power in
the series of encounters she relates.

        The strategy is one of <u>fatalistic acceptance</u>, where, at the end
of the sequence, Veronica says, 'for sure, she was a pinochetista.'
Together with this <u>fatalistic acceptance</u> of her unemployment, she
<u>protests</u> to being a victim of class exploitation. In fact, her
narrative reveals that the conversation in which her employment is
being negotiated seem to be controlled almost exclusively by Isabel's
prospective employer. Isabel has control <u>only</u> over whether or not to
discontinue the frustrating 'go away and come back tomorrow'
interaction with the housewife. Isabel recognizes the arbitrariness
and lack of transparency on the part of her prospective employer.

Isabel is powerless to alter the class exploitation in the employer-
employee relation, yet she offers a mild protest against it by
rejecting the characterizations of the housewife, removing herself
from the encounter, and thereby struggling to maintain her dignity.

Discussion of Quadrants I and II

We shall set out a summary of the representations and strategies
for Quadrants I and II. We should recall the overall low incidence of
economic discourse in the BCCs which we set out in the opening section
of this chapter, where we noted the higher incidence among the highly
marginalized, educational BCCs. The low incidence of economic
discourse is unexpected since, even in those BCC characterized by a
lower degree of marginality, members are not far removed from
precarious economic circumstances. It appears that the BCC does not
have an economic function.

Table 10.2

Summary of Quadrants I and II

Representations and *Strategies*

I	II
1. Saint Michael (1) economy as permeable to mobility *education and charity*	3. Solidarity(3) macro economy as closed to change *fatalism and education for* *children*
2. Solidarity(3) economy as permeable to mobility *education and 'pituto'*	4. Esperanza (2) macro economy as closed to change *protest and fatalism*

In Quadrant I, we have found that irrespective of their degree
of marginality, that when members refer to individual change, they
refer to individual change through strategies of social mobility.

In Quadrant II, economic discourse refers to talk about problems
at the systemic level, such talk reveals the representation of the

278

economic system as open or closed to change. We have found that macro collective discourse is found only among the highly marginalized BCCs, irrespective of the previous religious socialization of the members.

It is a matter of interest that there is little macro collective economic talk in the meetings of the BCC, where members identify themselves as belonging to an economic class. Members perceive macro collective economic relations as inevitable and as closed to change. Members perceive that certain economic "givens" constrain them economically, and over these they exercise little or no control. Members perceive that the mechanisms which could raise their standard of living and expand their opportunities are located in distant agencies over which they exercise little or no control. We have seen that BCC members tend to perceive the causes of macro collective economic problems as being located at a considerable distance from their daily lives. Given the perceived 'inevitability' of their poor economic situation, and given their apparent inability to enact strategies of change, a certain economic fatalism prevails as we saw in Sequences Three and to a lesser extent in Sequence Four. When they discuss their economic situation, the BCC members never allude to strategies of opposition based on strong group solidarity in order to transform the current distribution of economic power in Chile.

5   Quadrant III
    micro individual discourse: poverty and material subsistence

5.1   Representations

We shall not discuss micro individual economic discourse in the thesis. But we shall offer some discussion of the representations and strategies we have found here. We are concerned essentially with local problems of poverty at the local level and the members' individual strategies to deal with them. Problems discussed here are associated with an economy of subsistence, which arise out of representations of their own poverty and that of others. Immediate family survival in the face of a precarious economic situation is a regular topic in Solidarity, the BCC into which economic discourse is most frequently introduced.

279

We recognize that the overall context of reduced State social services during the military regime may have intensified the focus on the family as the <u>only</u> unit of economic survival. Problems are immediate and pressing, where the resources of an individual family are concerted in order to cover basic needs, often ineffectively. This <u>immediatism</u> places the individual and family in a temporal context which does not open to a tomorrow; the satisfaction of immediate and pressing material needs is the ordering principle of daily life.

5.2 Strategies

In Quadrant III the strategies to deal with poverty in the family are <u>individual charity</u> and <u>individual solidarity</u> toward individuals and their families. <u>Individual charity</u> is defined by three features. First, it is a strategy based on a relation of class superiority where the beneficiary of charity is from a lower social class. Secondly, it is based on individual anonymity, where the beneficiary is not known personally and is quite often from outside the neighborhood. Thirdly, charity is a strategy of individual response toward indigents who appear on the doorstep of homes. <u>Individual solidarity</u> differs from individual charity on these three counts. First, it is based on a relation of class similarity, where the beneficiary is often from the same social class as members. Secondly, it is based on familiarity, where the beneficiary is an acquaintance from the neighborhood or even a member of the local chapel. Thirdly, rather than responding to a poor individual, <u>strategies are initiated by the BCC members</u>.

Strategies to deal with micro economic problems vary across the BCC according to their degree of marginality. In the highly marginalized BCCs we shall find strategies of <u>individual solidarity</u>, and in the less marginalized BCCs we shall find strategies of <u>individual charity</u>.

6 Quadrant IV
micro collective discourse: BCC and material subsistence

6.1 Representations

Here we are concerned with representations of the relation of the BCC to individual economic problems of poor neighbors. We shall be interested to what extent and in which type of BCC, the BCC itself is represented as a site of collective solidarity with the economic plight of chapel members and/or of individual neighbors. Exemplary sequences will underscore the problems associated with the economy of subsistence which arise out of representations of members' poverty. The BCC is represented as a site of economic survival and support. Problems are immediate and pressing, where the resources of an individual family are concerted in order to cover basic needs.

6.2 Strategies

One type of micro collective strategy is introduced to deal with problems of family survival and their relation to the BCC: collective solidarity. Like Quadrant III, strategies are developed to deal with poverty in the families of neighbors and chapel members, but in this case, the strategies are developed by the BCC itself and not by individuals. Collective solidarity has three features associated with individual solidarity: class solidarity, local familiarity, member initiated strategies to help poor neighbors.

6.3 Exemplary Sequences
Sequence Five
highly marginalized, educational: Solidarity

In this sequence from **Solidarity (2)** (10.04.89), the BCC is represented as a site of financial support in which strategies of collective solidarity are introduced by members. The material resources used in these strategies are never located beyond the concerted material resources of the BCC members. Like the individual strategies of support of some of the members, collective BCC strategies of solidarity toward individual families have effects which

are often short term. As we noted in the introduction to Quadrant III, adequate provision for immediate or short term material needs occupies the greater part of two meetings of this highly marginalized, educational BCC.

We have decided to include a long sequence in order to draw attention to a form of discourse which is particular to **Solidarity**. It is an example of a fully developed plan of action which begins with the introduction of a problem, its relation to the BCC, and a full discussion of a *repertoire* of strategies. This sequence is one of the few examples of the process of problem description and strategy development in BCC talk with a clear view to local implementation.

In this first segment a problem associated with extreme poverty is described, and collective strategies of solidarity are introduced. Marcela proposes Rosita as an individual beneficiary for BCC collective solidarity. Marcela selects Rosita because she had been a member of the chapel at one time. In this case, Rosita would be considered a 'sister' not only because of her class equality with members, but because she is a co-religionist. Subsequently, this selection is discussed and approved by the BCC, and together, members organize themselves as a BCC in order to offer help to ease the material plight of Rosita's family, a strategy of collective solidarity of limited benefit.

> Isaac: I put this in parenthesis because it was Arturo who was going to speak about it. I don't know what you could propose in order to do something for these people.
> Marcela: May I give an opinion?
> Adolfo: Yes.
> Marcela: *I would like us to begin with Rosita because she was in our community ... that for her we could do a small collection with all of our affection in order that this person may move ahead.*
> Adolfo: Correct.
> Marcela: So I would like to help her.
> Arturo: We would have to define how we are going to help in food or in whatever ... because I think that in these moments the most needy are the children with their empty stomachs.
> Marcela: What they need most is the merchandise, because with that they can make a platter of food.
> Adolfo: *Would we arrange a little package* [of food] *for Rosita?*

Marcela: *Yes for Rosita because she was a member of our community. So let's begin with her first,* at least I think that way {BCC solidarity}.

Arturo: The last time we gave her a package! I don't know if you knew about it?

Marcela: Yes.

Adolfo: Now I would like to know when we are going to start this?

Augusto: Adolfo, permit me? I would like here that everyone would give their opinion. *And that we all commit ourselves* {BCC solidarity}. I mean, I am not saying that you are not going to give anything but rather I say that all opinions are true.

Arturo: *So let's have the campaign of the little package* [of food] *as we do frequently* {BCC solidarity}.

Vera: *Each one can donate what he* (sic) *can.*

Augusto: What he can ... *it is not necessary to give a kilo or two* {BCC solidarity}.

Guadalupe: *No. What each person can give.*

Augusto: The bag is passed around and each one will know what he (sic) throws in, period. I think and feel that way.

Adolfo: Right! *Each person has to give what he can and one can't be watching what a person gives or what the other person gives. If the person has a 1/4 or 1/8 kilo of sugar ... give it. And the other person will do the same and soon we will have a kilo* {BCC solidarity}.

Arturo: *A person can give 40 pesos ...*

Adolfo: Right! *And another person can give 600.000 pesos.*

Arturo: Because a package of tea, that is, with our 40 pesos is more important.

Roberto: *We are going to give this at the level of community* {BCC solidarity}.

Adolfo: Yes! We cannot speak for the other communities.

Arturo: Unfortunately ... we cannot ... look, the decision has been taken by this community.

Sylvia: This work will go with today's theme.

Guadalupe: Right! It is our faith.

Adolfo: Yes, on account of our faith, and is there another person who ...?

In the above segment, Augusto underscores explicitly that the site of the strategy should be the BCC. He insists that all members give their opinion concerning the arrangement of a little emergency food package for Rosita. Augusto relocates the strategy placing it in the BCC, and Arturo confirms the BCC as a site of the strategy by naming the strategy as the 'little food campaign', where all BCC members would contribute to the 'package'. At the end, this relocation of the collective strategy is given religious legitimacy when Sylvia and Adolfo underscore its association with the biblical text concerning 'living one's faith in daily life'.

In the second segment below, the relation of the BCC to Rosita's problem continues to be that of moral support. However, Eduardo shifts the discourse by altering the terms in which poverty is discussed. Whereas, in virtually all economic discourse in **Solidarity**, poverty is discussed only in terms of the family, Eduardo speaks of Rosita's poverty in terms of her unemployment. Rather, than focusing on the problem simply as 'no food on the table', Eduardo expands the terms of discourse in order to refocus the problem of Rosita's poverty in terms of 'no food on the table as a consequence of chronic unemployment'. This reformulation implies a shift in the range of strategies of support.

In the following segment the single modality of 'linking faith and daily life' is challenged by Eduardo, and the discussion is opened to consider other modalities of 'linking faith and daily life' and their attendant strategies. Below, Eduardo shifts the discourse to consider the possibility of helping Rosita's husband to find a job so that the family can be self-sufficient and responsible. Thus, Eduardo introduces a different longer-term strategy which consists of helping Rosita and/or her husband find steady employment through their limited network of contacts (*pitutos*). Subsequently, Eduardo narrates an example of this strategy as he used it previously in the case of an encounter with his brother, Adolfo.

> Eduardo: Listen, speaking about faith, the little I managed to listen to, says that faith has to go along accompanied by works, right? For example, I am going to base myself in the same case of Rosita. I think that it is important in this moment, to do the collection and put together the little package of merchandise, right? But I think that it is not all we can do or should do. I think that, I don't know, the women, I imagine, many of the women here work. So I think ... I don't know ... it is only an opinion. *Why not look for a form in which Rosita can earn her living through your friendships and contacts, etc.* {'pituto'}. Because the little package will last only about two days, one day where there are many ... many mouths to feed and I think that you should look for the way. I think that a way should be looked for ... *I do not have the formula in this moment,* I mean that I would love to have it, understand me please, but I think, that among all of you ... especially the women ... I don't know! If you have a way of speaking to her, I don't know, what qualities do she have, and what can she do ... because ... as I say, a material help is important, food, right?

```
Adolfo:   It is interesting what you say because ...
Eduardo:  The same with other people because I don't know what
          her skills are or what her profession is {education}.
Arturo:   He (husband of Rosita) is a driver, a mechanic, he was
          working in heavy machinery.
Eduardo:  So one can look around over there for the possibility
          of a job, right?
Adolfo:   I think that it is important what you say, it had
          escaped me.
Eduardo:  Right! I am going to tell you what happened to a
          relative of mine.  I had a brother who was very seriously
          bad-off economically, and we had to help him economically
          with little packages, sometimes with money, but the
          moment arrived in which he was more or less in conditions
          to do something and I was one of the ones who always said
          to him, 'Look, Adolfo!  his name is Adolfo.  You are not
          going to live always, unfortunately you had this accident
          and this sickness, but you are not always going to live
          off the help of the rest, No!  It is not that we do not
          want to help you, but if we keep giving and giving to
          you, it could be transformed into a vice.  Maybe I'm
          being a little negative.
Arturo:   What you have said is very important ... it hadn't
          occurred to me.
```

<div align="right">Solidarity (2):27,28-32</div>

In this long sequence, the representation is of the <u>BCC as a local agency of solidarity</u> in relation to the material plight of individual families. The BCC is like a grassroots organization of strong group support. The strategy is one of <u>collective solidarity</u>, where the BCC as a group offers <u>immediate short-term help</u> to individual marginalized families who are in precarious economic situation.

This sequence has consisted in two long segments which show the full process of strategy development in a BCC meeting, from the introduction of the problem to the planning of the implementation of two strategies. Further, in the second segment the modality of the strategy of simple collective solidarity is challenged. Another strategy in the *repertoire* is proposed, although the BCC would continue to be a site of the strategy and the individual family would continue to be the beneficiary.

At the outset of segment one, members confirm the selection of Rosita as the beneficiary and they commit themselves to a concerted strategy of <u>collective solidarity</u>. A package of food will be put

together from donations of BCC members, all of whom gives according to their ability to contribute. And, in a way typical of this BCC, members underscore the association of this collective solidarity with their christian faith (another example of the `faith and daily life' principle). Instead of talking about a family unable to afford electricity or food, Eduardo proposes a longer-term strategy of *pituto* (personal contacts) so that the head of household can gain access to the work place. Thus, by offering them an opportunity the family can become economically self-sufficient. In the second segment Eduardo interrupts the automatic association between faith and strategies of immediate collective solidarity toward the individual. By associating `living the christian faith' with helping Rosita's husband find a job, he is expanding a rather restricted understanding of `linking faith and daily life' which is characteristic of this BCC, i.e., collecting food among themselves and delivering it to a family. The terms of representation shift to where the poor may even be injured by short-term economic support.

Discussion of Quadrants III and IV

Here, we shall summarize the representations and strategies of Quadrants III and IV which deal with the representations of poverty and family survival and of the BCC as an agency of economic subsistence.

Table 10.3

Summary of Quadrants III and IV

Representations and *Strategies*

III	IV
	5. Solidarity (2) poverty and individual economic problems and family survival *collective solidarity of the BCC, `pituto' and education*

Here we will set out the similarities and differences among the BCCs with respect to micro economic discourse in terms of the relative

286

strength of group support and solidarity. As the summary above
indicates, the sequences for Quadrants III and IV are taken only from
Solidarity, a highly marginalized educational BCC.

The differences in the degree of marginality among the BCCs
gives rise to sharp differences in micro economic discourse, in terms
of representation of poverty and the relative strengths of group
support and solidarity. Although we have not included sequences from
the less marginalized BCC, **Justice**, we should nevertheless indicate
that the poor are represented as 'them'. The marginalized are
represented as being located at a great distance from BCC members, a
distance which can be described geographically, economically and
morally. Geographically, the individual who begs at the door comes
from outside their sector. Economically, the individuals who beg have
a worse situation relative to the BCC members. Morally, the
individual who begs is perceived negatively and is positioned at a
great moral distance from BCC members: as one who deceives, as one who
is given to indolence, and as one who has not 'lifted himself (sic)
up'. In this BCC, we have found strategies of spontaneous individual
charity toward indigents who beg at their homes.

In the case of **Solidarity** by contrast, even though the members
discuss poverty in terms of family survival, the geographical,
economic and moral distance between members and the poor whom they
discuss is short. Geographically, the individual families discussed
in Sequences Five live in the same neighborhood. The BCC members know
their names and their situations. In short, they interact with these
people everyday. Economically, these 'neighbors' in critical economic
situations (i.e., being unable to feed themselves) are only slightly
worse off than the BCC members themselves. We will recall that with
one exception all families of **Solidarity** live below the poverty line,
where monthly family income is not sufficient to satisfy basic needs
(food, shelter, education, clothing, health care). Morally, the BCC
does not hold exclusively a logic of blaming the individual families
and their heads of household for their poverty, as we saw in **Justice**.
Although this BCC introduces the wider economic social context only
rarely, they appear to recognize that the responsibility for their
desperate economic situation cannot be attributed solely to the
individual.

287

7 Discussion and Overall Conclusions

As in Chapters Eight and Nine, we shall now set out the overall conclusions in terms of the fundamental types of BCCs in our research. We shall underscore where economic representations and strategies are related to the degree of marginality and the previous religious socialization of the members.

7.1 Less marginalized, educational BCCs

In the less marginalized, educational BCCs, the incidence of economic discourse is quite low. In terms of macro economic discourse, we have found that the economy is perceived as permeable to strategies of individual mobility (Quadrant I). By contrast, no macro collective discourse is introduced; thus, there is no discourse of systemic economic change (Quadrant II). The discourse of change is exclusively in terms of the individual (Quadrant I). At the micro level, members discuss a politics of charity toward the poor, where a representation of poverty and family survival gives rise to strategies of individual charity (Quadrant III). These BCCs do not introduce the problem of poverty in terms of class exploitation, nor do they consider the BCC as a site of economic support. Because of their low degree of marginality, members perceive themselves as distant from the poor and as not sharing their problems (Quadrant IV).

The modal economic discourse in the less marginalized, educational BCCs is individual, as we have discovered virtually no collective economic discourse at either a macro or micro level.

7.2 Less marginalized, non-educational BCCs

In these BCCs, we found only one sequence of macro individual economic discourse. Thus, a dominant modality of economic discourse in the class of BCC cannot be determined.

288

7.3 Highly marginalized, educational BCCs

At the macro level, the evidence from the BCC **Solidarity** confirms research in Chile which has found that even highly marginalized groups consider that educational attainment is the principal mechanism for individual mobility (Quadrant I). With respect to macro collective economic discourse, members discuss problems vaguely as arising from a poorly perceived `economic system' which causes hardship for the poor. Yet, rather than generate strategies of change to respond to these systemic ills as such, members express a compliant fatalism with respect to macro economic relations (Quadrant II). Discussion of economic problems <u>does not</u> move into political discourse or to mechanisms of economic changes through political strategies.

At the micro level, we have long sequences of talk in **Solidarity**, where members discuss poverty and family survival. The strategies generated to deal with the problem associated with poverty range from support by individual members (strategies of individual solidarity) (Quadrant III) to collective support by the BCC itself as a agency of economic support (strategy of collective solidarity) (Quadrant IV).

In this BCC, the modal economic discourse arises out of problems of poverty and the survival of individual families. The problem is immediate survival of marginalized families, and strategies developed in the BCC as micro economic support organization of strong group solidarity. It is interesting to note that **Solidarity** have built up a small fund which they administer collectively to meet the basic needs of neighborhood families in crisis. These strategies seem to be a realization of a principle learned in family catechism to which we have previously referred: `faith linked with daily life.'

7.4 Highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs

The distribution of economic discourse in these BCCs is the most narrow found in any BCC type. Economic discourse is restricted exclusively to the macro collective discourse of Quadrant II, where members discuss class exploitation of the marginalized classes arising from the economic system imposed by the military regime. This BCC

introduces strategies to deal with macro collective problems like access to the job market as we saw in Sequences Four. It is important to note that members refer to themselves as members of the marginalized working classes oppressed by economic policies of the military regime and as subject to class exploitation by the dominant classes. When members refer to 'we', they are not referring to the families in their neighborhood, but they are referring to the marginalized classes in Chile. Isabel refers to herself as oppressed by class exploitation by an arbitrary employer (Sequence Four). Thus, the representation in economic discourse is not only in terms of poverty and family survival, but also in terms of class inequality and national economic policy which oppresses the poor. Thus, it is only in the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs that economic discourse is introduced in terms of class solidarities.

In terms of its strategies, it is only in **Esperanza** that we have found strategies of protest against class exploitation, where Isabel prefers to remain unemployed rather than subject herself to class exploitation (Sequence Four). The modal economic discourse is restricted in these BCCs to macro collective, where the principal economic problem of poverty is not family survival, but class exploitation of the marginalized.

7.5 Overall Conclusions

We shall now set out the overall conclusions with respect to social class and previous religious socialization.

> (1) Degree of marginality is directly related to the
> self-perception of BCC members. The less marginalized
> tend to refer to the 'poor' as 'them', whereas the highly
> marginalized tend to refer to the'poor' as 'we'.
>
> (2) Low marginality, irrespective of previous religious
> socialization, is associated with representations of
> poverty as an individual problem.
>
> (3) Only high marginality gives rise to collective
> orientated economic discourse.
>
> (4) High marginality, without previous religious
> socialization, gives rise to representations of poverty as
> a problem of class exploitation.

(5)   High marginality, with previous religious
socialization, give rise to representations of poverty as
being more an individual or family-based problem.

(6)   High marginality, only in the absence of previous
religious socialization, gives rise exclusively to
strategies of macro economic change.

(7)   High marginality, with previous religious
socialization, gives rise only to individual and
collective strategies of solidarity (not strategies of
social change).

(8)   Previous religious socialization is associated with
individual based economic problems and strategies.

(9)   Previous religious socialization, irrespective of
degree of marginality, is associated with strategies of
individual mobility.

(10)   Previous religious socialization does not give rise
to strategies of structural change (macro collective
strategies).

NOTES for Chapter Ten

[1]See Schkolnik and Teitelboim 1988. According to this research
basic needs focus on minimum basket of food goods, then on education,
health and shelter. In the *PET* research of 1988, it was judged that a
monthly family income of $38.699 pesos would insure the satisfaction of
the four basic needs. If we compare this minimum salary with the data
in Chapter Six in the presentation of BCC participants, many members
must be considered as underemployed and living below the poverty level
(Tables 6.5 and 6.6).

[2]We use the terms vertical and horizontal mobility in a way
analogous to Bourdieu's use of the terms (1984:131-33). In our case,
vertical mobility takes place in the same field (i.e., labourer to
skilled labourer), and horizontal mobility takes place when the
individual engages in transverse movements across fields (labourer to
clerical assistant). In the case of the *pituto*, we may encounter either
type of movement. The condition for vertical mobility is that the
pituto be located in a higher position of the same field (i.e., the BCC
member is a labourer and the *pituto* is a foreman on a construction
site). A condition for horizontal mobility is that the *pituto* be
located at a similar vertical position but in another field (i.e., one
has power over access to a certain school, but the *pituto* has power in a
certain hospital).

Chapter Eleven

Political Discourse

Introduction

In this chapter, we shall conclude our discussion of the secondary discourses by outlining the fundamental representations of politics based on problems which BCC members introduce into regular BCC meetings. We shall set out also the dimensions along which strategies are developed to deal with those problems. To begin, we shall recall our definition of political discourse from Chapter Five.

> **Political discourse** refers to the members' representations
> and strategies with respect to the national political
> field as well as their position in that field. It refers
> to strategies of political change and continuity.
> Strategies will be introduced to deal with problems which
> arise from State policies and the distribution of
> political power.

As in Chapters Eight through Ten, the differences in political discourse across the sample are related to the class position of the members of each BCC and their previous religious socialization.

Chapter Six indicated that several features of the political profile of the animator and members were of great importance. Forty-two percent of BCC members did not express any preference for a political party (Chapter Six, Table 6.10). The highest level of political no-preference (53.0%) was found among the highly marginalized, educational BCCs, where five of fourteen men (Table 6.12) and fourteen of the twenty women (Table 6.13) expressed no political preference. By contrast, political no-preference was lowest (combined 28.5%) among men and women in the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs. Crucial differences appeared among the animators with respect to party preference. In the BCC high marginality BCC **Esperanza**, where the animator is a member of the Communist Party, political preference is by and large for leftist parties (to the left of the CDP). Thus, members may have selected this BCC according to the political preference of the animator. In the BCC, **Esperanza**, we will notice a high incidence of political discourse. By contrast, in the educational BCC in a high marginality area, **Solidarity**, left

political preference by the animator (PPD), does not lead to a high incidence of political discourse. Although we have only one case, it is noteworthy that animator preference for a left political party is associated with left political preference among the members and with a high incidence of political talk. However, the BCC **Solidarity** indicates that this animator's preference for the political left does not have this effect in educational BCCs.

In general, Tables 6.12 and 6.13 indicate there is little difference in no preference between the men and the women in the non-educational BCCs. Also we have great similarity between the men in the educational and non-educational BCCs. The crucial finding concerns women in educational BCCs where no political preference runs at 70.0% (Table 6.13).

Fifty-five of eight-eight BCC members did express a preference for a political party (Table 6.10). Of those who did express a preference, all but two members associate themselves with political parties opposed to the military regime. We found that among the BCC members expressly opposed to the military regime (n=48), 32 expressed a preference for the christian democratic party, a tendency especially noteworthy in the political preference among the less marginalized BCCs. Among the educational BCC members who expressed a preference, 20 of 28 expressed a preference for the christian democrats. Among the non-educational BCC members who expressed a preference, 12 of 24 preferred the christian democrats. And in terms of the total sample, 32 of 88 members expressed a preference for the christian democratic party.

These difference is political no preference give rise to the possibility of gender differences in political discourse. In the general discussion at the end of the chapter, we shall be interested to bring out the gender differences.

The national political context in which the BCC meetings occurred may be of some importance especially with respect to the incidence of political discourse. Two national political events may have increased the likelihood of the introduction of political discourse. These two national political events took place during the period of field work among the BCCs. On 04 September 1988, a large

political protest took place in Santiago in support of the anti-
Pinochet campaign in the run-up to the national referendum of 05
October 1988, a protest which occurred with the regime's approval.
The second political event was the national referendum on 05 October
1988, where General Pinochet was defeated in his bid to extend
military rule until 1997.

In Table 11.1 below, we have highlighted where these two
political event have fallen within one month of the date of a BCC
meeting. In all BCCs, at least one of their meetings took place
either during the thirty day period before or during the thirty day
period after one of these events. The (+) indicates that a BCC
meeting fell with the period around the national protest of 04
September 1988. The asterisk (*) indicates that a BCC meeting fell
close to the date of the National Referendum of 05 October 1988.

Table 11.1

<div align="center">

**Coincidence of BCC Meetings
and National Political Events**

</div>

Saint Michael			John XXIII		
	10.09.88	(+)		07.11.88	(*)
	15.10.88	(*)		27.03.89	
				15.04.89	
Saint James			Justice		
	23.10.88	(*)		30.09.88	(+)
	09.04.89			07.10.88	(*)
				14.04.89	
Esperanza			Solidarity		
	01.09.88	(+)		05.11.88	(*)
	14.10.88	(*)		01.04.89	
	30.03.89			20.05.89	
Workers of God			Lo Amor		
	06.09.88	(+)		05.09.88	(+)
	11.10.88	(*)		10.04.89	
	20.04.89			17.04.89	

Twelve of the twenty-two meetings occurred around the time of
national political events. And in nine of those twelve meetings we
have found at least some increase in the incidence of political
discourse. The relation between national political events and the
incidence of political discourse in the BCCs will be discussed in the
next section.

1   Incidence of Political Discourse

The unevenness of the incidence of political discourse, like that of the other secondary discourses, across the sample is a recurrent pattern of BCC talk. We will recall that domestic, church and economic discourse were unevenly distributed across the sample. In the following table, we have set out the incidence and distribution of political discourse.

Table 11.2

Incidence of Political Discourse
(in lines of text)

Less marginalized educational	(1) Tot	(2) Pol	(3) (Pol/Tot %)	Less marginalized non-educational	(1) Tot	(2) Pol	(3) (Pol/Tot %)
Justice (1)	1267	85	6.7	Saint James (1)	858	---	----
Justice (2)	1667	156	9.3	Saint James (2)	917	---	----
Justice (3)	1358	63	4.6				
John XXIII(1)	1351	86	6.2	Saint Michael(1)	898	5	0.5
John XXIII(2)	1029	---	----	Saint Michael(2)	1008	6	0.6
John XXIII(3)	1407	---	----				

Highly marginalized educational	(1) Tot	(2) Pol	(3) (Pol/Tot %)	Highly marginalized, non-educational	(1) Tot	(2) Pol	(3) (Pol/Tot %)
Solidarity (1)	1864	109	5.8	Workers of God(1)	1129	776	68.7
Solidarity (2)	1610	---	---	Workers of God(2)	2128	1448	68.0
Solidarity (3)	1212	75	6.1	Workers of God(3)	949	33	3.4
Lo Amor (1)	953	105	11.0	Esperanza (1)	449	203	45.2
Lo Amor (2)	662	51	7.7	Esperanza (2)	2037	694	34.0
Lo Amor (3)	719	32	4.4	Esperanza (3)	935	151	16.1

(1)   total lines of text in sacred episode
(2)   total lines of political text
(3)   political text as a percentage of total text

As we discussed in Chapters Eight to Ten, the differences in incidence of a secondary discourse in a BCC and its distribution across the sample may be attributable to two factors: to immediate relevance of a problem or to theological code. Where we encounter a higher incidence of political discourse, this may be because a members are confronting a national political event, or it may be because BCC members consider the other secondary discourses to be less relevant. And where we encounter a low incidence or virtual absence of political discourse, it may be because other issues are more pressing for the members of that BCC. Thus, according to this analysis, the incidence of political discourse across the sample may be attributable to factors other than theological code.

Yet the differences in incidence may be attributable to the theological code associated with a BCC. In sharp contrast to previous discussions of the incidence of other secondary discourses, we consider the incidence of political discourse across the sample will be more than likely be a function of theological code rather than a function of pressing political problems. We consider this more likely because the national referendum in Chile (October 5, 1988) gave occasion to the first direct vote for a national leader since 1970. The news coverage in the press, the relaxing of State repression, the political programs in the media concerning the referendum, the proliferation of programs of grassroots civic education, and the ambiguous ambience of political celebration and political uncertainty all contributed to creating a politically charged national environment. Thus, since many BCC meetings were observed and audiotaped in the period which began thirty days before the national protest and ended thirty days after the national referendum (between 04 August and 05 November 1988), we consider that the consistently low incidence of political discourse in some BCCs may be related more than likely to theological code.

When considered in isolation, the table above on incidence indicates that the highest incidence of political discourse is found among the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs. In all other types of BCCs, the incidence is quite low, except for **Justice (2)** and **Lo Amor (1)**, where the incidence of political discourse accounts for greater than ten percent of total talk in those meetings. In these

other BCCs, only in seven of their sixteen meetings have we found an incidence of political discourse greater than five percent of the total talk in the meeting.

When we consider the incidence of political discourse together with the Table 11.1 on the relation of the BCC meetings to national political events, we find several interesting associations which offer a more comprehensive picture of the incidence of political discourse. In six of twelve BCC meetings which fell close to a national political event, the incidence is at least five percent greater that in the other meetings of that BCC.

This shift in incidence to which national political events give rise is observable most dramatically in the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs, **Esperanza** and **Workers of God**. For example, the high incidence in **Esperanza (1)** and **(2)** may be accounted for partially because the dates of these meetings fall close to national political events. In sharp contrast to the high incidence of political discourse in meetings one and two, in **Workers of God (3)**, a meeting which does not occur in the context of a national political event, political discourse occupies only 3.4% of the total talk. This same pattern occurs in the other highly marginalized, non-educational BCC, **Esperanza (3)**.

In other BCCs, a higher incidence of political discourse is associated with national political events, but to a much lesser extent. In the less marginalized, educational BCCs, the incidence of political discourse is higher in meetings which occur around national political events by greater than five percent (> 5.0%) in two meetings: **Justice (2)** and **John XXIII (1)**.

And in the less marginalized, non-educational BCCs, political discourse is virtually absent in spite of national political events. We will recall the almost exclusive attention to church discourse and local chapel politics in the BCC, **Saint James**. We shall describe in Chapter Thirteen how in the BCC, **Saint Michael**, members introduce a highly ecstatic religious discourse.

In the highly marginalized, educational BCCs, in spite of national political events political discourse is introduced only

297

minimally. Even in an atmosphere of a national political event, we have found that in **Lo Amor (1)**, the incidence is only marginally higher. In **Solidarity (1)**, the national political event does not appear to affect the incidence of political discourse.

In general, the patterns of incidence and their relation to the national political context indicate that most BCCs show some degree of increased openness to national political events, and that the greatest degree of openness is to be found among the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs. Thus, increased incidence of political discourse is related to the degree of marginality of the members.

The major findings with respect to incidence are as follows:

(1) relatively low incidence of political discourse across the BCCs when compared with other secondary discourses.

(2) relatively high incidence of political discourse in the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs when compared to other BCC types.

(3) in six of twelve BCC meeting which occur around national political events, the increase in the incidence of political discourse is greater than five percent.

(4) national political context had no effect on the incidence of political discourse in the less marginalized, non-educational.

(5) national political context had the greatest effect on the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs.

(6) previous religious socialization is associated with a low degree of responsiveness to national political events in terms of incidence of political discourse

2 Political Representations and Strategies

As in the case of domestic discourse, political discourse is not distributed across all of the quadrants. We have selected exemplary sequences which reflect the types of political discourse and their distribution in the BCCs. As the Diagram 11.1 indicates, political discourse is restricted almost exclusively to national political discourse. Therefore, we shall consider only the dimension of

national politics, even though sometimes the location of its
strategies may be the local neighborhood.

Diagram 11.1
                Dimensions of Representations and Strategies
                        of Political Discourse

                        Macro Institutional
                                A

            I   II
    Representation

                                        State as mechanism of:
    _____   surveillance
                                            physical repression
        ,   ideology
                                        Multiple secondary social
                                            representations
    Strategies

                                            protest
    _____   fiesta
                                            solidarity

C   Individual   ───────────────────┼─────────────────── Collective D
            III   IV
    Representation

    _____   _____

    Strategies

    _____   _____
                                B
                            Micro Local
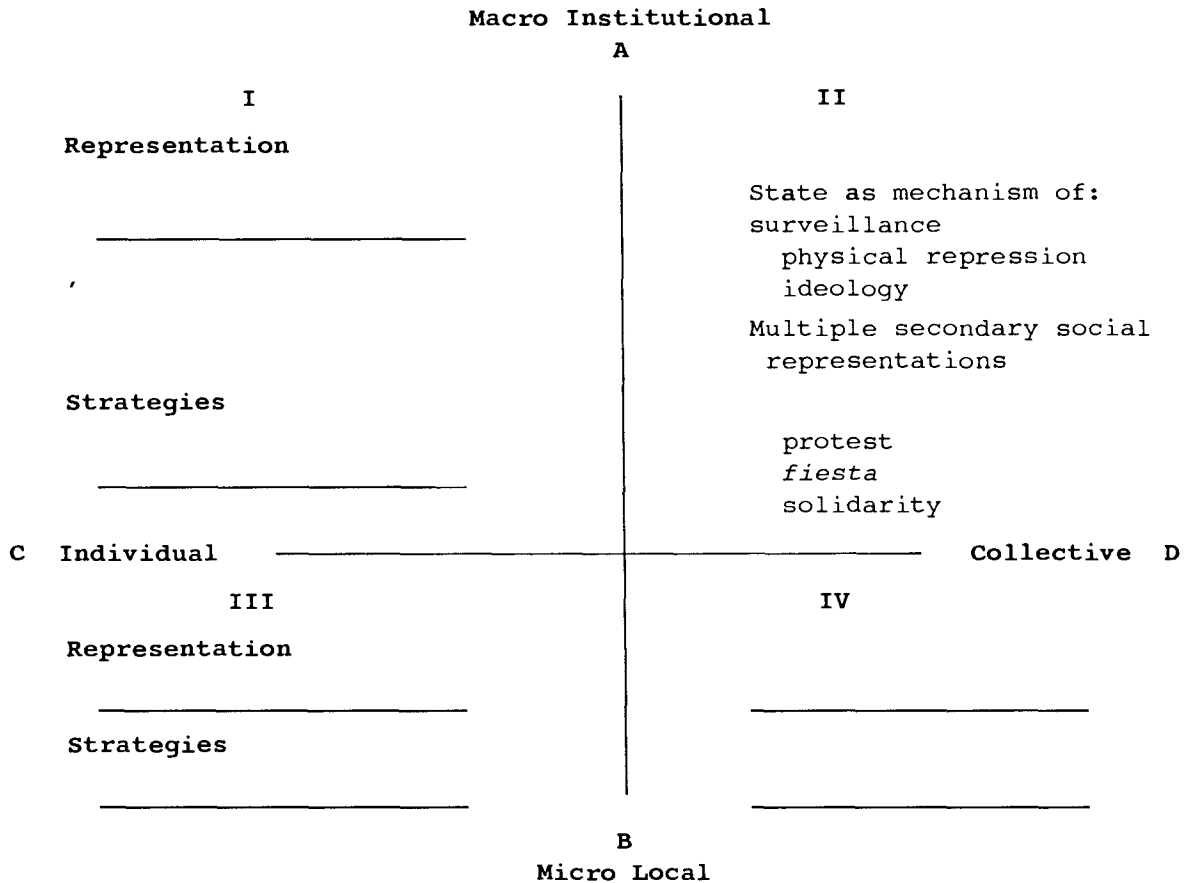
3   Quadrant II
    macro collective discourse: change of political structures

3.1   Representations

        We shall be interested in the representations of the State and
the strategies of change to deal with problems which arise from the
political policies of the State.   It is important to note at the
outset that in this discussion of Quadrant II the representations of
the State rest on its being perceived as coordinated governmental
forces which seek to intimidate and suppress political opposition by

                                299

means of an extensive police network. In this political context BCC members tend to see politics as the relation between the policing and resistance to that policing without the stabilizing mediation of political parties.

Throughout the BCC meetings where we find political discourse, the State is consistently represented as a mechanism with three functions: <u>surveillance</u>, the <u>production of ideology</u>, and <u>physical repression</u>.[1] During the period of the military regime, State-run institutions were transformed into a complex apparatus of social control in order to maintain a concentration of economic power and in order to intimidate opposition movements which sought changes to redress gross social inequalities. We shall now define the mechanisms of control of the State.

<u>Surveillance</u> is a mechanism of control directed to the maintenance/continuity of the unequal distribution of economic and political power guaranteed to dominant groups by the State. The more proximate the political resistance of an individual or group might come to disturbing the distribution of political and economic power, the greater the possibility that the individual or group will become an object of State surveillance. Both the network of informants in the neighborhood or in the workplace and non-uniformed security forces are examples of this mechanism of social control called surveillance.

The second mechanism of State control is <u>ideology</u>. Ideology refers to a discourse which conceals the unequal distribution of economic and political power, and promotes a unified structure of language-use that constrains severely what can be said in the national political arena and in the media of communication. It is a mechanism of symbolic control whose specific realizations vary in their degree of explicitness. Ideology may be highly explicit in the mass media, official ceremonies of State and speeches of government ministers. However, many people may 'see through the message of the State' in a patriotic broadcast. The dominant ideology of the State may be transmitted less explicitly through mechanisms like the mass media and other media like educational institutions and religious organizations. The State has sought to control the range of legitimate political discourse and practice through mechanisms of production, distribution and inculcation of ideology.

The third mechanism of social control exercised by the State is physical repression. In the event of the ineffectiveness of ideology or surveillance, agencies of the State may use force against sectors of the population in order to restore order. Physical repression is more specific in its target than ideology, as it focuses resources on protest groups or individuals. Physical repression may be used to quell opposition to the unequal distribution of economic and political power in Chile. The presence of armed police and military at a public protest, police persecution of individuals, murder, torture, and neighborhood crackdowns to ferret out opposition have been specific realizations of physical repression.

These three mechanisms of State control supported the maintenance of the dominant distribution of economic and political power, as well as the political continuity of General Pinochet and the the military regime. During this period of military dictatorship, all opposition groups of political representation have been scrutinized and systematically repressed. State surveillance is dedicated to the silencing of political protest and political participation at all levels. And voices of opposition to the military dictatorship had been controlled through persistent surveillance and severe punishment by the State. As a result, the 'geography of positions' in the national political field had been, until recently, extremely polarized (pro and anti-Pinochet).

Before moving to a discussion of strategies to deal with political problems, we should comment on the effects of State control on the marginalized sectors in Santiago. Research indicates that repressive State control in Chile only deepens the sensation of atomization and social dispersion among the dominated marginalized classes.

> ... the majority of the population survives in conditions
> of marginalized masses, dependent on public welfare; there
> are no schemes or channels of social mobility; the social
> movements have become dispersed, the groups and
> individuals have lost the identity that they had found in
> [national] politics ... an individualist culture prevails,
> dominated by fear (Tironi 1985:194).

The result has been the great social dissolution, the rupture of the symbolic order, and a weakening of solidarity based on shared

301

beliefs and collective political identities. A marginalized society
of fear, silence and isolation has arisen from the policies of the
military regime.

While we consider the representations of the State to be of
crucial importance in political discourse, other representations are
also introduced.

(1) representations of legitimate social order

(2) representations of the range of legitimate political
practice for christians: its limits in terms of leftist
militancy and the minimum demands of political
participation for a 'committed' christian

(3) representations of political protest in terms of
degree of risk

3.2 Strategies

Three strategies are introduced to deal with problems arising
from politics and the unequal distribution of political power:
solidarity, protest, and *fiesta*. Political strategies have taken
these three forms: protest, a strategy of public opposition;
solidarity, a strategy of political support; *fiesta*, a strategy of
celebrating collective political identities. These three strategies
are strategies of change and opposition which challenge and defy the
distribution of political power defended by the State. The strategies
are strategies of participation which seek to counter the isolation
and atomization of marginalized classes. The State and its policies
(ideology, surveillance and physical repression) gives rise to
political problems for members of some BCCs. We shall now define
these three strategies of change: protest, solidarity and *fiesta*.

As a strategy, protest is a public testimony of opposition to
the military regime, a strategy which is direct rather than mediated
through a political party or other informal organization. Protest
incorporates usually an element of danger and risk for the
participants, and finds its ultimate expression in high-risk self-
sacrifice where individuals give their lives 'for the sake of the
pueblo'. Strategies of protest include (a) counter-ideology, (b)
public protest and (c) clandestine struggle.

302

(a) counter-ideology

A BCC may develop counter-ideology which unmasks
critically the ideology of the State with respect to the
distribution of political power. Yet, at the same time,
the BCCs do not develop a specific political program to
counter the policies of the State. The strategy of
counter-ideology does not provide a positive alternative
counter-ideology, nor do the BCCs speak about how to
operationalize a political project. In the BCCs, a type
of counter-ideology arises in religio-political language
constituted by the religio-political biblical metaphors of
the Exodus and the Kingdom of God which are extended into
the political arena.

(b) public protest

The second type of protest strategy is public protest.
During the years of the military regime, political
participation had been reduced to periodic high-risk mass
protests. Risk is recognized as an integral part of
public political protest. Public protest is associated
with the potentially life-threatening danger posed by the
repressive apparatus of the State. For those who use this
strategy to deal with the unequal distribution of
political power, political change is considered more
important than the risk of physical injury or police
detention.

(c) clandestine struggle

The third type of protest strategy is clandestine
struggle. The strategy refers to ongoing clandestine
activities, (i) local political participation in
political parties and (ii) destabilizing insurgency of
extreme left revolutionary groups without clear partisan
alliance or sponsorship. These strategies are
characterized by the highest degree of risk, and are open
to the most brutal forms of State violence. BCC members
do not participate in revolutionary guerrilla groups, but
some BCC members participate in political groups which
range from pro-Pinochet groupings on the right to the
communist party on the left.

Solidarity, is a strategy arising out of christian values such
as compassion and commitment, and is found in formal and informal
contexts. Political solidarity is a strategy where individuals or
groups support victims (either individuals or groups) either as a
response to their ongoing political problem (former political
prisoners or relatives of disappeared people) or as a response to the
aftermath of a recent event (victims of repression in a recent
protest). Solidarity responds to problems of human suffering and
injustice in the aftermath of a violent encounter with the State.

Solidarity has a reparative function where an individual or group will
intervene to repair an individual or group which has been a victim of
the State apparatus. The site for that solidarity may be organized in
a formal agency of support or it may happen spontaneously and
informally among neighbors or chapel members.

The third strategy, *fiesta* is a strategy which revivifies shared
political identity through a collective ritual celebration. In one of
the BCCs, **Esperanza**, a lengthy part of a meeting is dedicated to the
planning of a *fiesta* for the BCC on the occasion of Pinochet's defeat
in the national referendum of October 1988. Further, we shall see
that the actual collective participation in voting had a *fiesta*
ambience which celebrated the 'momentary suspension' of oppressive
State control (the suspension of danger associated with political
expression, i.e., the gatherings outside the local polling stations in
marginalized sectors on the day of the national referendum).

Having defined the representations and strategies for macro
collective political discourse, we shall begin our discussion of the
BCC talk on politics based on six exemplary sequences. Strategies are
marked with *italics*, and the key to the transcripts at the beginning
of the thesis describes other markers.

3.3 Exemplary Sequences

Sequence One
less marginalized, educational: Justice

In this sequence from **Justice (1)** (30.09.88), Julia displays a
political talk whose level of abstraction we have identified with the
Cursillo movement. Beginning with a speech concerning love of
neighbor, Julia extends this principle into the political arena. With
respect to politics, Julia outlines the boundaries of legitimate
christian political practice, morally disqualifying communistic and
fascist totalitarian regimes as extremist and not humanizing. Javier
is a guest of the BCC, and field notes indicate that throughout the
meeting, Julia gives several *Cursillo* displays for Javier benefit.
Although Inéz is the animator and exercises control over the
interaction, in cases where the dominance of *Cursillo* must be

304

reinforced in the face of criticism or the presence of outsiders, Julia exercises control over the discourse.

> Julia: The one who believes in God has to love also the one who does not love him. This is the test, it is really the test of whether you really love your brother or sister and whether that love is up in the air. To forgive offenses, to forgive the one who hurts you, loving the one who is not capable of loving you, this is the way to build the kingdom of God. If you are capable of judging your brother (sic) according to your own criteria and say, 'you are a sinner and you are beyond the law', and on account of that you take him to jail. And for that you take him to jail and you imprison him, or torture him or whip him or you throw him to the roman circus, you do not have a commitment with the Kingdom of God. You are judging, you are damaging a brother, thus you are not building the Kingdom of God. *If you, for the sake of a political problem, are capable of killing another or confronting him strongly ... and fill yourself with hate ... with blasphemies against another ... you are not constructing the reign of God* {clandestine struggle} *... because you are making your ideology your ideal, when what man has to do is make the ideal of his life Christ, and based on Christ project himself into all arenas in which he lives, politics, education, economy* {counter-ideology}.

> (a) Inéz: Being a christian is not easy.
> Julia: Each one has to live his life according to the ideal which is Christ, but generally we make our ideology, our ideologies. And we sometimes project our ideologies into our religion.
>
> :
> :
>
> Julia: If I want a communist government. If you analyze it, a communist government, with equality for all, goes against the nature of the human being because the human being we are not made to be like bees, or like ants, therefore, it is an apicultural vision of the human being which does not correspond to our human nature, if the Lord would have wanted us to be bees, he would have made us that way. If I want to accomplish this type, which according to me, goes against the nature of the human being, well being, equality for all, *I cannot use torture, exile, and the combat of ideas, because in accomplishing that [equality], I am using bad means* {violence and clandestine struggle}.
> Javier: But you said at the beginning that you were not the 'owner of the truth.'
> Julia: No. I am speaking about the coherence between the ends and the means. I am not the owner of the truth, but I do know that to torture a brother is wrong and I know that to throw a brother out of his home is also bad.
> Javier: Then end justifies the means.
> Julia: In the same way, I cannot construct a fascist government like Hitler ... eliminating 6 million Jews. I

cannot construct a country which places obstacles before
the majority of the people, protecting the people who are
beginning to become richer and the poor poorer ... the
path of the Lord teaches us, I cannot say, 'I have to
protect the rich so that they give me work because the
Lord says, 'Before a rich man can enter the Kingdom of
Heaven, a camel will pass through the eye of needle.'"
                                                    Justice (1):22,38

The representation in this sequence is of the <u>christian social</u>
<u>order</u>, where any politics of 'erroneous extremist ideologies' is
considered unchristian. This representation gives rise to the State
being considered as a neutral institution caught in the midst of
conflicting ideologies, and permanently in danger of becoming an
apparatus of extreme politics. Julia's condemnation of extremist
politics with its surveillance, violence, ideology, political
confrontation, physical repression reveal Julia's moderate centrist
politics. In a typical abstract distinction of *Cursillo*, Julia
contrasts living according to the ideal of Christ and living according
to a political ideology. According to *Cursillo*, Julia envisions an
idealized State where individual citizens are converted <u>interiorly</u> to
Christ before they project themselves <u>exteriorly</u> into politics,
education and economics. External practice flows from internal
conversion; inside first followed by the outside.

In terms of strategies, members discuss <u>christian counter-</u>
<u>ideology</u> to avoid extremist political ideology. Further, in her first
intervention Julia rejects the strategy of <u>clandestine struggle</u> and
other violence as being 'against the Kingdom of God'.

> '... *if you, for the sake of a political problem, are
> capable of killing another or confronting him strongly ...
> and fill yourself with hate ... with blasphemies against
> another ... you are not constructing the reign of God ...'*

We shall take up this point again in the general conclusions on the
biblico-political metaphor, Kingdom of God.

The complex relation of the interior commitment to Christ and
the exterior action flowing from that commitment brings out an
interesting point with respect to the relation between religious and
political discourse in *Cursillo*. Julia's discussion of the danger of
'making your ideology your ideal' is an example of the relation
between the discourses, that is, of the inversion of the 'embedding'

of secondary discourse in religious discourse. In this case, the ideology becomes the religious discourse, i.e., politics is embedded in politics. In the case of **Justice (1)**, all secondary discourses are embedded in *Cursillo* discourse. It is precisely this relation which Julia perceives to be in danger. She considers that extreme political positions ('our ideology') can displace commitment to Christ ('our ideal'), where 'we can project our ideology into our religion'. In this case, religious discourse in which political discourse is embedded is replaced by its own discourse; political ideology invades the sacredness of religious discourse below the line "——".

$$\frac{\text{political ideology}}{\text{Christ our ideal}} = \frac{\text{political ideology}}{\text{political ideology}}$$

The inversion of embedding is the most serious challenge to the *Cursillo* religious discourse. The level of abstraction necessary to maintain *Cursillo* is so great, that it cannot absorb any ambiguity or two-way metaphorical interchange between a secular discourse and itself. Such a metaphorical relation would be highly unorthodox since *Cursillo* seem always to proceed from the internalized religious principles to the secular discourse.

Sequence Two
    highly marginalized, educational: Solidarity

A meeting of **Solidarity (1)** (05.11.88) took place a month after the referendum in which members discuss the boundaries of legitimate political practice for christians. In an intervention typical of this BCC, members do not discuss actual problems which arise for them out of the current political context of State repression. By contrast, the BCC discusses an issue which is logically prior to political talk as such: is it or is it not christian to have a risky political commitment and what is the relation of a politically committed christian to the Catholic Church. Members discuss the internal disposition necessary for political <u>participation</u>. Thus, we have an abstract, pre-political discourse. Members do not speak as the chilean marginalized classes, but as members of the Catholic Church. In this sequence, members attempt to clarify the relation between political commitment and religious identity. Joaquín is the animator.

Jorge: I wanted to ask a question about the role of the
        layperson in society. I don't know what you think.
        Because we as laypersons, committed to the Church, we
        participate so little in the social and political life of
        the country.
Augusto: Seminarians are coming out now less committed; they
        are very young. Because of that they are not as
        committed as we are; now they are coming out less
        committed.
Jorge: But does the Church support *the committed layperson in
        the political participation* {participation}. What
        support does the Church give us if we continue to
        participate? As a community (BCC), as active members of
        a community (BCC), *if we throw ourselves into politics*
        {participation}, will the Church support us or will they
        not support us, will they accept it or will they not
        accept it?
Roberto: For the moment they are not accepting it.
Jorge: This is what I have begun to see for a while now that
        the Church does not support that.
Augusto: That is discussed sometimes there is no much
        commitment toward those people who risk themselves in
        politics.
Isaac: Little support toward the one who takes political
        risks.
:
:

(a) Joaquín: I see this a little differently than you. It is
        a question for each one. What is happening here? We as
        a community and as persons are not very committed. I
        have had the opportunity to participate in other
        communities, from the neighborhood over there called *Lo
        Amor*. In *Lo Amor* there is a priest who is the pastoral
        agent in the community. He is a one of those liberal
        priests.
Isaac: Right!
(a) Joaquín: There the Chino (a priest), answering a little
        what Jorge said if the christian ... *a christian should
        participate in politics, it is something that each one
        decides, right* {participation} *?* Each one knows his
        sentiments, he knows where the shoe pinches and he goes
        to the left, the right or the center ... it (politics) is
        something that is up to the individual and there, in two
        or three meetings that I attended there one time in *Lo
        Amor*, for the Arbol course, we met there for a few days
        and the priest there, he goes to meetings in the comm ...
        *he (priest) participates in the meetings of the social
        organizations* {counter-ideology} ... he, precisely
        because they were organizing an activity, an *activity for
        the 11th of September, in which they always remember the
        fallen ones, right? The fallen ones, and above all, in
        our sectors they have a pilgrimage to the Mapocho River,
        and they do that together, the christian communities and
        the local neighborhood political organizations* {protest}.
        So, I think that, I don't know ... what happens? *I think
        that like they are concerns of each person*, you know, I
        say that each one, there that priest is really liberal

and he goes in the two things. *He participates in those
meetings, he organized the meetings, he was the
coordinator* {counter-ideology}. Sure, I don't know if, I
can't say if he goes to one side or the other, but *at
least he meets with all of the social organizations of
the left, of the right and of the center* {counter-
ideology}.

<div align="right">Solidarity (1):48-49</div>

In this sequence politics is discussed not in terms of the
unequal distribution of power in the Chilean political field, but in
terms of a prior question regarding the legitimacy of the christian
participation in politics. Neither the State nor any of its dependent
institutions is discussed. The representation is of the legitimacy of
political practice for christians. Members discuss the value of
political participation irrespective of political ideology. Even
though the political practice of a priest from *Lo Amor* is described,
no evaluation of that practice is made. This political talk is
abstracted from the immediate national political context of the post-
referendum period. The talk is abstracted to the point where politics
is being considered only as one of several arenas of secular practice
open for christian participation. Interestingly, the relative merits
of political parties and social organizations are not discussed. We
will recall the extremely low level of preference for political
parties expressed by the members of this BCC (only six of twenty women
and 5 of 14 men had a party preference).

A discussion of strategies is not introduced, i.e., membership
in political parties, the goals of the anti-Pinochet coalition,
political protest, neighborhood political organizations. However,
members do underscore the importance of participation without
discussing the modality of that participation. Basically, members
discuss whether or not it is legitimate for a christian to have a
political strategy at all. This stands in marked contrast to the
pressurized political atmosphere of an adjacent chapel community in *Lo
Amor*. In his final intervention, Joaquín describes the strategy of
organized solidarity at formal sites in the adjacent neighborhood. He
describes also a strategy of *fiesta* in which a politico-religious
ritual celebrates the commemoration of those killed during the
military coup on 11 September 1973. Bypassing any discussion of the
legitimacy of this commitment, Joaquín underscores that it is the

decision of the individual to select a political party, whether of the right, left or center.

The above sequence illustrates how the theological code of a BCC constrains the discussion of politics. Members are involved in a prior question of the legitimacy of political commitment for the christian, and not discussing the question of the State and political power in Chile or strategies for political change arising from a specific political event. Given the highly depoliticized consciousness of the members (inferred from low levels of political preference), it should come as no surprise that in this BCC political talk should remain peripheral to politics as such, to its specific problems and to its strategies of change.

It is of great interest here that no women intervene in this analysis of the principles of political participation. We will recall that among the highly marginalized, educational BCCs we found the highest incidence of political no preference, especially among women. Thus, a high level of political no preference among women combines with the analytical tone of the talk to give rise to the absence of women in this political discussion. As we have seen in Sequences One from the BCC **Justice**, Julia appears to be the single exception to this rule. Julia not only intervenes frequently, but she offers political commentaries a a high level of generality.

    Sequence Three
          highly marginalized, non-educational: Workers of God

In this sequence from **Workers of God (1)** (06.09.88), members recount anecdotes from the day of the national protest of 04.09.88. Juanita recalls the violent events after the official demonstration. This discussion appears to be clearly within the boundary of a less formal political discourse which is grounded in personal experience of political events. In Sequence Four, we will again see this type of political discourse typical of **Workers of God.**

> (a) Nancy: I was going along ... and I didn't run anymore,
> because I was in the middle of two loads of tear gas
> bombs and I see that she [Sandra, a friend] isn't running
> anymore. And do you know that *I went out in the middle*
> *of all of the rock throwing and it didn't matter to me if*
> *a rock was going to hit me* {public protest}, because

310

first Jorge said to me, 'Lean over.' I bend over and a
rock goes by and hits him in the shoulder here ... I
wasn't paying attention to the shower of stones, but I
was paying attention to the bus and to the people who
were throwing stones at the bus. They made such a noise.
I go back and I get Sandra, and we arrive at the door of
the Baquedano theatre and there we stop for a while.
Sandra was choking a little from the tear gas, and I had
a little piece of lemon which they had given to me,
because they [Sandra and others] had eaten the lemon that
they had brought. I had told them, *'Don't eat the lemon,
you could need it later* {public protest}.' ... We could
hardly run any more because of the choking ... and on the
other side there was the war of throwing stones ... Also
the police showed up, coming from there toward us, from
there in Bustamente [street]. *From there we went into
the park (Parque Bustamente). And from there we went
down to Mapocho Street to get the bus. I was afraid
coming home with Sandra* {public protest}. *I had never
been in anything (political) and there I was in there
'with both feet', as they say* ... {public protest}

María Victoria: There in the park we found ourselves
    confronted with ...

(a) Nancy: But I was never in the middle of the thing so much
    before.

María Victoria: Right, We were with the children walking along
    in the park, when the Pope was there and we had to throw
    ourselves on the ground ... they took us to the edge of
    the park ...

(a) Nancy: No. And the girls wanted to go today [to this
    protest] and I said to them, 'You know, this is a
    political protest. It is run by the political parties,
    and no one knows what will happen there, *so I am not
    going to risk taking you with me, besides so many people
    go, that you don't see anything* {public protest} ...'

Lilian: That's why I didn't go.

(a) Nancy: But nothing happened, it was on the way back from
    the Plaza Italia.

Lilian: But I didn't have anybody to leave the children with,
    I had problems.

(a) Nancy: We understood the 'thing', it was good, and it
    seems that no one from the chapel at least, of the people
    that we know, were taken prisoner. They didn't arrest
    anybody. Popa returned right away, in Rancagua street
    they took the bus down home.

                     Workers of God (1):21-22

Two important representations underlie Sequence Three. The
problems experienced by Nancy have arisen because of the State
mechanism of <u>physical repression</u>. In addition, the representation of
protest is as a political event which places participants at high
risk. It is high risk because a protestor may be caught between
'stone throwing' protestors and 'tear gas attacks' by soldiers.
Protest as 'high risk' is seen in Nancy's reticence to bring her

adolescent children to participate in the national protest of 04 September. A successful orderly protest is one where no friends, neighbors or chapel members are arrested, and one where all arrive home safely afterwards.

The strategies exist on two levels: on the level of the entire episode and on the level of sub-strategies within the wider strategy. The entire episode which is recounted here is of <u>public protest</u> against the military regime. Against that background, sub-strategies are two: (a) the carrying of lemons to be eaten in the event of tear gas attack and (b), escaping along back streets after the protest in order to avoid retaliation by the military.

In this sequence, all speakers are women, and the form of the talk is anecdotal. This BCC has the highest level of political preference, where all members expressed a party preference.

Sequence Four
highly marginalized, non-educational: Workers of God

In this sequence, two members of the BCC, **Workers of God (2)** (11.10.88) discuss their experience of voting on the day of the national referendum. In this meeting, each member recounted an anecdote of voting as well as their feelings and impressions of the experience.[2] At no time, do these individuals comment on the wider significance of the voting itself. Further, at no time do the speakers introduce a biblical metaphorical language. Members exhibit a mastery of voting, sharing with BCC members their strategies to make the voting go as easily as possible. In most cases, these stories were accompanied with much humour.

We must recall that the national referendum represents the first opportunity the citizens had been given to express their disapproval of Pinochet in a peaceful way. Members narrate the collective experience of being 'out in the open' to express their disapproval. This sequence is a recounting of members' celebratory experience of the temporary suspension of fear and repression in the highly participatory modality of pedagogic practice in **Workers of God** which elicits that experience. The meeting itself was festive. The suspension or temporary reversal of government constraints on

political expression and the festive and dream-like quality to which this gave rise are related by the narratives. The narratives are told by Elba in Segment One and by Lilian in Segment Two. Nancy is the animator.

Segment One
María Victoria: Did you go to vote?
Elba: Yes.
María Victoria: Where did you go?
Elba: In the chapel.
María Victoria: Here at the end of Diagonal Remy, in the school.
Elba: But it didn't take me ... let's see ... *I went at ten to three and I was back home before four o'clock* {fiesta}.
(a) Nancy: Sure, in the afternoon, there wasn't anybody [in the queue].
Elba: No. It is that when I arrived, he went from here at ten with Chela and they were still only halfway through the queue and I said: 'I am going to go over there to see if I can get in queue with them {fiesta}' ... but no, the tough older women were there so I couldn't cut in line [laughter]. And suddenly, three military people arrive, they were looking over the queues so that people would stay in their places ...
They said, 'We are going to pick three persons from the line here, but don't you offer yourselves, we are going to pick the ones who look to have a 'YES' face rather than a 'NO' face.' I didn't know what the criteria were for the face ...
[laughter]
They look at me and say, 'You, take a step out of line.'
And I took a step out and said, *'What are you going to do with me* {fiesta}?'
They called another person, and they called ten persons and they got in line after me ...
They said, 'OK, follow us!'
'Where are you taking us {public protest} ?' I was the first in line. *I had to complain, the others had to follow me* {public protest}.
'Just walk slowly,' he said to me.
Then he asked us, 'I am asking you who you voted for?'
'No,' I said to him, *'I can vote for whomever I want.'* I said to him, *'And you are not going to make me vote [for anybody]* {public protest}.'
María Victoria: Well done!

<div align="right">Workers of God (2):56-57</div>

:

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Segment Two
María Victoria: Where did you have to vote, Lilian?
Lilian: There, *I didn't go to the real long line, I went right up there to the door* {fiesta}.
(a) Nancy: Look at this bold one!
Lilian: *I went right there.*
María Victoria: Where? There in Lazarini [street].
Lilian: No. There.

<div align="center">313</div>

(a) Nancy: There is the chapel below.
Lilian: I did not stay in the line because it was really long
       ... it went around, so this lady said to me , she said,
       'Let's go over there.' *We went and there were other*
       women there and we made like we were going to go to the
       field and we put ourselves in line with some others, and
       there was a big group. When we got close to the door, I
       almost fell down and I hung on to a soldier {fiesta}, and
       the soldier said, 'Don't knock me down ... don't knock me
       down.'
(a) Nancy: 'That's what we are trying to do', didn't you tell
       him. [an allusion to making Pinochet fall].
[laughter]
Lilian: *I knocked into him with a tremendous bump and the poor*
       soldier tried to close the door, and we said to him, 'Ya!
       Until when???' And we pushed {fiesta}.
[laughter]
Chorus: Poor thing.
[laughter]
Lilian: So that's how I got in ... *I voted at table number 10*
       {fiesta}.
(a) Nancy: Hanging from the neck of a soldier ....
[laughter]
                                        Workers of God (2):62

        These two segments narrate the personal experience of voting
which arises out of a representation of <u>voting as a duty and as a low</u>
<u>risk political protest</u>. The polling seemed to have a quasi-liturgical
quality where BCC members could register their protest solemnly and
collectively. The State is represented as a mechanism of <u>surveillance</u>
is each segment as detachments of soldiers scrutinize the polling
places to ensure civic order.

        With respect to strategies, the experience of the national
referendum day was one of <u>low risk protest</u> through casting a 'NO'
vote. Voting and the 'queue' experience seemed to have a *fiesta*
quality, an occasion to meet friends, relatives and neighbors.

        With respect to gender, only women speak and the form of that
talk is anecdotal.

        Sequence Five
                highly marginalized, non-educational: Esperanza

        This meeting of **Esperanza (1)** (01.09.88) took place in between
two significant political events. The day before (31.08.88), Pinochet
announced his candidacy for presidency in the national referendum.

314

Three days later (04.09.88), a massive national protest took place against Pinochet in Santiago. Field notes indicate that the political context increased the emotional intensity of this meeting. In this sequence members are referring to the political context of the neighborhood on the evening of the day in which Pinochet announced his candidacy. Members refer to the general ambience and the spontaneous protest activities in the neighborhood. Teresa is the animator.

> Antonio: I really liked it when I said ... because I was thinking of Tuesday, in the neighborhood ... *they woke up. We were all united, and we are going to try to get him out ... and we are going to get him out* {fiesta, public protest and solidarity}. I don't know if it will be good or bad. We could take the theme of Tuesday.
>
> Marisa: What happened on Tuesday was so beautiful ... *The pot banging ... the marches in the street ... I was impressed to see so many people in the neighborhoods ... the neighborhoods woke up* {informal solidarity}.
>
> (a) Teresa: *There were so many people outside on Tuesday ... some people came out who had never come out* {informal solidarity} ... We were so furious with the candidate. I saw so many people who never come out in the street. There were so many people.
>
> Jorge: *Nobody convened them ... nobody convened them* {informal solidarity}.
>
> (a) Teresa: And we are going to come together ... and we are going to come together. *And the people spontaneously came out of their houses and formed groups ... and they shouted and sang, and that happened in all of Chile. There were people who came out throughout all of Chile* {fiesta}... This child who was 15 years old who died ... I was getting off the bus ... and the people said that she did not know any other government outside of this government. That child did not know anything of freedom ... we are in this 15 years ... so much hunger, unemployment, violence ... And we are going to go back to democracy.
>
> Judith: I think that the children have hate ... my child ... she is 15 years old ... and she can't stand that gentleman (Pinochet) ...in spite of the fact that she is only 15 years old ... She hates him ... she always has words with my brother, because unfortunately he is a *pinochetista*, and she always fights with him. *That Tuesday (31.08.88), she was striking the pot when he came home ... and then the jokes started. And she said that she wanted to kill all of the* pinochetistas. She was angry. *And the little baby was striking the pot as well walking around all over the place* {public protest and counter-ideology}.
>
> [laughter]
>
> Jorge: If one looks at this in the light of the Gospel ... Pinochet is against the Kingdom [of God]. There is no other way to look at it, that is, I see the hand of God saying to the *pueblo* ... that's the way you have to go ... over there is freedom. It appears that that day ...

315

I saw it this way ... when I saw the people leaving [the
polling place] ... I said to myself ... God is listening
the cry of this *pueblo* ... and he had delayed less in
listening to the cry of this *pueblo* in 15 years than the
other people of Israel ... he delayed more than 100
years.

Esperanza (1):9

Again, the representation of the State inferred from the
political problems here is as a mechanism of physical repression and
ideology. Further, we may infer the representation of the legitimate
range of political practice for christians; this range is extended to
include massive street protest. In the middle of the sequence, Teresa
refers to the physical repression of the last fifteen years of
military rule as a regime of 'hunger, unemployment, and violence'.
Subsequently, Judith recounts the conflict of words between her
brother and her daughter which arises out of a profound contradiction
between ideology and counter-ideology. Four strategies are introduced
to deal with these political problems: spontaneous solidarity, *fiesta*,
public protest and counter-ideology.

Members refer to neighbors coming out onto their streets
spontaneously to be united against Pinochet. Jorge underscores that
this strategy of solidarity and the unity to which it gave rise was
'not convened'. This solidarity gave rise to an ambience of *fiesta*
where neighbors shouted and sang. Members recall a traditional
strategy of public protest where people come out of their homes into
their gardens and onto the street at a given time and bang a empty pot
with a large spoon or stick. This protest acknowledges that the
government bears the responsibility for the material plight of the
poor. In her final intervention, Judith recalls the heated discussion
between brother and daughter as those between a *pinochetista* and an
anti-pinochetista.

In the final intervention, Jorge introduces a biblico-religious
metaphor to grasp the religious significance of the political events
of the previous day. We should recall that Jorge is the member of
Esperanza with the greatest mastery over biblical and political
discourse. He is the one most capable of shifting the talk from the
level of narrative and personal experience to a conversation concerned
with more abstract or metaphorical meanings. Jorge introduces
abruptly the image of the Exodus which he extends metaphorically into

the political context under consideration. The recent political
history of Chile under the military regime is embedded in the ancient
history of the Exodus narrative which gives rise to a series of fluid
identifications between elements of these political and biblical
narratives.

Pinochet is associated with Pharaoh both of whom developed an
apparatus of surveillance and physical repression. Pharaoh was
against the plan of God <u>as</u> Pinochet is against the Kingdom of God.
The *pueblo* of Israel under Pharaoh <u>is associated with</u> the *pueblo* of
Chile under the military regime. The exile of Israel lasted one
hundred years <u>as</u> the exile of the Chile has lasted 15 years. God
listened to the cry of Israel under Pharaoh <u>as</u> God has listened to the
cry of Chile under Pinochet. God led Israel out of exile through the
desert to the promised land <u>as</u> God is leading Chile out of military
regime through the perils of a political transition to a great
democracy.

The biblical metaphor known as the Exodus arises out of a
political liberation theological code. It is of some importance to
note the way in which this metaphor gives rise to a "zero-sum"
analysis of the contemporary political context in terms of highly
oppositional forces, i.e., Pinochet vs the *pueblo* and the Pharaoh vs.
Israel.

In this sequence, the incidence and form of talk varies
according to gender. With respect to incidence, more women than men
intervene, but with respect to form, the women's political talk
consists of anecdotes and personal experience, but Jorge's political
talk exhibits a high degree of mastery as he extends the metaphors of
the Exodus and the Kingdom of God into political discourse.

Sequence Six
        highly marginalized, non-educational: Esperanza

In this meeting of Esperanza (2) (14.10.88), we have observed
that even though six weeks have passed since Esperanza (1) (01.09.88),
the Exodus narrative remains as the foundation of its religious
discourse. This religious discourse arises out of its political
liberation theological code. In this sequence, members discuss their

317

post-referendum experience. Teresa seeks to solicit the members'
experience of the referendum day, while Jorge seeks to introduce the
future political duties of all christians in political opposition.
This mild conflict, with respect to the objectives of the meeting, is
apparent in the exchanges between Teresa and Jorge. However, the
resolution of this conflict is less important than the need to
underscore the relation between the emerging political narrative and
the Exodus narrative in the post-referendum experience, an objective
appreciated by both Jorge and Teresa.

   (a) Teresa: I think that we could share this a little? The
         reading, where the Lord talks of the liberation of the
         pueblo of Israel, enslaved in Egypt and, apply it a
         little to the reality of the chilean *pueblo*, our *pueblo*.
         As it was commented on earlier, we have taken a small
         step toward the liberation of the *pueblo*, which the Lord
         has shown us. Now comes the other part. Now it is
         coming, and I hope what happened to Israel in their walk
         to liberation does not happen to us. As you know they
         took the wrong path many times and they had many
         problems. We hope that that this does not happen to us,
         to the christians of Chile, to all the *pueblo*. We cannot
         begin to doubt in the middle of our walk to liberation.
         Yesterday, while we were in the chapel, I saw christians
         doubting, and I think that there is where we have to give
         a little more emphasis. The Lord never doubted and he
         did not like christians who doubted.
Sergio: Fakers!
Jorge: Half-committed. Or we are committed christians going
         down the correct path, or we are wrong and I think that
         we are not wrong, the Lord is very clear. *He is showing*
         us the path, and he is giving us the tools, we have our
         faith. We are rich in that because we have the power of
         the Spirit of the Lord, who is with us, and they don't
         have it {counter-ideology}. And in spite of all of that
         we doubt. Yesterday there were some of our brothers, who
         were afraid, because they saw what Daniela mentioned, the
         repression, they said that the owners were firing
         [workers], and that probably they will have to do a work
         stoppage and we will loose a week's work, and that will
         not make us more poor or more rich, to lose the miserable
         work that we have now!! It will not make us better or
         worse, our situation will continue as it has been, bad,
         while we don't struggle to attain the total liberation,
         while we don't arrive at the full democracy. But the
         Lord makes biblical history. *God has made [history]*
         always with his people, God does not do this alone. The
         Lord picks his people, and with them he makes the history
         of that people, and I think that it is really clear that
         the Lord is making history with us, with the *pueblo*, with
         us, who are his people and we who are the protagonists in
         this moment ... how many signs of this are we living now?
         An overwhelming unity was accomplished in the election

318

and we gave them a real blow in the voting place.
Yesterday, Reinaldo said that with a pen we beat
Pinochet. And probably with a shovel, *without firing a
shot, we are going to beat Pinochet and we are going to
throw him out. But for that you have to have your head
screwed on straight and be on your own two feet* {counter-
ideology and public protest} ... sure, we are the
responsible ones. For example *in the community, many
times we set ourselves to rambling, for example, to tell
pretty stories, in the end, but there are moments for
sharing them and in other moments it is important to
speak about more important and pressing things* {counter-
ideology}. For example: What is going to happen in the
future? What do you think will happen now? How are we
going to face it?

(a) Teresa: Looking ahead.

Jorge: Right! Christians we have to project ourselves into
the future.

(a) Teresa: They have taught us that our meetings of community
is the sharing of our life from the previous week.

Jorge: Right.

(a) Teresa: I suppose that that is what we are sharing now,
right? Because as a group we didn't get together last
week, on Thursday we did not meet because we said that
there was not going to be a meeting, and that we were
even getting together here at the corner, you know, in
all of the activity that there was ... *We were in a
fiesta mood and not in a mood to be in a meeting*
{fiesta}. And on account of that, now, I made them
share: How they had felt and what they are feeling now.
I suppose that in the fears and in the doubts, and in
what we feel, what Jorge said is true, 'What is coming
now! How are we for what is coming now.'

Jorge: I think that it is the most important.

Sergio: *Even when the Jews walked through the desert, many
wanted to return, to go back, to the Pharaoh* {ideology},
because many men, many *chupamedias* (sycophants) had to
have been living well there, right? They had to have
been living well, in the time that the Jews were
prisoners.

Jorge: *No, they accommodated themselves the same as
(sycophants do) now* {ideology}.

Veronica: Right!

Jorge: When they lacked a little bread ... What happened?

Sergio: That they wanted to return. They said, 'No, we were
better off there with the others.'

Jorge: Right.

Sergio: The same as now.

(a) Teresa: It is said there, 'Who am I to go and speak to my
people?

Jorge: To go and speak to the Pharaoh.

(a) Teresa: Sure! To liberate his people. Who am I? That is
the question that we could ask of ourselves.

Esperanza (2):41-43

We can infer that the representation of the State is as a
mechanism of surveillance, ideology, and physical repression.

319

Further, a representation of legitimate political practice of committed christians in the post-referendum period underlies a considerable section of this sequence. We have drawn these inferences based on the influence of the Exodus narrative which constitutes the religious discourse of this BCC. With respect to the strategies introduced to deal with the military regime, it is important to recall that the political context of this sequence is the post-referendum period. The Exodus narrative can be divide into three periods.

	First Period	Second Period	Third Period
political discourse	military regime	post-referendum	democracy
biblical discourse	exile in Egypt	desert journey	promised land

For the post-referendum period, members introduce two strategies: counter-ideology and *fiesta*. Members are encouraged by Teresa, Jorge and Sergio to keep their 'heads screwed on straight and be on [their] own two feet'. Members are also encouraged to continue to talk about the victory since 'the spirit of the Lord' is with the counter-ideology of the opposition. Jorge and Sergio extend the metaphor of the desert experience of Israel from the Old Testament Book of Exodus into the post-referendum period. As some Israelites longed for the security of Egypt, Jorge and Sergio warn of a possible regression especially when the *pueblo* is faced with the difficulties of the political transition.

Of great interest in this sequence is the extensiveness of the metaphorical relation between political and biblical discourse. The 'zero-sum' quality of this biblical metaphor is quite thoroughgoing. The Godless ideology of the military regime is contrasted in the most severe terms with the God-filled counter-ideology of the chilean opposition to Pinochet. The 'zero-sum' analysis is presented together with a different hierarchy of value, i.e., those who possess the spirit of God. Further, a future reversal of fortune will be based on this biblical hierarchy. Thus, christians in opposition have the spirit of God and Pinochet and 'his chariots and charioteers' do not. The metaphorical relation between the political and the biblical is

quite extensive. God has chosen Israel <u>as</u> God has chosen the Chilean
opposition. Israel is the protagonist in the Exodus of Israel <u>as</u> the
chilean opposition is the protagonist in the defeat of Pinochet. In
the desert experience the *pueblo* of Israel doubted wisdom of the
Exodus <u>as</u> the *pueblo* of Chile is doubting the wisdom of the the defeat
of Pinochet in the post-referendum period.

In this BCC we see generally a even distribution of intervention
between men and women in political discourse.

4   General Discussion of Political Discourse

We shall now set out our conclusions with respect to political
discourse. Here we shall discuss the similarities and differences
among the BCCs with respect to political discourse. We will recall
that political discourse is limited to Quadrant II which concerns
macro collective, where members discuss national political problems
which they experience collectively as christian citizens.

In these conclusions, we shall set out initially a profile of
the BCC types in terms of degree of marginality and previous religious
socialization. Subsequently, in Section 5 we shall present three
points which are of interest (a) extended politico-biblical metaphors,
and (b) representations of the State.

4.1   Less marginalized, educational

Only in the meetings, **Justice (1)** and **(2)** and **John XXIII (1)** do
we find the incidence of political discourse to be greater than five
percent of the total talk. This somewhat higher incidence seems to
have been related to the proximity to national political events
described in the beginning of this chapter. We have found that the
modality of political discourse is related to the previous religious
socialization of the members, where the influence of the *Cursillo*
movement is particularly strong. *Cursillo* has these features:

>   (a)   it is based on the distinction between interiority
>   and exteriority

>   (b)   it is a religious discourse based on moral principles
>   rather than biblical metaphor

321

(c) it is a discourse arising out of a principle of
strong classification which gives rise to black and white
absolute distinctions: i.e, between religion and politics,
between ideology and religion, between good and evil,
between divine wisdom and earthly intelligence

Without any direct reference to the particular political events
which they faced or the problems to which these events gave rise,
members focus on the attitudinal crises to which political events give
rise. In Sequence One , a representation of the ideal christian
society arises out of the *Cursillo* modality of christianity as being
'above' and 'outside' all extremist political ideologies like
communism and fascism. In a highly analytical form, the central
problem under discussion is the experience of spiritual and cognitive
dissonance occasioned by political change, rather than the political
changes themselves. The only strategy adopted is to pray for an
attitude of spiritual calm which only God can give. In **Justice**,
political discourse has the following features.

(a) highly individualized theological code does not
include a representation of the State or any of its
dependent entities

(b) ideal christian social order based on divine wisdom

(c) extremist 'ideologies' are erroneous giving rise to a
christian politics as centrist

(d) as with other secondary discourses, *Cursillo* limits
political talk to individual attitudes toward politics or
to political moral principles without necessarily being
related to any specific political problem

(e) politics is a discourse subordinated in order to
display the *Cursillo* moral code

Realizations of political discourse do not bear much
significance to gender. As we have seen in other sequences from
Justice, Julia tends to exercise strong control over the discourse in
order to ensure the dominance of the *Cursillo* discourse. In these
BCCs, the OC code gives rise to political discourse in the meeting
only in the *Cursillo* BCC. Thus, unless the BCC is appropriated by a
specialized formal discourse within OC, like *Cursillo*, politics is not
introduced into the BCC.

4.2 Less marginalized, non-educational

In the less marginalized, non-educational BCCs we have found little or no evidence of political discourse. This absence is attributable to the specific discourse concentrations of these two BCCs. **Saint James** is concerned almost exclusively with internal chapel politics, and in the meetings of **Saint Michael** members are concerned with immediate charismatic religious experience in the meeting itself. As these BCCs have not been socialized into a specialized OC discourse applicable to politics, we find no political discourse. The near total absence of political discourse is a realization of the OC communicative practice.

4.3 Highly marginalized, educational

In these BCCs, only in **Lo Amor (1)** do we find a somewhat higher incidence of political discourse when compared with the other meetings of this BCC type. Members were responsive to a national political event which occurred the day before the meeting of **Lo Amor (1)**. In this meeting, we found a narrative sequence about events around a recent public protest. This sequence is 'similar' to the type of 'political diary' narrative which we saw in **Workers of God** and in **Esperanza**. The political talk is narrative generally.

By contrast, data on incidence suggests that **Solidarity** is unresponsive to national political events. In **Solidarity (1)** we have found a low incidence of political discourse, a feature which is also related to family catechism. Members discuss the efficacy of political participation in general, and tend to represent politics as one of many secular arenas in which Chilean christians ought to participate. Rather than analyzing the political context and their participation in it, members simply affirm political participation as a value without any specific reference to the national political context as such or to particular types of participation.

It is of great interest that the highly marginalized, educational BCCs do not give rise to metaphorical biblico-political meanings. It may be the case that previous religious socialization inculcates a stronger cognitive boundary between the political and the biblical than it does between the biblical and the domestic.

In **Lo Amor** where women speak almost exclusively, the form of the political talk is highly anecdotal. In **Solidarity**, the analysis of political events is limited generally to men. This was expected since in this BCC, women also had the highest level of no political preference at seventy-percent (see Introduction). Political talk in **Lo Amor** (OC) and in **Solidarity** (CL) appear to be realized according to the rules of the communicative practice found of family catechism.

4.4 Highly marginalized, non-educational

In these BCCs, political discourse dominates four of the six meetings. Earlier in this chapter we remarked that the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs were the most responsive to national politics and the problems which arise there. From the introduction we will recall that it is in these BCCs where we find the highest level of political preference. Events in the national political life are of much greater importance to the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs than to the other BCC types.

In **Workers of God**, nearly all members are women. And, we have found that the discourse is highly experiential and anecdotal. Thus, when taken together with the conclusions on highly marginalized, educational BCCs, we find that irrespective of previous religious socialization, highly marginalized women introduce anecdotal political discourse.

In **Esperanza** we have found not only the 'political diary' descriptions of member participation in public protests, but also another kind of talk whose form is highly evaluative, where members discuss the transcendent meaning of specific political events. This may be due to the mastery over religio-political discourse which some members show (especially Jorge and Teresa). While nearly all members engage in the political discussions, only Jorge demonstrates a mastery over the politico-biblical metaphors for political discourse.

All political discourse in this BCC rests on a high degree of extension of biblical metaphors into political discourse. The embedding of political in religious discourse rests on two condensed biblico-political metaphors, **Exodus** and **Kingdom of God**. These BCCs

324

present texts in the meetings which are created according to the rules of the PL code.

5   Discussion and Overall Conclusions

5.1   Extended Biblical Metaphors

We shall now consider in more detail these two biblico-political metaphors which function as the switch between the biblical and political categories. In political discourse, the incidence of biblico-political metaphor is a function of a high degree of marginality. No such metaphors are found in BCCs of low marginality. Further, no such metaphors arise in BCCs of high marginality where they had previous religious socialization. It may be the case that a socio-cultural orientation toward metaphoric biblico-political discourse may be disrupted by previous religious socialization. In that case, participants in family catechism may have been socialized into a principle of strong classification of discourses where biblico-political metaphor would be less likely to occur.

In the highly marginalized, non-educational BCC we have found several examples of the extension of biblical metaphors into political discourse. The biblical metaphors, Exodus and Kingdom of God, are metaphors of social change and the ideal christian society toward which all social change seems to be orientated. In the first case, the Exodus narrative is extended quite fluidly into the present political context especially with respect to temporal contexts. It is constituted by a nation, a process of liberation and God. The narrative is constituted by a discourse of domination, and a discourse of change. In Diagram 11.2 below we have outlined some of the most significant features of the Exodus narrative as they have been selected by the BCC, **Esperanza**. The metaphor was found in Sequences Five and Six.

Diagram 11.2

Exodus Metaphor in BCC Political Discourse

Israel	people in exile	Chile
(1) exile in Egypt	three stages	(1′) military regime
(2) wandering in wilderness		(2′) national referendum/ political transition
(3) promised land		(3′) democratic Chile
slavery to promote national interest	discourse of domination	national security State
Pharaoh	agents of domination	military regime
national liberation	discourse of change (counter-ideology)	Book of Exodus
Moses	agents of change	political opposition groups

Israel	God chooses his people	Chile
Israel	God leads his people through three stages	Chile
Pharaoh and his army	God punishes his enemies	Pinochet and the military

Whereas the Exodus metaphor is related to a discourse of social and political change, the Kingdom of God operates metaphorically in terms of three factors.

(a)   values: to celebrate the social vision of the 'ideal' State

(b)   strategies: to focus on christian strategies of political change

(c)   agents: metaphor is transformed into criteria to evaluate political practice with a view to controlling access to the christian afterlife according to which members judge the 'worthiness' of different political actors for the christian afterlife

We have seen the Kingdom of God metaphor operate in these three ways in the BCC, **Esperanza.** In Diagram 11.3 we have outlined the principal ways in which this metaphor is used in this BCC as the principle as a discourse of values and anti-values.

<u>Diagram 11.3</u>

<u>Kingdom of God Metaphor in BCC Political Discourse</u>

Kingdom of God		Anti-Kingdom
(a)		
democracy, peace, justice, love and brotherhood, truth	**Kingdom of God as an idealized future State based on christian values**	oppression, social inequality, violence, fear, falsehood
(b)		
fiesta, protest, solidarity, counter-ideology	**Kingdom of God as built through strategies of change**	surveillance, ideology and physical repression
(c)		
access to christian afterlife (positively evaluated)		no access to christian afterlife (negatively evaluated)
liberators, *pueblo*, opposition coalition, clandestine guerrillas	**Kingdom of God as a reward for correct political strategies**	oppressors

It is of interest to note that the political vision of **Esperanza** does not consist of precise policies. Rather, the articulation of this vision is realized through a rejection of the military regime, and an announcement of the fundamental values which <u>should</u> orientate a future democratic Chile.

Further, the differences in the interpretation of the Kingdom of God in **Esperanza** and the *Cursillo* BCC, **Justice**, merit some further comment. Based on its moral principles which constitute its religious discourse, **Justice** cannot reasonably condone violence. While in **Justice**, the Kingdom of God cannot be advanced through this means because it confuses political ideology with christian ideal, in **Esperanza**, those who engage in violence for the sake of the *pueblo* may be necessary for the advancement of the Kingdom of God. While **Justice** speaks from 'christianity as such', **Esperanza** speak as 'marginalized left christians in politics'. While **Justice** evaluates the legitimacy of the <u>means</u> to a political end, **Esperanza** concentrates on the <u>political end</u> to be achieved. Based on its fluid metaphorical

327

understandings of the Kingdom of God, **Esperanza** develop their own
political discourse.

Our evidence has made it clear that the metaphorical relation
between biblical discourse and political discourse cannot be reduced
to the extension of the biblical into the political. Rather, the
metaphorical relation consists of a mutual interpenetration of
biblical and political discourses which gives rise to condensed
biblico-political understandings. This 'two-way' relation between
biblical and political discourses in most evident in the discussions
concerning the Exodus. We shall examine in greater detail the
metaphorical extension of biblical texts in Chapter Thirteen on
religious discourse.

5.2 Representations of the State

We have found a representation of the State only among the
highly marginalized BCCs. Here, the State is represented
fundamentally as a policing apparatus. Political participation in the
last period of the military regime has brought the marginalized into
situations where they experience fear and consider themselves to be at
risk of physical injury. Thus, a considerable amount of political
talk in these BCCs is dedicated to the conflictive relation of the
marginalized with the ideological and repressive mechanisms of the
State. Further, it is only among the highly marginalized, non-
educational BCCs that the repressive mechanisms of the State are
subjected to evaluation.

5.3 Overall Conclusions

Since many of the BCC meetings occur within thirty days of
important events in Chilean political history (Table 11.1) we had
originally expected a wide range of political discourse across the
entire sample. This was not the case; political discourse is
introduced unevenly. We shall now set out the overall conclusions.

(1) No BCC introduces political discourse in terms of individual political mobility, i.e., political careerism (Quadrant I).

(2) In BCCs of low marginality, political discourse is introduced only where a specialized religious discourse constitutes its religious discourse, i.e. *Cursillo* in **Justice**. This political discourse is formal rather than informal, analytical rather anecdotal.

(3) In BCCs of high marginality, the incidence of political discourse is a function of previous religious socialization. Previous religious socialization eliminates macro collective political giving rise to a low incidence of political discourse similar to that of BCCs of low marginality.

(4) Only in BCCs of high marginality and no previous religious socialization, do we find macro collective discourse which considers the State. BCC members see their social and economic class as in conflict with the State and those interests which the State defends. In one non-educational BCC in the high marginality area, **Esperanza**, the animator's political preference may increase the incidence of political talk in Quadrant II.

(5) Irrespective of degree of marginality and previous religious socialization, no BCCs introduce the problems associated with local political organizations in their neighborhood (Quadrants III and IV).

In Part IV of the thesis which follows we will discuss the significance of the chapters on the secondary discourses.

NOTES for Chapter Eleven

[1]The requirement of social order through these three functions was met by State-run institutions. Our notions of ideology and repression bear similarity to those of Althusser. See Althusser 1971.

[2]In **Workers of God (2)**, Other members narrate their experience of the national referendum day, while understanding its importance and demonstrating their mastery of voting and 'queue hopping': Nancy (23), Elba (47-50), Maria Victoria (60-62), Lilian (63), Elena (64-65), Pilar (66-68). Other anecdotes refer to the relation with the police force which controlled the people both inside and outside the polling place: Cecilia (46-47), Lilian (50-53), Nancy and Pilar (54-55) Maria Victoria (56) and Elena (62-63). Only one member, Pilar speaks of her experience as a polling attendant (53); and Elena described how she was ordered by police to be a voting attendant (56-59).

Part IV

BCCs and their Religious Discourses

Chapter Twelve

Religious Discourse as the Focusing Discourse

Introduction

In Part III on the secondary discourses, we have presented
evidence of textual similarities and differences which arise in BCC
talk in terms of representations and strategies related to four arenas
of everyday practice. Here in the field of pedagogic practice of the
BCC, all the talk is informal everyday talk concerning different
formal and informal practices. In a BCC meeting, talk from other
contexts are incorporated selectively, a process whose rules, we
argue, arise from the religious discourse of a BCC. In Chapters Eight
to Eleven on secondary discourses, we discussed exemplary texts
produced by the eight BCCs, and we were able to categorize the texts
produced in the BCCs according to four distinct arenas of members'
practice: domestic, church, economic, and political. This process of
selective incorporation of discourses occurred not only at the micro
level of the BCC, but also at the macro level of the field of
production of theological discourse. We will recall from Chapter Four
how in the field of production of theological discourse concepts from
the social sciences and from a variety of informal everyday discourses
were incorporated to different degrees and with different emphases
into theological discourses.

Our evidence from Chapters Eight to Eleven showed initially that
BCCs differ in terms of the talk they introduce. Two levels of
difference were noted. Firstly, within each BCC meeting differences
were noted with respect to the relative incidence of each secondary
discourse. Secondly, differences were noted with respect to the
representations and strategies introduced in each secondary discourse.
We have signaled where those differences were likely to be related to
theological code, rather then to the pressing problems faced by BCC
members.

We have considered that the differences in incidence of
secondary discourses in a BCC may arise either out of the
classificatory principle of its dominant theological code or out of
some pressing problem which members confront, problems associated
frequently with their degree of marginality. However, our position is
that differences in the selection of the discourses as well as their
orientation of representations and strategies are attributable to
limits of relevance produced and regulated by the principle of
classification of the dominant theological code. We will now discuss
three popular religious discourse in our sample of BCCs in terms of
the theory of BCC pedagogic discourse.

1 Code Difference between Religious Discourses

"SD/SD"

We must introduce a case in which there is no religious
discourse and no relation of secondary to religious discourse, and
thus, no embedding. "SD/SD" refers to BCC discourse where a secondary
discourse predominates to a degree where religious discourse is
virtually absent. In this case, a single secondary discourse appears
to be self-regulating, providing its own regulation and realization
rules for the BCC meeting.

1.1 Types of Embeddedness

"SD/RD"

We have argued that BCC talk is ultimately grounded in and
regulated by a religious discourse whose rules are derived from the
theological code of a BCC. As we saw in the Chapter Two, the contour
of BCC talk may be represented diagrammatically as "SD/RD", where
secondary discourses are embedded in religious discourse. For
example, the rules for the realization of domestic talk in a BCC are
given by the religious discourse of a BCC which rests on its
theological code.

"RD/RD"

An embedding relation occurs in some BCCs where religious discourse is foregrounded consistently, where only features of the theological code themselves, rather than features of everyday life, constitute the actual surface talk. It is obvious that this type of talk would not have appeared in Chapters Eight through Eleven on the secondary discourses because of its distance from the context of everyday problems. Such talk is characterized by "RD/RD".[1] Here, the religious discourse is so to speak, "embedded in itself", giving rise to abstract discussions which demand a high level of formal mastery over the principles of religious discourse. This discourse, "RD/RD", gives rise to members' performance of more universal and formal meanings, at some distance from specific contexts to which they might refer. In this modality of religious discourse, we refer to religious talk about religious talk. Here there is little secondary discourse because for these BCCs religious discourse itself is that which is discussed, developed and personalized. Here the pedagogy concerns itself with deepening religious awareness. Within this discourse of religious awareness, we are discovered two forms. Within "RD/RD" we have found an <u>individual</u> form which focuses on the internal religious awareness of the individual, and a <u>group</u> form which focuses on the display of cooperative practices of individuals in groups. The individual form shall be written as "RD^I/RD", and the group form as "RD^G/RD".

Thus, we have BCCs apparently without religious discourse ("SD/SD") and we have BCCs without secondary discourses. We shall see that "RD^I/RD"and "RD^G/RD" are the forms that the OC code takes in the BCC, and "SD/RD" will refer to the embeddedness of liberation theological codes.

Our previous discussion has focused upon differences between religious discourses which we refer to as code modalities. Here we shall be discussing differences <u>within</u> code modalities, that is, in terms of its forms of realization.

2 Differences 'within' Religious Discourses: Forms of Their Realization

2.1 Level of Mastery and Register of Religious Discourse

In Chapter Five we identified the theological codes of each BCC in terms of the register of their religious discourse. Here and in Chapter Thirteen we shall fill in the content of the three registers of religious discourse: decontextualized, invocatory and metaphorical. We have been not only concerned with the content of the BCC talk, but also with the various forms of its realizations as given by level and social base in the analysis of secondary discourses. In the case of religious discourse, level and social base are not applicable as ways of distinguishing religious talk. This talk is the fundamental regulative discourse, and it is a matter of some importance to discuss the forms in which it can be realized. Here we shall turn to Bourdieu's distinction between symbolic and practical mastery. In our case, symbolic mastery[2] refers to the level of a speaker's competency from which might arise a discussion of the principles on which a religious discourse rests. This is in contrast to practical mastery.[3] In our case, practical mastery refers to the level of a speaker's competency from which talk arises in which the principles of religious discourse are assumed, are implicit, are rarely articulated, and the focus is upon the everyday experience of the faith often in narrative terms. "Individuals can achieve practical mastery of classificatory schemes which in no way implies formal mastery - i.e., conscious recognition and verbal expression - of the practices practically applied" (Bourdieu 1977a:88). For our purposes we shall refer to formal and practical mastery over religious discourse in BCC talk.

It can be seen from the exemplary sequences in the previous chapters that the discourses in the secondary discourse are all within practical mastery. There is no evidence of formal mastery which would involve an articulation of the principles underlying the various problems discussed. Here we shall be inquiring as to the forms of mastery over the religious discourse. It will be a matter of some interest to discuss the distribution of types of mastery across the BCCs.

No necessary relation exists between level of mastery and theological code. Theoretically, it is conceivable that in a BCC

meeting, we could find long sequences in which members display formal mastery over the rules of any of the three religious discourses. Nevertheless, we expect to find that religious talk which displays formal mastery over the rules of religious discourse itself, are associated with OC discourse. Whereas, we would expect that practical mastery over religious discourse is associated more frequently with the LT code. The question arises as to what formal mastery over LT might mean since it is an embedding discourse, and thus, does not tend to give rise to discussions of its own principles.

While it is clear that a decontextualized religious discourse as in the case of OC will create a potential for formal mastery, in the case of invocatory register, these distinctions do not apply because of the immediacy of the relation to God and the direct invocation of that relation through prayer and song. LT presents a problem as it is confined in the BCC to the metaphorical register between biblical narratives and everyday dilemmas and problems. In which case, this would seem to indicate practical mastery as the principles of LT are not articulated. However, we do not take this view. We consider that those who can select and introduce the appropriate metaphor and who can make the bridge to the everyday are regulating the embedding. And we shall consider this competence as evidence of formal mastery. Thus, formal mastery of OC and LT are based on different competences. In the case of OC, competence refers to the recognition, articulation and application of abstract moral principles, that is, a deductive competence. But in the case of LT, the competence is of a different order. The production of the metaphor becomes the principle from which derivations are made, and the extension of biblical narratives forms a bridge between those narratives and the realm of the everyday. Thus, a recontextualizing of the everyday through liberation theology takes place not through specially prepared pedagogic texts or through the articulation of its principles, but through the metaphorical competence of members. Displays of formal mastery over religious discourse are infrequent in most BCCs, while in some, long stretches of text are dedicated to its ritualized display, occasionally with great rhetorical flourish as in a Sunday sermon.

Our model permits us to offer a description of two crucial relations with respect to religious discourse: (a) relations 'between'

334

code modalities, and (b) differences 'within' code modalities in terms of level of mastery and register. We shall now proceed to a discussion of the religious discourses in the BCCs.

NOTES for Chapter Twelve

[1]Bernstein discusses this inversion of discourses in pedagogic contexts (1990c:185).

[2]In formal mastery, speakers inject into the discussion the principles of their relation to the object that they are discussing. In one intervention by a member of the BCC, **Esperanza**, the speaker says, 'I have been thinking about these questions recently.' By saying this, the speaker establishes some critical distance between the speaker and questions under discussion, and reflects both upon his relationship to the questions being discussed, and upon the speaker's principles of interpretation of the questions and the meaning of the answers. For those who exercise formal mastery, the universe of the undisputed is quite small (Bourdieu 1977a:2,15).

[3]In practical mastery, speaker remain unaware of the principles inherent in this point of view (although they may be orientated toward them implicitly). It is based on the continual decoding of the perceived according to the logic of inculcated schemes of perception and thought (habitus). The speaker with practical mastery of the principles of his thought will be ignorant of the true principle of the knowledge his practical mastery contains. For those who exercise practical mastery, the universe of the undisputed is extensive. In practical mastery, the principles of point of view do not attain the level of discourse, while not ceasing to be principles. In our case, it is important to recognize that schemes of perception, thought and appreciation are able to pass from practice to practice without going through discourse, a process by means of which the BCC member acquires the dominant rationale of his/her BCC. In the case of the BCC, members may speak only secondary discourses, yet the principles of dominant religious discourse in a BCC are transmitted and acquired practically (Bourdieu 1977a:2, 4, 15, 79, 87-88).

Chapter Thirteen

Religious Discourse in BCCs

Introduction

We shall present the exemplary sequences in such a way that the particular features of the religious discourse of each BCC may be foregrounded in terms of the language of description set out in Chapters Two and Twelve. As we shall see, the range of differences in discourse in the BCC sample outstrips the range of differences we had originally expected to find.

The discussion of each exemplary sequence will be concluded by a summary of the religious discourse in each BCC in terms of type of embedding and code modality, and in terms of level of mastery and register. We shall not be marking strategies in the exemplary sequences since religious discourse is the embedding discourse which shapes all levels of BCC talk. In our discussion of the exemplary sequences in some BCCs we shall indicate where a difference has been identified with respect to the social base of the religious discourse. We shall complete our analysis of each exemplary sequences with a presentation of the pedagogic intention of the animator. Finally, we shall offer some comment on the functions of each BCC.

1 Religious Discourse in BCCs of Low Marginality

1.1 Saint James

In the BCC, **Saint James**, the incidence of talk related to local chapel politics is high, a feature of its discourse which we set out in Chapter Nine on Church Discourse. The virtually exclusive attention to chapel affairs arises from a BCC discourse represented as "SD/SD". As such, in "SD/SD" there is no religious discourse. Moreover, we shall see that there is no embedding, and therefore, no pedagogic discourse.[1] In the following sequence from **Saint James (2)**, the animator, Daniel, discusses a political manoeuvre by the coordinators of the chapel council which threatens to disband *COMIN*, a BCC organizing committee. As chairperson of *COMIN*, the organization

336

is Daniel's *raison d'être* in the chapel coordinating committee as well
as his power base in local chapel politics. Daniel's position has
been endangered by a reorganization scheme put forward by the chapel
coordinators. Virtually the entire meeting is dedicated to the
analysis of this problem and strategies for its solution.

(a) Daniel: Sure, the slate was wiped clean ... and you can't
    complain either, the coordinators are in charge and all
    of the leaders of different activities in the chapel have
    to submit their resignation.
Paul: Same as Pinochet. Don't you see that they (chapel
    coordinators) are in that (taking control of the chapel),
    whether or not they say it ...
(a) Daniel: But, more than that, and this is what complicates
    our life ... they ask that each BCC have their
    representative in the chapel council ... good ... I mean
    the *COMIN* (BCC coordinating organization) is transferred
    there (to the council) as I understand it ... ... it is
    complicated especially when we don't know who the
    president of the council is.
Cristina: In the meetings, the President is the one who ...
(a) Daniel: But it is that they can elect themselves in any
    old way ... I mean we do not know which of the three is
    ... these are foolish things ... and they do not have any
    importance.
Cristina: A hair on the dog's tail.
(a) Daniel: But when they say that a representative from each
    BCC has to go to the council meeting, it seems like it is
    [not going to be a governing group but that it is] going
    to be an [adult] formation group. Fine! But later they
    give the explanation that there is no contact between the
    council and the BCCs. Then I ... excuse me, but I like
    my brothers and sisters a great deal ... but it is a
    question of my dignity [as *COMIN* director], it is one
    thing is to be stupid and another thing is to be more
    than stupid.
    :
    :
    That situation [in the chapel council meeting yesterday]
    was pretty uncomfortable, we were isolated in the
    reflection at the end, and there was some back and forth,
    and we had to say to someone (one of the coordinators) at
    the end, 'Calm down, please nobody is attacking you!'
Cristián: Each community ...
Paul: Each BCC will propose two names as representatives to
    the council meeting, and the council coordinators are
    going to pick one
(a) Daniel: In fact they said it this way, 'The BCC **Saint
    James** will send two or three names on a list so that the
    coordinators can pick one because all of the work of the
    council is of high confidence. They have the power to
    pick from the list.
Susana: So *COMIN* is [something from] the past?

(a) Daniel: It no longer exists from the point of view of the
        coordinators.
    Paul: But *COMIN* will continue to function every Sunday night,
        and the council only meets once a month.
        :
        :
(a) Daniel: We have the order to place our position at the
        disposition of the coordinators ...
    Paul: They (coordinators) said that all [leaders of chapel
        activities] had to resign ... that all had to put their
        jobs at the disposition of the council, of the
        coordinators ... Right we could be named again ... but it
        is the same as the president who says, 'Right, these are
        going to continue and these are going to leave.' They
        want to work with new people ...
  Tamara: Really democratic this thing .. look after 15 years
        [of dictatorship] you learn something, kid ...
        :
        :
(a) Daniel: ... in the place of doing a good action, I think
        that even though Paul thinks that I am exaggerating ...
        that this is not the road to go down ... And straight
        out, I think that this has not gone to the service of the
        christian, but to [law and] order ... to a dictatorship
        due to nepotism ... Yesterday I said, 'I place my [*COMIN*]
        position at the disposition of the coordinators' ... no
        problem ... but today, I insist, after asking for much
        advice, and looking at documents ... I think that in
        conscience that I had better not resign, not because I am
        a nepotist, but for two reasons: the council has
        misunderstood some advice of Armando [pastor] ... He
        never said that the coordinators must work with people of
        confidence ... it would cease to be a coordination of
        services. ... secondly, the council would disappear and
        become an administration ... in that case it would take a
        nepotistic line, as I see it, where a christian sense of
        things would not predominate, but rather "my club" the
        people of my party ... those who are friendly with me.
                                            Saint James (2):7-10

Code Modality

    We will recall for Chapter Nine that the modal orientation of
church discourse in **Saint James** is micro individual. This above
sequence appears to be a rehearsal of local chapel politics. This
sequence gives rise to the following question with respect to our
analysis: 'Is **Saint James** a pedagogic context?' In this case, the
talk is almost wholly concerned with chapel politics, and raises the
question as to whether we should consider the talk in this BCC as
pedagogic talk. We shall discuss this in the conclusion of the
chapter.

Since no religious discourse is identifiable in this BCC, we can put forward only negative arguments with respect to the identification of code modality. We do find that very strong classification is a regular feature of the discourse, it arises out of the virtual exclusion of other secondary discourses. A principle of very strong classification of discourse is associated with the OC code. Although the arguments based on the analysis of discourse within this BCC are negative, we shall see that the overwhelming argument that this BCC is OC stems from the fact that all members are active in a chapel which is OC.

In terms of the control over the discourse, we have found very strong framing over the discourse, where Daniel must interject himself into the meeting regularly in order to maintain the strength of the classification. In terms of the interaction, members punctuate Daniel's speech with short interventions which reinforce his the power of his analysis. Daniel's initiates the chapel talk, performs it more dramatically than the other members, and exercise control over the discourse. In this meeting, no challenge is mounted to Daniel's perception of the chapel as being 'in the midst of a power struggle'.

Form of Realization

In terms of form of realization, since no religious discourse is identifiable, the determination level of mastery and register of religious talk are not applicable (NA).

Summary of Discourse in Saint James

Code Modality
  (a) Social Base: individual
  (b) Type of Embedding: NA
  (c) Code Modality: NA
       - Classification: ++C
       - Framing of Discourse: ++F
       - Framing of Interaction: +F

Form of Realization
  (a) Level of Mastery: NA
  (b) Register: NA

Pedagogic Intention of the Animator

Data from an in-depth interview indicates that Daniel (Interview 09, 19.12.88), the animator of **Saint James**, sees his role as giving strong direction in the face of a lack of resolve of members of BCC and in the face of a lack of basic knowledge of the faith. His intention as set out in the interview in clearly pedagogic, which stands in marked contrast to the evidence which we have presented in this chapter with respect to his actual practice.

Daniel has low expectations of the members, "... at the end of the day, it may be a harsh to say it, but the Chilean who doesn't have someone holding his hand, won't make it" (9). And he betrays his strong animator-controlled pedagogy in terms of being 'highly directive', "My great defect is that I run the meeting too strongly ... but in general everybody gets to speak" (12).

At the same time, Daniel sees a lack of knowledge among the members as a good reason for being highly directive, "[What I like most about animation] is being able to teach, because one notices that the formation of the people is weak and incorrect many times ... and since I am in permanent contact with the documents of the church (Catholic social doctrine) - I have a little preparation - I notice the faults in knowledge" (6). Although we found that these topics are never introduced in the regular meetings, Daniel claims, "I like the social questions ... the question of justice in the workplace" (11).

General Function of the BCC

The function of this BCC is not pedagogic, but rather political. The BCC functions here as a source of legitimization for Daniel's career aspirations in the chapel, and as a site for alternative policy development in contrast to the chapel council, and as a site for the rehearsal of strategies of individual mobility in the local chapel.

1.2 Saint Michael

In this sequence from **Saint Michael (1)**, the animator, Ruth, engages in invocatory talk, and then she and two members discuss the themes of prayer and faith. The animator, as a member of the Catholic charismatic renewal, is the only participant with mastery over invocatory talk. After her first intervention of invocatory talk, a prolonged silence arises because no other member exercises any formal mastery over this register of religious talk. In the second segment, since the talk is decontextualized, only those members who exercise a degree of formal mastery over a discourse of religious awareness have the power to speak.

Segment One
(a) Ruth: Good Father, we are here before you. You said, 'If you are weak, come to me, and I will give you rest'. And here we are Lord, tired ... presenting before you all of our wounds. Help us, Father, to find you here because we are weak ... it is you, we praise you and we thank you and we bless you and we glorify you, because you are the power and the glory forever, Lord. All honor and praise is for you, Oh Lord. We want to rest in you, we want to give you everything, our lack of humility, our pride, our vanity, Lord, our egoism and our lack of forgiveness, our impatience ...

Saint Michael (1):11

[silence for 25 seconds]

Segment Two
(a) Ruth: I think that it is difficult to forgive, it is super difficult, but not impossible, because if one is in prayer and asks God to help oneself to forgive as he has forgiven so many times, with time it is accomplished. Because something happened to me and it was difficult for me to forgive but with the help of God I managed to forgive. When one begins to know Christ, one gets stronger because then you do not fear anything ... things can happen to you but you continue in prayer, and you get stronger. 'No Lord, they are not going to beat me, because you are with me,' you say. So you get stronger.

Fernando: Because I have problems I fall, but we can fall one, two or three times, and we know that we have a base of support, a strong arm to sustain us. One will not be trampled on. One can fall, be dragged along but one will never be stepped on, because the Lord does not let us suffer in extreme ways. He always arrives in the ultimate moment, he never let's us fall into the ultimate depths ...

:

:

341

(a) Ruth: With the sickness of Paula, I said to God in prayer
          that I was getting weaker, I mean, I felt weak. Why did
          that happen? Because I had given up a little bit my
          daily prayer. I used to pray three times and then I
          [began to] pray once because I didn't have time. I
          prayed to God, 'Give me a big message because I really
          can't take anymore.' He listened to me because the next
          day he solved all my problems for me.
Alejandro: But at the same time the same thing happened to the
          Lord ... when he said, 'Take this chalice away from me';
          in the garden of Gethsemane he said that. He knew that
          he was going to die and he was desperate ...[and he said]
          'If it is possible, take this chalice away from me, take
          this pain away from me.' sure, he gives himself to God's
          will, but he was also desperate because he was human.
:
:
Fernando: ... none of us here have had a life without big
          problems and ... sometimes we see them without solution,
          but next to Christ one feels them to be lighter, even
          though we have the same problems.
:
:
(a) Ruth: We are going to end the prayer now.
Fernando: Let's stand up.
                                        Saint Michael (1):18,20-21

Code Modality

In these segments, the social base of the discourse is
individual since concerns predominate about individual feeling about
the presence of God, and about the attitudes and behaviours which
distance the individual from God. The BCC celebrates the awareness
that God saves the individual from ultimate despair when faced with
overwhelming problems.

With respect to embedding, members engage in two types of BCC
talk: (a) in the first segment, invocatory talk, and (b) in the second
segment, a decontextualized religious talk about religious talk, both
of which we refer to as "RD^I/RD". The code modality of the discourse
does not give rise to everyday talk in the secondary discourses, and
is thus, strongly classified. Thus, we have identified the code as
the OC modality. In the religious discourse of the second sequence
animator and members attempt to write a 'divine pedagogy' by which God
teaches his people. Yet, this 'divine pedagogy' is set out in the
sequence only in relation to itself, which gives rise to our
designation of the type of embedding as "RD^I/RD".

In terms of animator control, Ruth does not solicit the everyday experience of the members on this occasion. Thus, she ensures that the religious talk is only about itself. It is revealing that in the final intervention of this sequence which ends the sacred episode, Ruth says, 'We are going to end the prayer now.' This reveals Ruth's perception of the sacred episode. She regulates the sacred episode both as a context for prayer, and as a context in which the interaction is restricted to the individual with God. Ruth solicits only rarely the participation of other members who do not enjoy the same mastery over the discourse as she does. Throughout the meetings, Ruth controls the discourse, especially when its register is invocatory.

Form of Realization

With respect to forms of realization, we must recall first that religious talk accounts for more than 60% of the total talk in each meeting of **Saint Michael**. With respect to register, **Saint Michael** we have included prayer and song as registers of religious talk because of their high incidence 'within' the sacred episode of the regular meeting. Table 5.3 on Incidence of Registers of Religious Discourse indicates a high incidence of invocatory talk which refers basically to singing and vocal prayer. In other BCCs, prayer and singing functions as punctuation for the opening and closure of the sacred episode. By contrast in **Saint Michael**, these two registers of religious discourse constitute a great part of the sacred episode itself. In the translation of these two segments we have attempted to include some of the flavour of the rhythm and rhetorical form of the original spanish.

In the first segment, a highly specialized charismatic prayer intervention in which only Ruth has any competency is followed by a 25 second silence which arises probably because no other BCC members exercise any mastery over this register. When speaking in this register, individuals cannot make reference to their talk. Thus, the determination of the level of mastery of religious talk in an invocatory register becomes difficult. This invocatory register of religious talk is immediate and self-actualizing. Yet, the level of mastery over invocatory religious talk should be considered as practical because there is no reference made to its principles. In

343

this register, the interaction as between God and the individual is located as it were, 'within the individual'.

In the second segment Ruth introduces a highly decontextualized religious discussion about the relationship between the themes of having individual problems, prayer and faith. Here, the register changes from invocatory to decontextualized with only one specific reference to everyday reality, one concerning the sickness of the animator's daughter.

Summary of Religious Discourse in Saint Michael

Code Modality
(a) Social Base: individual
(b) Type of Embedding: RD^{I}/RD
(c) Code: OC
    - Classification: ++C
    - Framing of Discourse: ++F
    - Framing of Interaction: ++F

Form of Realization
(a) Level of Mastery: practical
(b) Register: invocatory and
                                   decontextualized

Pedagogic Intention of the Animator

Interview 013 (10.12.88) indicates that Ruth of **Saint Michael** sees herself as a motivator of persons. "I like to give an incentive to the people ... that there be communication and that they feel like a family (1). That we live together like a community, that the problem of one person is the problem of all ... that we really feel like brothers and sisters (2)." And she recognizes that members are overly-dependent on her which leads her to strong animator control, "They think that I have to do everything, that I have to go to house to house to get them for the meeting (11)." Her aims with respect to the topic of the regular meetings remain vague, she claims, "They want to learn more about God, about what the word of God says (3)." Yet the knowledge she seeks to transmit is decontextualized and Ruth refers to the BCC meeting as a context, not only for the discussion of the topic of forgiveness, but where an individual(s) may experience

344

direct spiritual forgiveness by God. "[My favorite topic is]
forgiveness ... it is difficult. One does not forgive overnight, it
is a process in which one has to ask God because one says, 'No!'
Interiorly, one says, 'I am not going to forgive' (55)." This BCC is
a context for direct prayer and spiritual healing of the participants.

General Function of the BCC

The BCC has three pedagogic functions: (a) to develop in members
the expression of emotion through an invocatory register, (b) to
legitimize the individualized spiritual interpretation of
participants' experience, and (c) to inform members of and develop in
them this scheme of interpretation.

1.3 Justice

In the two short sequences below, Julia foregrounds the
underlying religious discourse of the *Cursillo* movement. We will
recall from Chapter Five on Pedagogic Practice that Julia functions as
the "high priestess" of the *Cursillo* religious discourse. Throughout
the meetings, she monitors members' talk in order to safeguard its
Cursillo orthodoxy by positioning herself both as the standard by
which legitimate religious discourse is defined, and as the regulator
of its forms of realization. The *Cursillo* discourse is constituted by
religious talk in a decontextualized register which rests upon an
extensive and flexible set of binary oppositions which members are
encouraged to use. Over three meetings of **Justice**, twenty-seven such
binary oppositions have been identified.[2] In the two short sequences
below, Julia foregrounds an "either/or" zero-sum moral universe which
we identify in her opposition of concepts like "rationalism vs. faith"
or "church vs. world". Curiously, the range of secondary discourses
in the BCC is wide, but we have found that secondary discourses are
often merely a context or a platform for the display of formalized
realizations of the *Cursillo* code.

The two short sequences which follow are taken from **Justice (3)**.
In the first one, Julia evaluates the talk of a guest participant,
Anna, in terms of her religious discourse. To do this, Julia injects

into the surface talk the principles of *Cursillo* religious discourse. Thus, in this sequence the principles of the religious discourse are foregrounded, and the discourse may be characterized as "RD^{I}/RD".

> Julia: You didn't feed yourself, you closed yourself in the world.
> Anna: Maybe I became very rational ...
> Julia: Pure rationalism does not help you ... because in the first place when we speak about God, we can only frame it inside of our rationalist personality. We cannot ... it is outside of our schemes ... We cannot because our language and our intellect does not provide us the means to reach and understand or even name God. God is located in a different form than our materialistic context in which we find ourselves ... our language and our intellectual capacity do not permit us to say anything about God.
> :
> :
> You begin to notice that in spite of how much you advance in your knowledge of the universe that surrounds you, you cannot gain access to God. By the road of knowledge we cannot see God. Because God is in a different dimension, so it is hard to look for God by pure rationalism.
>
> Justice (3):30

Code Modality

For the benefit of Anna, a guest participant who neither shared the previous religious socialization of the members nor is a member of *Cursillo*, Julia displays central principles of the religious discourse by referring to a set of binary oppositions.

> closed in the world vs. open to the divine
> rationalism vs. fideism
> natural vs. supernatural
> human language vs. divine language
> human intellect vs. divine intellect
> thinking vs. believing
> material vs. spiritual

[The religious discourse of *Cursillo* is constituted by the underlined concepts]

In this case of religious discourse the classification is very strong. The social base of the discourse is individual. The code is the OC modality.

Form of Realization

Julia exercises formal mastery over the religious discourse. The register of the talk in this sequence is obviously decontextualized.

In the second sequence, Inéz, in her role as animator, moves to close the sacred episode. But since Julia senses that the dominance of the *Cursillo* religious discourse has been threatened by Anna's resistance to Julia's thinking. Julia challenges Inéz' attempt to exercise control over the closure of the meeting. For Julia, the reinstatement of the power of *Cursillo* over Anna's talk is more important that an early and felicitous end to the sacred episode of the meeting. The animator controls the interaction as long as that control poses no interference to the dominance of the *Cursillo* religious discourse. To reinstate *Cursillo*, Julia delegitimizes Anna's talk publicly and reasserts her control over the discourse in the sacred episode. It is curious that from this point, the meeting of 14.04.89 continued for another forty minutes during which the animator was virtually silent.

In this second sequence, Julia debates with Anna over the responsibilities of young people in terms of their sexual behaviour. In the "either/or" discourse, Julia argues that the responsibility for any adolescent heterosexual encounter lies "absolutely" with the boy. Anna disagrees.

```
Julia:  The absolute responsibility has to be of the man.   In
        this aspect I am ...
Anna:   That opinion is not shared ...
Julia:  But let me ...
[a disorder about who may speak]
(a) Inéz:  I think that it would be convenient if we could
        bring the meeting to a close, and leave this theme for
        the next meeting.
Julia:  I think that we could not really finish here without
        giving some kind of answer to these concerns ... I think
        that the errors that we committed should not be passed
        down to the children ... and that the job we have is
        precisely to prevent our children from having to pass
        through the same problems that we had to go through.
Anna:   But how?
Julia:  Well!  Each one would have to ...
Anna:   No, no, no, no ... Tell me concretely!
Julia:  In the first place, in my case, I orientate my sexual
        education toward the boys, they must be conscious that
```

anything that happens to a girl is going to be their
absolute responsibility. Because a girl who likes a boy;
generally wants to make the boy feel good. I think that
that attitude of the girl is always to give to the boy
. . .

<div align="right">Justice (3):57</div>

Code Modality

The type of embedding is "RD^I/RD", which ensures that the
discourse is only related to itself. The *Cursillo* principles are
located almost exclusively in concept pairs which are highly
oppositional, i.e. "good vs. evil". This sequence is interesting not
so much for its making visible and describable the level of mastery,
or the register of the talk or the value of classification of the
discourse, as for its revealing the value of the framing of the
communicative practice. We will recall that very weak framing
conceals a form of alternative single-member control over discourse,
written as "--F". Thus, Julia exercises strict control over the
discourse, taken together with weak framing of the interactive
practice as exercised by Inéz.

Form of Realization

In **Justice**, the level of mastery with greatest legitimacy is
formal. The register of religious talk is decontextualized, where
members discuss, develop and personalize *Cursillo* principles. These
christian principles are displayed in talk in reference to highly
generalized everyday contexts or in reference to an idea called "daily
life".

<div align="center">

Summary of Religious Discourse in Justice

</div>

Code Modality
  (a) Social Base: individual
  (b) Type of Embedding: RD^I/RD
  (c) Code: OC
          - Classification: +C
          - Framing of Discourse: --F
          - Framing of Interaction: -F

Form of Realization
  (a) Level of Mastery: formal
  (b) Register: decontextualized

<div align="center">348</div>

Pedagogic Intention of the Animator

As animator of **Justice**, Inéz perceives herself as under
considerable pressure to perform as director and leader. We will
recall, that Inéz is 33 years-old and, although the most highly
educated, her age and lack of expertise in the *Cursillo* religious
discourse may account for her lack of control over the discourse. In
Interview 011 (13.12.88) she comments, "I feel that I am in charge of
the group, I mean, I think that they depend on me. If I slip up,
logically the BCC is going to slip up" (2). "The role of the animator
is to direct .... direct the topic of the conversation because
everything has to have a visible head, right?" (62).

Inéz remarks several times on the importance of the social
relations in the BCC, "... the principal thing is to build a spirit of
trust, that the people feel that they can trust you (46). The
animator has to be congenial (or likeable), right?" (49)

With respect to the selection of secondary discourse, Inéz
claims, "The big theme for me is the family, and the respect of a
husband for his wife" (65). Although as we have seen, Inéz exercises
little or no control over the discourse in the BCC.

General Function of the BCC

Here the BCC functions as a pedagogic context for the
development of a set of norms for moral reasoning (*Cursillo*) whose aim
is to change individual action outside the BCC. Christian life
consists of spiritual advancement toward a rigorous and individualized
moral code, and the BCC meeting is an exercise in a kind of moral re-
armament for the struggle of individual christian values against anti-
values.[3]

1.4 John XXIII

In **John XXIII**, talk with respect to the everyday activities in the local chapel predominate to such a degree that we shall refer to the type of embedding of its discourse as "SD/SD", where there is no religious discourse. Thus, in terms of its discourse, **John XXIII** resembles **Saint James**.

This sequence does not reveal any new evidence for the discourse type, "SD/SD", beyond that presented in reference to the BCC, **Saint James**. Of particular interest here is the discussion of the animator's role in the BCC. Animator and members discuss the role of the animator, explicitly rejecting any pedagogic function in the BCC meeting, and underscoring the animator's political function in the local chapel. In the case of **John XXIII** more than in the case of **Saint James**, the question arises for our research as to whether or not this BCC should be considered as a pedagogic context.

```
(a) Marta:  ... I said to them that I am the animator of the
      BCC because I have never been [the animator] and I was
      forever getting out of it.
Eduardo:  HHHMMM ...
(a) Marta:  What is the role of the animator here inside the
      BCC? ... in reality the role of the animator here, given
      the time that we have been together, we have opted for
      the process that in each house we meet in, that the hosts
      prepare the theme of the meeting ... so it is not the
      animator who is in charge of preparing the meeting.
Benjamín:  The meeting is prepared ... so the role of the
      animator is reduced to going to the council meeting, and
      to bring the information back from that, and from the
      COMIN (BCC coordinating committee).
Eduardo:  That is the meeting of COMIN.
Benjamín:  Right.
Eduardo:  Not the [chapel] council.
Benjamín:  No.
(a) Marta:  The council and the COMIN meeting.
Benjamín:  If we are all in the council meeting, it is not
      necessary for the animator to go.  Because one of us is
      there.
Eduardo:  The ideal is that he go.
(a) Marta:  The ideal is that he go so that he can sign.
Benjamín:  So the entire community will be there on Monday.
(a) Marta:  So we don't miss a community meeting on Monday.
      Great!  Right!  Because after the council meeting it is
      impossible to get together ...
      :
      :
(a) Marta:  I am thinking about something else.  That we change
      animator.  It is not that I am tired ... It is that next
```

monday we have the council and the only ones who do not
    go from the BCC are you [Tito and Irma], and why don't
    you become the animators and we could all meet there.
Guillermo: Everybody!
(a) Marta: Right. Because if we are all in the chapel
    council, then it means that you are the only ones who are
    not in the council meeting.
Eduardo: Aren't you the little devil.
(a) Marta: The Holy Spirit, my son. It is the truth ...
    because they kid me there in the chapel.
María: In the council meeting?
(a) Marta : What?
María: In the council meeting?
(a) Marta: In the council. Because with [my husband] Pato, we
    go to the meeting for the family pastoral committee ...we
    are obliged to go because we are the only ones. ...
Benjamín: The ...
(a) Marta: Right. We are the only ones in this, because there
    is nobody else in that pastoral [chapel service
    organization] ... one married couple per chapel ... so we
    are in the council for that ... We are in there for the
    pre-marriage catequesis [for engaged couples] ... and [I
    am in there] as the animator of the BCC ... so they
    started to make jokes.
María: Right, they said 'Here comes the family pastoral
    [committee], the pre-marriage course, and the animator of
    the BCC'.
Eduardo: Maybe it is because you are so heavy.

    [laughter]

(a) Marta: Listen, Tito, it wasn't because of that ... I said
    to them that I am the animator of the BCC because I have
    never been [an animator] and I was forever getting out of
    it.
Eduardo: HHHMMM ...

                                        John XXIII (2):23-24

     In the above sequence from **John XXIII**, members discuss
explicitly the animator's role in terms of local chapel politics.
More precisely, members discuss the animator not in terms of specific
pedagogic role in the BCC meeting, i.e., interactive or discursive,
but in terms of his/her administrative relation to chapel
organizations and in terms of voting on issues in the chapel council.
Members and animator reject specifically all pedagogic functions of
the animator, i.e., the exercise of control over the discourse or the
interaction. As the BCC moves the site of its meeting from house to
house, any organizational functions would devolve to the hosts of the
meeting.

Code Modality

As we saw through the Chapters Eight to Eleven on secondary discourses, the social base of the discourse is individual. Identification of code modality and type of embedding do not apply since no religious discourse has been identified. Yet, the strength of classification of the talk, i.e., the degree to which talk of local chapel politics is only about itself, indicates that this BCC is not at variance with the strong classification of the OC code modality.

Form of Realization

The identification of features of the form of realization of religious talk are difficult to determine since there is no religious discourse.

In conclusion, we consider that this BCC is strategy-planning group for participation in the governance in the local chapel so that members might exercise maximum control over regulating chapel policy. If all eight BCC members attend the chapel council as Marta proposes, they would constitute 40% of the voting council members. In one regular meeting, the agenda items of the chapel council meeting become the agenda items for the BCC meeting. The classification of the discourse is very strong, and as we saw here the value of the framing is weak since the animator has no role in the BCC meeting itself.

Summary of Religious Discourse in John XXIII

Code Modality	
(a) Social Base:	individual
(b) Type of Embedding:	NA
(c) Code:	NA
- Classification:	+C
- Framing of Discourse:	-F
- Framing of Interaction:	--F
Form of Realization	
(a) Level of Mastery:	NA
(b) Register:	NA

Pedagogic Intention of the Animator

In Interview 010 (12.12.88), the near total concentration on local chapel issues by the animator of **John XXIII** was clearly identifiable. We consider that Nancy has no pedagogic intention, but that the aim of the BCC meeting is strategy planning for the local chapel.

"I am a bit demanding, because when I go to a meeting, I like to take all of the notes and afterwards in the BCC I explain everything that happened in the chapel council, because an animator has to go to the chapel council meeting once a month (2). We have to analyze everything that is going to happen next year [in the chapel]" (3).

In specific reference to a 'topic' for the regular meeting, Marta recognizes the chapel as the central focus. "Look! the topic that we discuss most is the chapel, because we are always doing something there ... with the pastoral and María is working is the chapel as well ... that is the topic that is spoken of most (41). "Anyone who has a responsibility, we all have to help him, between us all we have to help him. María when she was one of the coordinators, she had a problem with the pre-marriage course, so we jumped in to help her with that" (41).

General Function of the BCC

This BCC is not a pedagogic context but is a context for the development of effective strategies for regulating individual participation in the chapel, and for the development of voting strategies in the chapel coordinating council. The BCC provides the legitimizing cover for members, permitting more members of **John XXIII** to operate as a regulatory body with significant voting power in the chapel.

2 Religious Discourse in BCCs of High Marginality

We shall now consider religious discourse in the case of BCCs of high marginality. In the case of BCCs of high marginality and no previous religious socialization, we find that nearly all talk is

everyday talk and the religious discourse which regulates this
secondary discourse is by and large implicit.[4] In the sample as a
whole, only the BCCs of high marginality give rise to a type of
embedding characterized as "SD/RD".

2.1   Workers of God

Table 5.3 on the Incidence of Religious Discourse indicates that
the incidence is low in **Workers of God**. Since the discourse is
"SD/RD", this low incidence does not mean that religious discourse is
not regulating the talk in the BCC. As we have discussed already,
religious discourse may give rise to explicit religious talk or it may
operate implicitly as rules which regulate the exclusion, selective
inclusion and refocusing of everyday talk. We consider that the
actual subject of the following sequence is in itself an exemplary
representation of the type of embedding in **Workers of God**. Here
members describe an upcoming festival which will celebrate and renew
the spirit of the opposition coalition victory over Pinochet in the
referendum of October 1989. In the run-up to that National
Referendum, the pro-democracy campaign slogan of the anti-Pinochet
coalition was 'La Alegría Ya Viene' (tr.: 'Joy is around the corner').
The object which will be the focus of the procession is of particular
significance for this discussion.

        (a) Nancy: We are going to cover everything from the pastoral
             meeting from Sunday.
        María Victoria: But let me finish what I was saying.
        (a) Nancy: Sure, OK.
        María Victoria: The day of the missioning, which will be in
             the hands of Don Juan Francisco Fresno (Cardinal of
             Santiago), he may make it the October 30th instead of
             November since it (the date) will be more festive.
        Angel: November?
        María Victoria: November ... the 5th of October already passed
             and it will be a big party ... it will not be the kind of
             thing where we come out of there with our heads hanging
             ... we should come out of there with spirit ... a kind of
             theme was given to us ... but it can be changed ...
             'María nos mantiene en la alegría' ('Mary keeps us in the
             post-plebescite happiness': it is a variation on the
             anti-Pinochet political campaign, La Alegría Ya Viene],
             it is a little bit in the spirit of the 'NO', and that
             the altar of the Virgin would be with a letter "N" ...
             and take it all over the place.
        Elena: With a tire???

María Victoria: But a small tire so that the people would be
        aware that we are in that spirit (a spirit of protest).
(a) Nancy: The [tear gas] bombs are going to be thrown
        immediately.
[laughter]
María Victoria: No, because we are going to be carrying the
        Virgin Mary on top of that.

                                        Workers of God (2):24-25

    In this intervention, Isabel describes the upcoming festival
sponsored by a number of Catholic and political organizations in the
local borough.   BCC members blend politics and religion, and thus,
politicize the christian faith.   One such legitimized blend is the
politico-religious metaphor described in the above sequence.   Isabel
describes a borough-wide celebration which will blend the religious
and the political in two ways: (a) in terms of its central slogan, and
(b) in terms of bringing certain objects into a specialized spatial
relation.

    In terms of the slogan, the name of Mary, the Mother of Jesus,
is blended with the political slogan of the anti-Pinochet coalition to
create a third condensed politico-religious slogan.   This slogan in an
illustration of metaphorical blending of politics and religion, not
primarily in terms of discourse, but in terms of objects and their
relation, which arises out of weak classification.

   Political Slogan   **Mary identified with political slogan**

   La Alegría Ya Viene   *María Nos Mantiene en la Alegría*

    In terms of the objects and their specialized spatial relation,
the borough-wide celebration will include a procession behind an
object which brings into relation significant objects: (i) a statue of
Mary, (ii) the letter "N" which is a symbol of the anti-Pinochet
victory in the Plebescite, (iii) a used tire is burned in street-
corner barricades during anti-Pinochet protests.   This single
metaphorical object rests upon the actual physical embedding of
objects which, outside this specialized spatial relation, could never
have the meaning they do.

(i)	Statue of Mary

(ii)	'NO' Placard

(iii)	Used Tire

In terms of discourse, the religious and the political are
condensed to form a single religio-political slogan (discourse), and
to form a single religio-political icon becomes the focal object of
the procession (objects in space).

Code Modality

The social base of the discourse is collective. The type of
embedding is "SD/RD" in terms of the discourse and in terms of the
processional object. The code is the PL modality, where political
discourse is embedded in religious discourse.

In terms of the framing, we notice that at the beginning of the
sequence, control has to be negotiated between María Victoria and
Nancy, the animator. Nancy wants to cover some relevant matters from
the chapel council meeting which will affect the BCC, but María
Victoria interrupts Nancy in order to reassert control over the talk
and to underscore the power of her discourse. In Chapter Five on
Pedagogic Practice (Section 4.2) we characterized the value of framing
of the discourse in **Workers of God** as "-F*", which indicates a
relation of competition between the animator and at least one member
for control over the discourse. The sequence here is a clear example
of this competition.

Form of Realization

The religious talk in **Workers of God** is metaphorical. It is of
some interest that there is little explanation of the religious
meaning of either slogan or object. Field notes indicate that there
was immediate recognition and approval of the symbol by the members.
The level of mastery is practical since we do not observe the actual
discussion of the principles of religious discourse.

Code Modality
    (a) Social Base: Collective
    (b) Type of Embedding: SD/RD
    (c) Code: PL
          – Classification: ––C
          – Framing of Discourse: –F*
          – Framing of Interaction: ––F

Form of Realization
    (a) Level of Mastery: practical
    (b) Register: metaphorical

Pedagogic Intention of the Animator

Nancy of **Workers of God** comments on a series of features of the
pedagogic intention in Interview 012 (15.12.88). With respect to the
atmosphere in the BCC, "we form a family because for a start, we talk
about all of the problems that there might among us" (11). Also,
Nancy sees her pedagogic role as not excluding the resolution of
domestic conflicts which are brought into the BCC meeting. "This
woman and her niece (both members of this BCC) could not even speak to
each other, they even fought in the street ... and through the BCC we
did not let either of them go. One of them would say, 'I'm not going
because that one is going.' We want people to get along in the BCC"
(4).

Nancy alludes the internal hierarchy in the BCC meeting,
especially to the animator-member relation. "We are all equal in the
BCC. They do not treat Marcos (sub-animator) or myself differently.
There are other BCCs where the animator is, how shall I say it, like
the priest. You have to have maximum respect for them, they are like
something apart" (9).

Nancy intends to have a certain flexibility with respect to her
plans for the topic for the BCC meeting. "If there is a topic that
comes up beyond the topic which we have prepared, we leave our topic
aside, and work on the other, you see? (8) That is the work of the
animator, especially to see those special moments when, can you
imagine, we arrive with the meeting prepared and, I mean, we dedicate
ourselves to chatting or laughing or talking about anything (41) ... "

General Function of the BCC

Here the BCC has several <u>pedagogic</u> functions: (a) where members are guided in the development of self-expression by encouraging narrative talk, (b) where members are encouraged to develop biblical metaphorical understandings of their social reality with special attention to its macro-political features.

2.2 Esperanza

In order to illustrate the type of religious discourse in the PL BCC **Esperanza**, we shall present an extensive exemplary sequence from **Esperanza (3)** (30.03.89). The second episode of **Esperanza (3)** is divided into two different segments.

In the first segment which we have not included here, the animator used a pedagogic text about the resurrection of Jesus, which coincides with the celebration of **Easter**. This text, *Jesús de Nazaret*,[5] which was subtitled "fifty biblical themes for BCCs" is a text in the OC code modality.[6] The pedagogic text introduced into this meeting produces a displacement of the PL code modality of **Esperanza**. Since **Esperanza (3)** took place ten days after **Easter**, the theme of 'faith in the Resurrection' was introduced. How can this displacement of the PL code be identified? First, the two questions posed by the pedagogic text strengthen the classification of discourse by insulating religious discourse from secondary discourses, giving rise to religious talk about religious talk, which we might characterize as "RD$^\text{I}$/RD". Secondly, we may also identify the displacement of PL code in that the social base of the religious discourse shifts from collective to individual. Thirdly, the expectation to "complete the lesson" set out in the pedagogic text, increases animator control of the discourse and interaction. In the initial section of the sacred episode of the meeting, we do not have so much a free flowing discussion as a succession of individuals answering two OC questions about religious awareness as set out in the pedagogic text. Since the register is decontextualized, members respond that they believe, and then they introduce a short narrative

358

of a personal experience with respect to a deceased family member.
Field notes indicate that their responses are directed to the animator
who has been positioned by the pedagogic text as the question poser
who receives the answers. Thus, the strength of the framing increases
in this section of the meeting.

In this sequence we have included the animator's announcement of
the dedication of the BCC meeting which is set out early in the
meeting (first intervention). In this intervention Teresa announces
that the BCC shall commemorate the death of the three Vergara
brothers, killed during protest activity and in anti-government
clandestine violence. After this intervention members talk for
approximately 45 minutes within the communicative and interactive
practices as set out in the pedagogic text. Then, we move to this
sequence.

(a) Teresa: In this meeting of today we are going to talk
        about and we are going to have present the Vergara
        brothers who yesterday ... we are celebrating four years
        since their killing, since they killed them ... and today
        we commemorate four years since the four persons were
        decapitated. They are, one supposes, resurrected with
        Christ, so our meeting today, our prayer will also be for
        them ... that their death might not have been in vain ...
        and that the Lord might have forgiven their sins, and not
        only theirs but the sins of all of the martyrs that we
        have in our *pueblo*.

                                                    Esperanza (3):9

        :
        :

Daniela: Many of these persons and many more have fallen (*los
        caidos*: those who have died in protests and insurgent
        guerrilla activities) also and they are not believers.
        Do you believe that they (non-believers) also will rise
        from the dead with Christ?
Several: Yes, they with even more reason because they have
        been martyrs.
Daniela: They say that they are not believers but they are
        more believers than we are because they are capable of
        giving their lives for us, because they struggle for us,
        because their lives do not mean anything to them ... and
        so a young man said to me one time: 'That doesn't
        interest me. I give my life for my ideal, for the
        struggle, so that you might live, I give it that way ...
        it does not matter.'
Moira: What happened with Jorge Pino, because he saved a life,
        he was killed.
Jorge: And when a person believes in the Lord and believes in
        Christ, there (at death) all does not end, there we jump
        from one stage to another.

Sergio: There life begins.

Jorge: And that is faith in the Lord. And that is the
        Resurrection, and that is the glory of the Lord, then,
        there are many people who sometimes have more faith in
        the resurrection than we ourselves, who call ourselves
        christians. They believe more in the resurrection than
        we ourselves.

Sergio: Even though they have not gone to mass, and even
        though they might not even believe in the bible.

Jorge: They have no fear of losing their lives in defending
        what really is justice, freedom ...

Moira: Human rights!!

Jorge: Our violated rights!!

(a) Teresa: How beautiful the answer that you gave. Your
        answer is beautiful; it is an answer which shows that one
        has to have walked a bit or has to have been around a bit
        in order to discover this, because if we were with other
        people who might not have the picture clear, they might
        have said, 'No [right to a christian resurrection]!
        Because they are extremists.'

Daniela: Or they do not have a right to the resurrection.

(a) Teresa: Or they are communists, you know?

Sergio: What happens when a person struggles for his (sic)
        ideal, he says, 'I don't have anything to do with Christ,
        but I struggle for my ideal.' But you say to him, 'Go to
        church and do it in the name of the Lord.' Some say, 'it
        does not interest me, Christ does not interest me,
        because I have nothing to do with Christ, I am an
        atheist,' some say.

Sergio: But they never say it that way, in such a [way] ...
        No! Never!

(a) Teresa: All those who struggle for the common good of
        others, I can tell you that they are better evangelizers
        than anybody, because they are disposed to struggle for
        others, and it is a gesture of love, it is what Christ
        did, he came to announce the Kingdom and to give his life
        for us, and if Christ came to do the same, to open our
        eyes, to say to us, 'Do not let yourselves be trampled
        on, and help the people.' And they killed him as a
        revolutionary.

Sergio: Right!

Jorge: Sometimes we christians we dedicate ourselves to
        participate in meetings of community, we need to look at
        ourselves a little bit in those people, and we need to
        look a little bit in the churches that are not ours, in
        the protestant ones, in those who struggle in another
        way, in those who struggle socially and politically.
        Because there are apostles everywhere, not only in the
        church ... Christ came so that we might be capable of
        doing what he wanted, and struggle and give their life
        for the kingdom of God, for the kingdom of justice, for a
        kingdom of peace, for a kingdom of brotherhood, for a
        kingdom of love.

                            Esperanza (3):32-34

Code Modality

In this sequence the code modality imposed initially by the animator through the pedagogic text is changed by a member (Daniela), giving rise to a weakening of the classification of discourse and a weakening of the framing of the communicative and interactive practices. Here Daniela "crosses" the boundary around the discourse set down by the pedagogic text.[7] This member asks whether political militants killed in clandestine insurgency activities for the sake of the `chilean *pueblo*' have a right to a christian resurrection. Then members begin to explore the limits of legitimate political activity. For **Esperanza**, that political activity which may be characterized as `christian' and `on behalf of the *pueblo*' is legitimized by their PL discourse. The code modality has shifted from OC modality (**+C/+F**) as set out in the Arroyo pedagogic text to a PL code (**-C/-F**). The type of embedding has changed also from "RD$^{\text{I}}$/RD" to "SD/RD".

Form of Realization

With respect to level of mastery, Teresa and Jorge continue to exercise formal mastery, a discussion of the principles of the discourse. In this sequence, Jorge tries to establish rules for the legitimate interpretation for the political significance of Christ. Other members are able to exercise a practical mastery over the religious discourse as they intervene in accordance with the PL code. With respect to register, the talk is metaphorical.

The sequence is a discussion where members consider the limits of legitimate strategies of political change. Does clandestine guerrilla activity fall within the range of orthodox strategies of political change? Jesus Christ is a root metaphor which is extended with great flexibility within this politico-religious discussion to establish that range of strategies.

Of considerable interest in terms of its implications for religious discourse is the discussion of legitimacy of clandestine struggle and access of clandestine militants to christian salvation. The `limit case' which is introduced by a member concerns whether or not people committed to the guerrilla struggle of the *pueblo* has access to the christian afterlife, that is, to the Kingdom of God.

Members consider that when militants die in clandestine struggle for the sake of the *pueblo*, even though they are atheists, they may be considered 'martyrs'. BCC members have decided that they have access to the christian afterlife, that is, they may 'enter the Kingdom of God.'

Thus, the range of legitimate christian strategies of political change is extended to include those engaged in clandestine struggle through the metaphor of Christ. Daniela told a friend in clandestine activities to '... go to church and do it in the name of the Lord.' For the members of this BCC, self-sacrifice in clandestine struggle in itself merits the label, 'martyr', and is considered as sufficient grounds to gain access to the christian afterlife. Christ, who was 'killed as a revolutionary' for the sake of the *pueblo*, has been transformed into a metaphorical figure who is extended freely into the political sphere to give ultimate religious meaning to strategies of clandestine struggle for political change.

Here we see the two-directional feature of biblical metaphor. First, an attribute is given to Jesus Christ from the current political context, and secondly, Jesus Christ, with this new attribute, is blended with the current political context. Here, Jesus Christ is first given the attribute 'revolutionary' because he is seen to have opposed the forces of oppression of his time, that is, Christ is being interpreted according to the Chilean political context. We may represent this inversion in the following way, where political discourse is embedded in religious discourse.

$$\frac{RD}{PD} = \frac{Jesus\ Christ}{revolutionary}$$

Subsequently, the 'revolutionary Christ' is incorporated once again in the religious discourse of the BCC, and serves as the legitimizing metaphor which justifies clandestine struggle in Chile during the military regime, and elevates the clandestine struggle to the level of 'martyrdom'.

$$\frac{PD}{RD} = \frac{clandestine\ struggle}{Jesus\ Christ}$$

In this sequence, members celebrate the efficacy of the witness of these political 'martyrs' and 'apostles', talk which is a realization of the dominant religious discourse of **Esperanza**, and which arises out of a PL code.

Summary of Religious Discourse of Esperanza

Code Modality
(a) Social Base:		collective
(b) Type of Embedding:		SD/RD
(c) Code:		PL
	- Classification:	-C
	- Framing of Discourse:	-F*
	- Framing of Interaction:	--F

Form of Realization
(a) Level of Mastery:	formal/practical
(b) Register:	metaphorical

Pedagogic Intention of the Animator

Like Nancy of **Workers of God**, Teresa of **Esperanza** has a multi-faceted pedagogic intention (Interview 014, 11.12.88). First, Teresa alludes to the atmosphere she wishes to create, "I feel like the meeting is receiving my friends as they come in to the house ... a receiving my family ... and we share a little, that's how I like it" (43). Teresa considers that she has the basic competences to be animator, "God has given me the ability to get along with people ... so I can give the little that I have learned to other people (1). I have noticed that I am good at motivating the people, and the people of my BCC get talking right away" (39).

Teresa is concerned not so much with her control over the discourse as with her control over the interaction and participation. "Many times in the BCC you run into people who do not know how to express themselves ... there are also people who know how to speak ... but there are other people who are really limited in their speech, and so you have to encourage those people ... and slowly they begin to speak" (6).

Teresa sees the distinct character of the BCC as a pedagogic space in terms of interaction and discourse. She recognizes that the BCC is not unguided conversation, "I do not want people who are good for parties (or having a good time together) ... I want people who want to grow in the faith, because what would my role be if I didn't motivate people to grow in the faith? I am not going to be a sponsor for a good time, because a BCC is not a sports club or a neighborhood mothers' club (42)." Teresa seeks to bring together the events of the previous week and the faith of the participants in a guided way. "We like to take things that happened during the week ... this thursday to the other thursday ... we revise it and we look it over ... and we illuminate it with the word of God (48). We have shared about life, and I have noticed that when this starts, the personal problems start coming out ... In the meeting there is a kind of 'getting things off your chest' when we share things that happened in the week" (56).

General Function of the BCC

Esperanza has two principal pedagogic functions: (a) to promote self-expression and warm social relations, and (b) to develop in members the ability to extend biblical images and narratives metaphorically into spheres of daily life, especially the political arena. Also, the BCC provides a space for the exchange of chapel information.

2.3 Solidarity

The incidence of explicit realizations of religious discourse in **Solidarity** is generally higher than in the highly marginalized, non-educational BCCs. The incidence is even more a feature of the talk which may have arisen out of the stabilizing influence of previous religious socialization in the family catechism program. The religious discourse which arises in biblical language functions to generate a positive identity for marginalized women. The sequence constructs a positive identity for the domestic identity of marginalized women through biblical metaphor. This sequence arose out of a Francisca's experience; she is undergoing stress because of her

pregnancy. She is expecting twins. In this sequence, Joaquín is the animator.

> Rosa: The most beautiful part is the way they (Mary and Joseph) received the joy (news of the birth of Jesus) ... both ...
> Roberto: If we pick this up a little bit, there were many young girls who were more beautiful and they thought that he (Jesus) would be born there. But she (Mary) was a poor countrygirl.
> Augusto: She was a humble and simple ... she was always the same simple woman, the same humble woman, she was a long suffering woman, a woman of the *pueblo*.
>
> :
>
> :
>
> Augusto: About Mary, I would say that in all poor sectors ... all poor sectors are full of Marías, in terms of the suffering and that they have to struggle so much for their children as Mary struggled for Jesus. I think that ... I think, that María is more among the poor than among the ... 'beyond the Plaza Italia' people, because up there they do not suffer as much as the women of our *pueblo* ... because here we find many Marías, here in the poor sectors. Up there [in the less marginalized areas], everything easy, comfortable, and they cover things up. Here the women of the *población* suffer, cry and feel pain for their children, for that reason I feel that María is more among the poor than among those who have.
> (a) Joaquín: What do you think?
> Yolanda: I would like to know for example, what Margarita she thinks of her becoming a mother? [Margarita is expecting a baby]
> Francisca: The worst thing is that there are going to be twins?
> (a) Joaquín: Maybe you are feeling negative about it now, and somewhere the Lord says that we have to die in order to rise to new life. It could be that now she is not well physically or psychologically but ... down the road when the suffering you have now is past ... you will rise again ... you will rise to see your children ... so this will be like a resurrection ... I mean that we have to struggle in order to bear that fruit that will be coming ... we will share the suffering and we will share the joy as well.
> Francisca: And what happiness we are going to have ...
> Howard [Francisca's husband]: God tests us. Because children are a gift from God ...they are a test of God, and I mean ... well .. until ... well ... he wants to see how long we will last, but we have to endure.
>
> Solidarity (3):6-9

In this sequence, members discuss their own material plight in terms of the biblical metaphor of the Holy Family. This biblical metaphor is static in the sense that it is entirely descriptive,

celebrating the similarity of the material plight of the Holy Family and the marginalized families. Through this metaphor members attribute positive religious meaning to the otherwise negative experience of their own material plight without discussing strategies of change. Static biblical metaphors do not give rise to strategies of change, although in the BCC **Solidarity**, this metaphor may be associated with their strategies of mutual economic support at the micro level. In this biblico-domestic metaphor, the identities of members of the Holy Family (Mary, Joseph and Jesus) are brought into specialized relation with the identities of members of the marginalized family.

mother	father	children
Mary	Joseph	Jesus
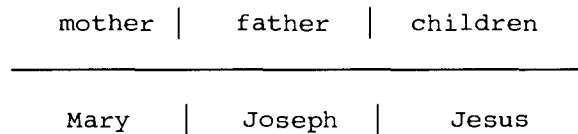
The embedding of domestic in core biblical identities revivifies the identities of marginalized women, investing them with positive value. Thus, the otherwise negatively valued features of marginality are suspended and the BCC members are identified with the Holy Family in terms of their domestic identities. Of great interest is the set of attributes which identify Mary with marginalized mothers. Through the metaphor of Mary, negative attributes are inverted to become positive one because Mary's own life had those attributes. It is a matter of interest that the BCC members consider that women of the middle and upper classes (women who live beyond the *Plaza Italia*) do not share these attributes with Mary; their lives are regarded by the BCC as "easy" and "comfortable". In Diagram 13.1, 'Mary's religious attributes are listed in the center column. The "+" indicates that a particular attribute is associated with the rather coarse class divisions in the above intervention, either middle class women above the *Plaza Italia* or marginalized women of the *pueblo*. The "-" sign signals the absence of an attribute.

366

Diagram 13.1

Domestic Metaphor in the BCC Solidarity

Women of the "*Plaza Italia pa'rriba*"	Mary	Women of the *pueblo*
−	"woman of the *pueblo*"	+
−	"not the most beautiful"	+
−	"countrygirl"	+
−	"simple"	+
+	"easy and comfortable"	−
−	"humble/poor"	+
−	"long suffering"	+
−	"struggle for children"	+
−	"Cry and feel pain for children"	+
−	future joy	+
−	Mary: her faith was tested	+

Code Modality

The social base of the talk is collective, i.e., 'we' as marginalized women. The type of embedding is "SD/RD", where domestic discourse is embedded in the biblical. The code is the CL modality, where religious discourse is fused with a non-political discourse, in this case, the domestic context. Core biblical personalities are fused with the domestic life of the marginalized. Here, specific attributes of biblical characters are extended metaphorically into the domestic context of BCC members. This code modality does not necessarily give rise to a discourse of change, as we might expect from PL code. Rather, in the case of CL code, we find a discourse of cultural compensation where fundamental biblical identities are associated metaphorically with the identities of the marginalized.

Form of Realization

The type of mastery exercised by the participants is practical, and the register of the talk is metaphorical.

367

Summary of Religious Discourse in Solidarity

Code Modality
- (a) Social Base: collective
- (b) Type of Embedding: SD/RD
- (c) Code: CL
  - Classification: **-C**
  - Framing of Discourse: **+F**
  - Framing of Interaction: **+F**

Form of Realization
- (a) Level of Mastery: practical
- (b) Register: metaphorical

Pedagogic Intention of the Animator

Joaquín of **Solidarity** perceives his role as building the social relations in the BCC. In Interview 015 (02.01.89), Joaquín comments, "We want to get to know people better and never leaving aside what the Lord is saying in our lives, right? (2) We want to get to know each other more and do things together" (19). Even when asked directly about meeting topics, Joaquín underscores the importance of the growing mutual knowledge among the members, "The topic that we like best is getting to know ourselves better, but some people are a little slower to understand. Guadalupe says that she (herself) is a burrow and that she will never understand. She undervalues herself and has a poor image of herself. We are always trying to build her up" (33). This 'building-up' is enacted in the BCC meeting not through individual motivation, but by relocating the member's experience in popular collective metaphors. In the second sequence, this concentration on members' everyday experience gives rise to biblico-domestic metaphor of the Holy Family.

Joaquín understands his pedagogy as moving the members from talking to concrete actions. He contrasts the BCC meeting with the regular meeting of the sports club. "A meeting of a sports club is pure 'round ball' and nothing else. Here in the BCC it is different. It is not just pure talking either, we have to act on what we say (8). We share the word of God and get the most out of it, and we talk about the chapel a bit, and we talk about how our common fund is going" (29).

General Function of the BCC

Each sequence reveals a different function of the BCC, **Solidarity**. This BCC is a pedagogic context (a) in which members develop interactive skills and warm social relations through a pedagogic practice which is highly animator-driven, and (b) where members practice interpretation of the bible. This BCC also has an economic function where the BCC administers a small solidarity fund used in emergencies where families are in crisis of survival.

2.4 Lo Amor

Religious discourse is introduced in the talk in all three meetings of **Lo Amor**. Here, in **Lo Amor (3)**, Monica guides a reflection on a biblical text concerning the conversion experience of Saint Paul in which the saint recounts the process of his own conversion. In this sequence, members discuss the progress of certain individuals in terms of the instructional discourse of chapel-based catechetical programs. Thus far in the chapter, we have not seen an embedding discourse as "RD^G/RD". This discourse may be characterized as "RD^G/RD", where we have a group religious discourse embedded in religious discourse.

We should make a distinction between this type of chapel-based group discourse ("RD^G/RD") and the discourse of chapel politics which we have seen in the two less marginalized BCCs, **Saint James** and **John XXIII**. Whereas in the latter two we found chapel politics but no religious discourse, in **Lo Amor** we find a chapel-based group participation discourse embedded in a biblico-religious discourse. This "RD^G" is found in OC chapel-based catechetical activities like family catechism.

In the following sequence, members discuss their group experience in chapel-based groups. Members discuss the patterns of resistance among new participants during the initial phases of chapel catechetical programs. Specifically, they are commenting on the slow process of conversion of individuals who accede to the chapel through an educational group. In the sacramental preparation groups, Monica

369

expresses her contentment which ari..es from seeing a participant
interested in the group who either might have expressed great
reservations initially or was a contentious for a long part of the
course. Here religious discourse arises out of socialization into
chapel-based group activities.

> Tomás: The great change with Paul ... I mean he was a
>   persecutor and then he was persecuted.
> Silvina: Right.
> (a) Monica: Right! He wound up being persecuted. And it was
>   Paul who persecuted [christians] without mercy, it seems
>   he was really hard.
> Emma: Right! He was bad ...
> Silvina: Because of that I like the people when they are
>   rebellious, who do not want to understand, who are
>   against you, and who are against you in everything. 'I
>   am an atheist; I do not believe.'
> (a) Monica: But suddenly they ... I don't know, it seems that
>   suddenly the lights go on, and the call of God comes to
>   them more strongly.
> Tomás: Right!
> (a) Monica: The people who are that way, afterwards are more
>   faithful ... because those people who have more
>   difficulty in understanding and who are against you in
>   all the meetings. We say about them, 'They ruined the
>   whole meeting.' They are the ones who afterwards
>   understand much more.
> Josefina: Yes!
> Silvina: ... It was very difficult for her to understand in
>   the meetings ... because she did not have any desire to
>   go on, but that where one's patience comes in to try to
>   support the person. So I went to tell her about the
>   meetings in her house. And I think that she was
>   converted more to the Lord, because from then on she
>   never missed again at the meetings. She has married in
>   the church and she comes to the community ...
>
>   Lo Amor (3):14-15

Code Modality

In this sequence the code modality is OC. The type of embedding
is "RD^{G}/RD", where a group religious discourse of chapel-based
educational groups is embedded in the religious discourse. The
religious discourse has an individual social base which focuses on
individual attitudinal change. By contrast to **Saint James** and **John
XXIII**, even though chapel affairs consume a lot of 'pedagogic time' in
their BCC meetings, the religious discourse of **Lo Amor** is an embedded
discourse whose code modality is OC.

370

With respect to the question of animator control, we have found the value of the framing of the discourse to be weak, and the value of the framing of the interaction to be very weak.

Form of Realization

The mastery over the religious discourse is practical, and members evaluate different individuals in the chapel according to the pace of their conversion process. The register of the religious discourse is metaphorical since, the sequence rests on the metaphorical figure of Paul. This is of great interest because it is the only example of religious talk in an OC code modality whose register is metaphorical. In a sense, the religious discourse of this BCC rests on the process of conversion of Paul. The analysis and evaluation of these 'novice' participants reveals that those who perform certain talk in pedagogical settings in the chapel come to have more power and will be more positively evaluated by the chapel. Moreover, according to BCC members, those who resist initially the religious discourse of family catechism are the ones who later perform them better.

Summary of Religious Discourse in Lo Amor

Code Modality
(a) Social Base:	individual/collective
(b) Type of Embedding:	RD^G/RD
(c) Code:	OC
- Classification:	+C
- Framing of Discourse:	-F
- Framing of Interaction:	--F

Form of Realization
(a) Level of Mastery:	practical
(b) Register:	metaphorical

Pedagogic Intention of the Animator

In Interview 016 (21.12.88), the animator of the BCC, **Lo Amor**, she states her pedagogic intention largely in terms of the development of the members' group practices in different contexts in the chapel.

The contexts in which the members participate are pedagogic and non-pedagogic, but even those non-pedagogic contexts do not cease to have their pedagogic features. Monica's intention is pedagogic, and it stands in marked contrast to the political intention of the animator of **John XXIII**.

"The BCC is a family which meets to pray, to see the negative and positive things, so that we can begin to fix this world, and so that we can begin to serve (64). The community of **Lo Amor** is a community of service (10). One is in the Fraternal Aid club, there are several of us in that ... the [medical] clinic and the [adult] catequesis ... I mean all of us have some responsibility in the chapel (11). Participation and trust ... these are the primordial qualities of a BCC ... because all of us are ready to help the other, and not only in the BCC but in the chapel as well" (15).

The animator is also perceived to have importance in terms of the atmosphere created in the meeting. "In the BCC, there is a lot of participation ... [but in a school] a teacher reads out his class, there is no participation (8). An animator should not speak a lot (48) and should be welcoming always" (49).

The General Function of the BCC

The function of this BCC is <u>pedagogic</u> as animator and members legitimize and revivify the group religious discourse (RD^G) on which their pedagogic practice in diverse organizations in the local chapel is based. Members see their function in these organizations as one of socialization of individuals into the chapel. They are concerned with the process through which an individual acquires a religious identity and responds in terms of that identity in chapel groups which they direct.

3 Discussion and Overall Conclusions: Mapping of Code Modality, Pedagogic Code and Forms of Realization on Social Class Position and Previous Religious Socialization

In Table 13.1 we have summarized the code modality, pedagogic code and form of realization of the BCCs according to BCC type, that

372

is, in terms of their previous religious socialization and degree of marginality.

Table 13.1

Summary of Code Modality, Pedagogic Codes and Forms of Realization in the Sample of BCCs

Low marginality	Non-educational		Educational	
	Saint James	Saint Michael	John XXIII	Justice
Code Modality	OC	OC	OC	OC
Type of Embedding	SD/SD	RD^I/RD	SD/SD	RD^I/RD
Pedagogic Code				
-Classification	++C	++C	+C	+C
-Framing (Discourse)	++F	++F	-F	--F
-Framing (Interaction)	+F	++F	--F	-F
Form of Realization				
-Level of Mastery	NA	formal Invocatory	NA	formal
-Register	NA	Decont'ized	NA	Decont'ized

High marginality	Non-educational		Educational	
	Workers of God	Esperanza	Solidarity	Lo Amor
Code Modality	PL	PL	CL	OC
Type of Embedding	SD/RD	SD/RD	SD/RD	RD^G/RD
Pedagogic Code				
-Classification	--C	-C	-C	+C
-Framing (Discourse)	-F*	-F*	+F	-F
-Framing (Interaction)	--F	--F	+F	--F
Form of Realization				
-Level of Mastery	practical		practical	
-Register	metaphorical		metaphorical/decontextualized	

The criteria for the assignment of the very strong "++" and very weak "--" values of classification and framing have been given already in Chapter Five. Table 13.1 leads us to the following conclusions

with respect to the discourse of the BCCs in terms of the degree of marginality of the members and their previous religious socialization.

3.1 Low Marginality

Pedagogic Code

In cases of low marginality, no differences can be found in code modality in terms of previous religious socialization or social class. It is interesting to note that previous religious socialization does not have an affect on code modality in BCCs of low marginality. All four BCCs have an OC code modality. The types of embedding, "SD/SD" and "RD^I/RD", establish a distance between the discourse of the less marginalized BCCs and practical knowledge of the world in which the members live. "SD/SD" is a chapel political discourse, and "RD^I/RD" is religious talk introduced in relation to itself. In BCCs of low marginality, there are no liberation code modalities.

Strong or very strong classification is a feature of the discourse in each BCC of low marginality, a feature which, in these cases, gives rise to a narrow thematic focus. By contrast, with respect to the values of the framing, strong differences arise in terms of previous religious socialization. In non-educational BCCs stronger animator control is necessary to protect the classification. By contrast, weak animator control and member-driven control over the discourse and interaction are sufficient to protect the strong classification in the educational BCCs. In these BCCs, a strong classification of discourse appears to have been transmitted to BCC animator and members during the period of previous socialization (in family catechism or in *Cursillo*). Thus, strong classification can be maintained without strong animator control.

We should indicate also the low degree to which the pedagogic intention of the animator is related to what actually happens in the BCC meeting.

Form of Realization

Looking at the four BCCs of low marginality, no positive tendencies appear with respect to level of mastery. In terms of

374

register, it is of some importance to notice that virtually no BCC talk in a metaphorical register arises.

3.2 High Marginality

Pedagogic Code

The liberation code modalities are found only in BCCs of high marginality: PL code is found only in those BCCs with no previous religious socialization, and CL code only in one BCC with previous religious socialization. In the case of previous religious socialization, the code of one BCC is OC and the other is CL. In these BCCs, all religious discourse is embedded as either "SD/RD" or "RD^{G}/RD". It would appear that educational BCCs do not give rise to PL code modality irrespective of degree of marginality.

In Chapter Fourteen, we shall discuss the code modality of the BCC in relation to the code modality of the chapel to which the BCCs belong respectively.

In the absence of previous religious socialization, BCCs give rise to weak and very weak classification of discourse and to framing values which are weak and very weak. These are the only BCCs which give rise to weak classification and framing. With respect to the framing of discourse, challenge are made occasionally by a single member to shift the discourse in terms of type of embedding and type of mastery (signaled by -F*).

With respect to those BCCs with previous religious socialization, two things require explanation: of the BCCs who share previous religious socialization, one is OC and thus, has strong classification, and the other is CL with weak classification. We thus have to account for why Lo Amor with high marginality is OC. The second issue arises out of the fact that Solidarity with a CL code has strong framing.

We have referred earlier to the strong framing of Solidarity (See Chapter Five, Section 4) where we argued that the strong framing arose possibly out of the fact that this BCC is relatively large and had been formed only recently. Thus, it is possible that some initial

stiong animator control over the large and new group was necessary in order to move from the OC code modality of family catechism and to establish the shared principles of the CL code modality. The shift from an OC code to a CL code characterized by a weakening of the classification may produce tension.

However, there is another reason for the code modality of **Lo Amor** and for the strong framing in **Solidarity** which we will take up later which may refer to the relationship between the code of the BCC and the code modality of the chapel to which members of the BCC respectively belong.

As with the BCCs of low marginality, we have found that the pedagogic intention of the animator in these BCCs is largely unrelated to what actually happens in the BCC meeting.

Form of Realization

No BCC animator exercises formal mastery over OC, PL or CL discourses and, therefore, they themselves do not initiate or elicit from the members such realizations of the principles of the discourses to which they are orientated. If this is the case then we have to account for the selection of members such that some members of BCCs of low marginality have a formal mastery and the members of BCCs of high marginality have practical mastery.

In Chapter Six, the evidence made it clear that the animators (and members) of highly marginalized BCCs have lower monthly income (Table 6.6) and lower attainment levels in education than the members of less marginalized BCCs (Table 6.4). This may provide us with a reason for the practical mastery. Thus, the animator and the members in areas of high marginality are drawn from the same economic, social and cultural conditions. These conditions may well provoke a form of discourse in which code is deeply embedded in the particularities and problems of daily survival and the severe conditions of existence.

4 General Conclusions

This discussion leads to the following question: Does the discourse in the BCCs of high marginality arise out of class habitus or code modality? The answer to this question is two-fold.

In terms of form of realization we have found a discernible uniformity among the highly marginalized BCCs, irrespective of previous religious socialization. It is a matter of great interest that **Lo Amor**, which has an OC code modality similar to BCCs of low marginality, also shares a form of realization (practical and metaphorical) similar to BCCs who share liberation code modalities.

It appears that the form of realization is a function of members' habitus coming out of their class position, irrespective of previous religious socialization. Thus, we have here an interesting finding that whereas theological code modality is not related to class in BCCs of high marginality, the forms of realization are. Now we must turn the differences in the code modalities.

In terms of code modality, OC, PL and CL exist across the BCCs of high marginality. Thus, it appears that whereas class habitus gives rise to great similarity in forms of realization, differences in code modality might have other origins. In Chapter Fourteen, we shall discuss these differences in code modality and their origins in terms of the codes of the local chapels.

NOTES for Chapter Thirteen

[1]In terms of our analysis, "SD/SD" draws attention to the absence of religious discourse in two BCCs of low marginality. At the same time, this "/" relation (embedding relation) misrepresents the discourse of **Saint James** (and of **John XXIII**) because since no religious discourse is identifiable, it is difficult to argue that there would be any embedding of one discourse in another within the meaning of embedding as set out in Bernstein's theory.

[2]In **Justice (1)**: knowledge vs. faith (9); not committed vs. committed (9); earthly vs. celestial (9); bad vs. good (10); world vs. spirit (11); society vs. Kingdom of God (11); rejection vs. acceptance

(11); non-love [desamor] vs. love (18); bad vs. good (18); condemned vs. elect (22); to hate vs. to love (22); ideology vs. religion (22-23); material vs. spiritual (25); extreme vs. equilibrium (29); bad vs. good (32); earthly intelligence vs. wisdom (32); loosers vs. winners (34); anti-Christ vs. Christ (40). In **Justice (2)**: unbalance vs. level-headedness (41). In **Justice (3)**: closed in the world vs. open to the divine (30); rationalism vs. fideism (30); natural vs. supernatural (30); human language vs. divine language (30); human intellect vs. divine intellect (30); thinking vs. believing (30); material vs. spiritual (30); punishment vs. reward (41). It is of great interest that nearly all the above binary oppositions, with their "zero-sum" rationale, can be found in the official pedagogic manual for the Cursillo in Chile. Cursillo de Cristiandad 1984.

[3]Martin underscores the individual base of the moral discourse of the *Cursillo*. "*Cursillo de Cristiandad* has developed a psychological base quite similar to the moral re-armament of the Wesleyan class meeting. *Cursillo de Cristiandad* has a proto-protestant ascetical character." See Martin 1978.

[4]In terms of Bernstein's theory, it is in the non-educational BCCs of high marginality that the type of embedding approximates most closely the relation between an "instructional discourse" and the "regulative discourse" which Bernstein gives as "ID/RD".

[5]Arroyo 1986. The animator used lesson no.49 entitled "Ha Resucitado", p.106.

[6]Under no.8 in the lesson, the text introduces two **personal questions** (emphasis in text). How does each one believe in the Resurrection of Jesus? What problems do you have in believing this truth which is so fundamental to the christian faith?

[7]Coming after a discussion in a decontextualized register, the introduction of metaphorical register into **Esperanza (3)** accounts for the most noticeable shift in talk in the sample.

Chapter Fourteen

Code Modalities in BCCs and their relation to Local Chapel Codes

Introduction

In the previous chapter we showed the relation between BCC type and theological code. Here we shall be concerned to trace the relations between the theological code and the code of the local chapel. This inquiry will allow us to determine the autonomy of the BCCs with respect to its theological code. We must note that in two BCCs, **Saint James** and **John XXIII**, there is no theological code whatsoever, only discussion of local chapel politics. These BCCs are not pedagogic contexts in the sense of a concern to deepen their religious awareness either of religion and its application to everyday problems.

1 Regulation of the BCC

According to the policy documents of the Catholic regulatory agencies for the BCC, the local chapel should exercise some regulatory control over the BCC. Moreover, as we discussed in Chapter Five, national and local regulatory agencies consider that the form of chapel regulatory control over the BCCs should be institutional, and the agent of that control should be the animator. In terms of our language of description, the agencies consider that the regulatory function of the local chapel is to oversee the code modality of BCCs. In fact, this regulatory control should be extended to include features of the pedagogic code and the forms of realization.

The range of means of regulating the code modality and pedagogic practice of a BCC from the local chapel is quite extensive. Some means are direct and others indirect. Among the direct means, we might include (a) the selection of the animator, and (b) external monitoring by a chapel committee or pastoral agent. Among the indirect means of regulating BCC code modality by the local chapel we might include (a) the imposition of pedagogic texts, (b) the attendance of the animator at the chapel council meeting as members of

Table 14.1

Regulatory Control over the BCCs
by the Local Chapel

Regulatory Control	Less Marginalized BCCs non-educational		educational	
	Saint James	Saint Michael	Justice	John XXIII
Direct Means				
Selection of Animator	no	no	no	no
External Monitoring by the Chapel or Pastoral Agent	yes	yes	yes	yes
Indirect Means				
Imposition of Pedagogic Texts	no	no	no	no
Animator attends meeting of chapel council	yes	yes	yes	yes
Selection of BCC Name	no	no	no	no
Attendance at Sunday Mass	yes	yes	yes	yes
Selection of Site for BCC Meeting	no	no	no	no

Regulatory Control	Highly Marginalized BCCs Non-educational		Educational	
	Workers of God	Esperanza	Lo Amor	Solidarity
Direct Means				
Selection of Animator	no[1]	no[1]	no	no
External Monitoring by the Chapel or Pastoral Agent	no	no	no	no
Indirect Means				
Imposition of Pedagogic Texts	no	no	no	no
Animator attends meeting of chapel council	yes	yes	yes	yes
Selection of BCC Name	no	no	no	no
Attendance at Sunday Mass	yes	yes	yes	yes
Selection of Site for BCC Meeting	no	no	no	no

In Table 14.1, the "[1]" indicates under "selection of animator", that in the BCCs, **Workers of God** and **Esperanza,** the animators are installed ritually in a religious service with the local bishop.

the chapel, (c) the selection of the name for the BCC, (d) the Sunday homily by the priest, and (e) selection of the site for the regular BCC meeting.

In Table 14.1 we have set out the range of procedures of regulatory control exercised by local chapels over the BCCs in our sample.

Table 14.1 indicates the gulf which exists between the official policies of Catholic regulatory agencies and the weak regulatory practice of local chapels with respect to the BCCs. In the cases of BCCs which are non-pedagogic sites for local chapel politics, namely **Saint James** and **John XXIII**, they enjoy a high degree of autonomy from the local chapel. Yet at the same time, the talk is wholly about strategies of power and position in the chapel. Perhaps this relation should be put the other way around. It may be more accurate in these cases to ask to what extent do the local chapels enjoy independence from the strategies of these BCCs in the constitution of their internal politics.

The other BCCs of low marginality enjoy near total autonomy from the local chapel in the determination of their code modality. **Justice** and **Saint Michael** have little or no relation to the local chapel except for attendance at the Sunday mass in the chapel, although some members are engaged in pedagogic and non-pedagogic activities in the chapel. As we shall see below, in the cases of **Justice** and **Saint Michael**, the relation to the local chapel has little or no effect on the determination of BCC code modality. In fact these BCCs are sites for the display and intensification of two religious discourses, *Cursillo* and Charismatic Renewal, both of which originate outside the chapel.

The BCCs of high marginality, as we shall discuss below, enjoy autonomy in their control of code modality. The means of chapel regulation over BCC code modality are indirect. In all BCCs of high marginality, animators attend the chapel council meetings, and the BCC members attend the Sunday mass.

Little regulatory control, direct or indirect, is brought to bear on the BCCs by the local chapels. This lack of regulation

underscores the autonomy which BCCs enjoy over their code modality. As we shall see below, BCC autonomy in the constitution of its religious discourse does not mean that the discourse will not amplify the code modality of the chapel. Indeed, a BCC may reproduce and amplify the chapel code because it has been tacitly transmitted and acquired by BCC animator and members.

2 BCC Autonomy

In order to determine specifically whether or not the BCC may be considered as an amplifier of the code modality established by the local chapel, we must discuss further the relation of the BCC to the local chapel in terms of code modality. We have determined above that there is no explicit regulation over the pedagogic practice of the BCCs.

We shall now consider each code modality identified across the sample of BCCs. We shall determine the degree of similarity in code modality between local chapel and the BCC. First, we shall determine the code of the local chapel on the basis of in-depth interviews with the pastoral agents responsible for those chapels. Secondly, we shall recall the code modality of the BCCs and estimate the degree of autonomy the BCCs enjoy in its determination. Finally, we shall summarize code modality, pedagogic code and forms of realization in terms of the autonomy the BCCs enjoy in their determination.

As we begin this analysis we should recall that BCC animators participate in the chapels in their immediate geographical area. Chapel membership is strictly a function of area of residence.

2.1 OC Chapels in Sectors of Low Marginality:

San Gabriel and *Cristo Redentor*

San Gabriel is the local chapel for the BCCs, **John XXIII** and **Justice**. *Cristo Redentor* is the local chapel for the BCCs, **Saint James** and **Saint Michael**. Rev. Armando Valenzuela is the local religious personnel responsible for a low marginality area of 160.000 inhabitants. His contact with the chapels is infrequent but periodic.

Two chapels in Valenzuela's vast area are two chapels of low marginality, *San Gabriel* and *Cristo Redentor*. In an interview with Rev. Valenzuela on 11.01.89, the OC code was clearly identifiable in Valenzuela's own focus on internal chapel organization and management. Moreover, in his evaluation of the chapels in his sector of Santiago, he considers that, "... the BCCs are in the line of a renovated church ... we speak of a conservative church and a renovated church and a liberation church. Here I would say that they are renovated or reformist" (38).

Valenzuela has dedicated himself to strong internal organization and control in the local chapels under his care. "Collective salvation will not be achieved without the organization of the people. So pastorally, I work to create, maintain and support [chapel] organization because only when the people are organized will they be able to manage something worthwhile" (4). Integrated planning, both short and long range, is his principal concern.[1] In his interview Valenzuela criticizes of the lack of grassroots organizations in the local neighborhoods,[2] and expresses a degree of indifference with respect to the fact that chapel organizations have little impact on the local neighborhood.[3] Further, Valenzuela seeks to maintain a strong boundary between local chapel and neighborhood organizations,[4] and he confesses an apparent lack of concern in the chapels for the chapel members' commitments outside the chapel.[5] With his principal concentration on internal organization and management, Valenzuela's theological code would be similar to the code modality he identifies in these chapels, that is, "renovated and reformist." And the energy dedicated to the negotiation of the boundary between local chapel and neighborhood reveals a principle of strong classification associated with the OC code modality.

Saint Michael and Justice: OC (RD[I]/RD)

The two BCCs of low marginality, **Saint Michael** of the chapel, *Cristo Redentor*, and **Justice** of the chapel, *San Gabriel* have created a form of religious discourse which has not been constituted by or reflected in the discourse of the local chapel. Their respective religious discourses do not have an institutional basis in the local chapel, rather the source of this religious discourse is <u>external to</u>

the local chapel. *Cursillc* and the Charismatic Renewal are international Catholic movements which do not originate in or enjoy the sponsorship of the local chapels, but which at the same time enjoy Vatican approval. The type of embedding in these two external discourse as "RD^I/RD" is not at variance with the OC code modality. The double vertical line indicates that there is near total independence of the BCC from the local chapel in terms of its religious discourse.

We may draw the following conclusion concerning the degree of autonomy in the determination of this OC code realization.

> The <u>code realization</u> of these BCCs is not at variance with the OC code modality of their local chapels. Their religious discourses are constituted by members' participation in movements which are external to and totally independent from the local chapel, and they are amplifiers of two international movements of spiritual renewal, *Cursillo* and the Charismatic Renewal.

Saint James and John XXIII: OC (SD/SD)

The BCCs of low marginality, **Saint James** and **John XXIII** belong respectively to the OC chapels *Cristo Redentor* and *San Gabriel*. Their talk indicates that they are strongly involved in the power relations of their respective chapels. Indeed, as members of these BCCs are numerically important in the coordinating committees of their chapel, we shall argue that the lines of influence do not flow from the chapel to the BCC, but rather <u>from the BCC to the chapel</u>.

We may draw the following conclusions concerning the degree of autonomy in the determination of their discourse.

> (1) There is no explicit relation between the BCC discourse and the local chapel's theological code.

> (2) BCCs reproduce the <u>form of realization</u> found in chapel council meetings to the point where members even pass from topic to topic as from one agenda item to another in the chapel council meeting.

2.2 OC Chapel in a Sector of High Marginality:

San Ignacio Loyola

San Ignacio Loyola is the local chapel for the highly marginalized, educational BCC, **Lo Amor**. Sr. Consuelo Torrez is the local religious personnel responsible for the chapel, *San Ignacio Loyola*. In an interview on 12.12.88, Torrez introduces a discourse whose code modality must be identified as OC. The linking of faith and daily life is a common slogan for the renovated (OC) church and it indicates an OC code modality. "In a BCC the important thing is to unite faith and daily life. This has gone pretty well, they have discovered the gospel in the life of each person and in the life of the BCC" (5).

Like Valenzuela, Torrez is concerned principally with the intra-chapel issues, praising BCCs for their commitment to internal chapel projects.[6] In the exemplary sequence of religious talk from **Lo Amor** in Chapter Thirteen, we will recall that members introduced a metaphor which was extended to develop an instructional discourse of group cooperative practice. Torrez promotes the same type of instructional discourse of personal growth and development through participation in chapel organizations.[7]

At the same time, the BCCs are criticized for their being closed to the "outside",[8] and Torrez underscored that the local chapel members feel little unease about their ignorance of and lack of participation in national politics.[9] Similar to Valenzuela's comments, these criticisms indicate that a strong boundary exists between chapel and neighborhood in terms of discourse and practice.

Lo Amor: OC (RD^G/RD)

This BCC is an amplifier for the code modality of the local chapel. Members of **Lo Amor** belong to the OC chapel, *San Ignacio Loyola*, which places great emphasis on the recruitment of new chapel members through the family catechism program. A religious discourse which our initial hypotheses had not covered is the one characterized by "RD^G/RD", which is found in the BCC, **Lo Amor**. This religious discourse rests on an important metaphor of individual spiritual conversion toward cooperative group practice over time which

individuals would learn through pedagogical experiences in catechism programs in the local chapel. We have found examples where a biblical text through metaphorical extension forms the basis of a group religious discourse. In **Lo Amor**, such metaphors which form the basis of a group religious discourse certainly constitute the pedagogy in the BCC, and may also constitute the pedagogy of many chapel organizations since the animator and members have leadership positions in diverse pedagogic and non-pedagogic organizations in the local chapel.

We may draw the following conclusion concerning the degree of autonomy in the determination of OC code realization.

> **Lo Amor** is an amplifier for the OC code modality of the local chapel, and, given its basis in group religious metaphor, the code modality may have arisen out of the previous religious socialization of the members.

2.3 Liberationist Chapels in Sectors of High Marginality:

Los Martires and *Jesús Obrero*

Los Martires is the local chapel for the BCCs, **Workers of God** and **Esperanza**. *Jesús Obrero* is the local chapel for the BCC, **Solidarity**. Among these liberationist chapels, we had thought originally that their specific code modality, as either PL or CL, would be easily identifiable. However, while we have been able to determine the code of three chapels as liberationist, the evidence does not indicate the specific modality of the liberationist code. Thus, we shall discuss local chapels in terms of liberationist code, but the specific modalities of that code will be indicated when we examine specific BCCs.

Rev. Francisco Zuleto, the local personnel in the chapel, *Los Martires*, was interviewed on 30.03.89. The code of the local chapel is identifiable clearly as liberationist. Zuleto identifies the site for creation of liberation theology as the articulation of the process of the development of the poor. "Liberation theology is a theology from the history of the poor ... and its accents and nuances will depend on the development of the history of the poor. It seems strange that there are talking about a third stage ... a theology of solidarity. I think that that will depend on the process of the

people and of the poor. And who knows what the future will hold" (4). In fact, we have found Zuleto's views as expressed in the interview to be quite similar to some of the interventions in the exemplary samples of the BCC, **Esperanza**, especially in terms of the biblical metaphor, Exodus,[10] and in terms of the principal characteristics of a BCC as a home, as a sanctuary (for worship), as prophetic, as *solidaire*, and as missionary.[11]

Luz María Vekemans, a foreign missionary, is the local religious personnel responsible for the chapel, *Jesús Obrero*. In an interview on 14.12.88, Vekemans identified herself and the chapel, as liberationist. Liberation theology is identified as highly significant for Vekemans, "... liberation theology is trying to interpret the bible the way it always should have been interpreted. You cannot do liberation theology in an office ... [it must be carried out by] an intelligent person [who is] located among the people. There is the important part of being with the people like Jesus ... to be incarnated in the people" (9). Even with the strong promotion of theology from the perspective of the poor, Vekemans is aware of the temptation of a restricted political option of the faith.[12] Vekemans repeatedly underscores the collective dimension both of the christian faith[13] and of the christian faith as lived in the chapel.[14]

Workers of God and Esperanza: PL (SD/RD)

The code of the local chapel, *Los Martires,* is liberationist. **Workers of God** and **Esperanza** reproduce and amplify the code of the local chapel. But at the same time, they exercise some autonomy in the determination of its specific modality as a <u>PL</u> code. In the cases of **Workers of God** and **Esperanza**, the code was reproduced as embedded in secondary discourses, which we characterized as "SD/RD" and concerned principally with macro change.

We may draw the following conclusion concerning the degree of autonomy in the determination of code modality.

> While the local chapel code is liberationist, the specific <u>code modality</u> of the religious discourse is established by the BCC as PL. Thus, the BCC exercises some autonomy is the determination of code in terms of its specific modality.

Solidarity: CL (SD/RD)

The code of the local chapel for **Solidarity**, *Jesús Obrero*, is the liberation code. The BCC tends to amplify the code of the local chapel, but as in the cases of **Workers of God** and **Esperanza**, the BCC exercises some autonomy in the determination of the specific modality of that code as CL. The religious discourse of this BCC is embedded in popular culture which celebrates and attributes value to popular culture of the marginalized, irrespective of the macro political and macro economic context which give rise to their high marginality. The CL code modality is transmitted through its celebration of popular culture in a variety of secondary discourses.

We may draw the following conclusion concerning the degree of autonomy in the determination of code modality.

> The chapel code is liberationist, and the code is
> amplified by the BCC. **Solidarity** determines its specific
> code modality as CL.

3 Conclusions

> **Code modalities of BCCs broadly follow the the general
> code modality of their local chapels.**

As we have found that there is no explicit regulatory control over BCC pedagogic practice the similarity between the code modality of a BCC and that of the chapel is an important finding. Given this tacit coincidence between BCC codes and the code of their respective chapels, a chapel may select members in terms of its code. However, BCC discourses within an OC code and the modalities of liberation code (as either PL or CL) appear to indicate the relative autonomy of BCC religious discourse from the local chapel. Whereas the BCCs in our sample have a code modality and a specific religious discourse, the local chapels are characterized by a code modality which covers a range of religious discourses and forms of their realization.

NOTES for Chapter Fourteen

[1]"I try to develop a pastoral plan for one, two, or three years with a strong planning technique. And my project is always set in a renovated ecclesiology in the line of the [Vatican] Council, Puebla and Medellín. These two features lead me to consider the importance of lay participation and the giving over of great responsibilities to the laity by creating spaces where they can participate in an organized and planned pastoral approach ... [in the pastoral work] I like the part that has to do with organization of a project, with clear objectives and means" (5). "I always try to get the people to work in an organized and orderly way, [in my work] I have noticed that the people have learned to work in a planned way and this appears to me to be a great accomplishment" (8).

[2]"In our sector there are very few neighborhood organizations, practically those which are functioning are those that were created by us" (11).

[3]"... there are no [chapel] organizations which have much contact with or effect on the local sector" (17).

[4]"(on relations with the neighborhood) This year they wanted to create a coordination of youth activities in the sector. [But] the youth pastoral and the church cannot enter into coordinating committees with anybody I have that very clear! You have to maintain an independence. You have to act on special cases [with the organizations], above all with those who work in defense of life ... that yes ... but enter into a coordinating committee which the church has to obey? No!" (21).

[5]"We are missing how to evaluate the people who have commitments outside the chapel, commitments as lay people. It seems that they value much more, I have the impression, the commitments within the church, and they look on a person who hasn't a church commitment as a second class citizen" (15).

[6]"Here, the BCC should grow in the faith and help each other, right? ... by discussing a variety of themes, and going to workshops .... and then they should have some activity in the chapel" (17). "I do not notice too many faults with the BCCs because when you ask them for a service ... they are the first ones to offer ... and they all show up ... they are active and have always been so" (19).

[7]"I always think that one can always do more, I think that they are growing in the degree that they are discovering ... I mean ... each one has his process of growth and process of participation also ... so you really can't rush ahead and tell them what to do and say" (42).

[8]"They are not really in favour of going beyond the chapel ... to go to a liturgy in another place, they are a bit conservative in this way ... not that active ... they are a bit closed" (20). "We have to get outside a little bit ... we cannot remain here closed in on ourselves. We have to be open in the church ... we have to participate in other things ... but if we go as a chapel we are not going to shout political slogans in the middle of a march or procession" (21).

[9]"The BCCs do not understand politics ... I mean, you speak to them about politics and it means party politics, right? It is difficult to make them understand that politics is the search for the common good. But right, they have [an idea of] politics [as] sectarian and tendentious so [deep] inside them!" (40) "The groups who came to give political formation, and the times we have organized it. Well, we invited people from all over, but they came once and disappeared. Ten were all we had! The second time we invited all the sector ...fewer turned out!" (46)

[10]"This was called Exodus ... from the point of view of God present in the history of a people which begins to move. [I should] be present in the popular movement ... in this dimension of the people in order to find God" (6).

[11]"The characteristics that a good BCC should have are the five that Ronaldo [Muñoz] describes: Home, Prophetic and Sanctuary. We changed Sanctuary to Emmaus because it smelled a bit of piety (beatería: an unincarnated piety). We also put on there solidaire and missionary" (12).

[12]"The theologian must take into account the feeling and thinking of the people ... there he can take a detour down the line of the political parties ..." (10).

[13]"Afterwards people come to see that the faith is not only a personal relationship, but that it has a dimension of liberation of the people ... so there, the whole dimension of the people enters in ... Liberation theology is confidence in the people, and then the people in action" (9).

[14]"The people of God, the church and the christian people must be disposed to give themselves over in order to achieve something for others ... for others and not only for personal gain ... not only with a gain for the family or the neighborhood" (36).

Chapter Fifteen

Overview and Conclusions

Introduction

The importance of this thesis lies in its attempt to show how theological codes and their forms of realization in BCC talk vary according to the social class and religious socialization of their members. Our underlying hypothesis, as our sample selection shows, is that they are related. We have described how animators and members construct their talk through practices in selected regular meetings of eight BCCs. Throughout the thesis our investigation has been at two levels. At one level, we have examined BCC talk about the concrete practices, meanings and relations in the everyday life of the members within particular contexts, domestic, church, economic and political (Chapters Eight to Eleven). At another level, we have offered an explanation of the form of BCC talk as cultural forms realized through pedagogic practices in an informal pedagogic context with reference to the social class of the participants and their previous religious socialization (Chapter Five and Chapter Thirteen).

We shall first discuss issues of method and theory arising out of the empirical analysis. This will be followed by an overview of the empirical findings. Finally, we shall consider official policy, BCCs and their future.

1 Issues of Method, Description and Theory

1.1 Research Intention

We have observed talk about activities in everyday life in the informal pedagogic context of the BCC. We have examined this pedagogic experience according to Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse and its particular cultural forms.

From the outset, we endeavored to take the utmost care in describing the BCC so that to the degree possible we might ensure its natural integrity as a social context. We were aware that the

transformation of subjects into research objects, while it may guide the selection of the most interesting features of the transcriptions of BCC conversation, tends to introduce a degree of fragmentation of the subjects in the analysis. We were especially aware of this possibility in the presentation of BCC data, i.e. the separation of interactive and communicative practices or distinguishing and separating the secondary discourses for the sake of analysis. Bourdieu recognizes dangers in the process of transformation in research, data analysis and data presentation.

> It follows that simply by bringing to the level of
> discourse - as one must, if one wants to study it
> scientifically - a practice which owes a number of its
> properties to the fact that it falls short of discourse
> (which does not mean that it falls short on logic), one
> subjects it to nothing less than a change in ontological
> status the more serious in its theoretical consequences
> because it has every chance of going unnoticed.[1]

We have exercised caution in the presentation of the transcribed BCC talk particularly because the thesis is a reading of how marginalized catholics make sense out of their daily lives. As we proceeded with our analysis of the practice of BCC talk, we endeavored to generate translations which might reflect the flavour of such talk. We referred to these difficulties of translation in Chapter Three. We are aware of the possible distortions produced when common sense talk is subjected to the imposition of scientific categories of analysis.

1.2   Research Methods

We shall consider problems of methodology and description in the thesis in five areas: issues of sample selection, member and animator selection, principles for analyzing BCC talk, principles for identifying pedagogic practices.

1.2.1   The Sample

Here we recognize the limitations of our research findings on the basis of such a small sample of BCCs. We could have expanded the BCC types in the sample by including BCCs with local religious personnel as regular participants. The Bellarmino project (Valdivieso

1989) and other quantitative research (Güell 1987) revealed that between 28.0% and 35.0% of BCCs have such local religious personnel as members or animators. But we discarded this option because research findings in Chile into the effect of popular educators in evaluations of five popular education projects (Martinic 1987; Jara 1987; García-Huidobro 1987; Rojas 1987) revealed that the presence of such educators dominates the communication since participants tend to speak like the popular educators and to offer positive evaluation of the education program, in order to maintain a good relation with the popular educator. As a consequence we did not include such BCCs. However, it still would be crucial to see the differences such religious personnel made to the range of talk, problems and strategies. But we consider that the study of such a diversified sample of BCCs would have been unworkable given the constraints of time. We have already discussed problems of sampling in Chapter Three.

An important omission in the research is the discovery of the social networks of both the animators and members, especially their community linkages and activities. While the eight BCCs are sites for talk about different selections of practices within the chapel and beyond, our research did not explore the social networks of the participants. In our research, the data only indicates in what type of organizations animators and members participate (Tables 6.8 and 6.9).

Member and Animator Selection

The procedures of animator selection were set out in Chapter Six. The procedure of animator selection for most BCCs is autonomous of the local chapel, informal, and internal to the BCCs themselves. However, it is a matter of great interest that the procedures of selection of animators of the PL BCCs were more formal than for any other BCC. In these BCCs animators have been ritually initiated by the local bishop during a special liturgical celebration. This participation in the naming of animators may reveal a positive official view of the Catholic hierarchy toward liberation theology, a recognition not enjoyed by any other BCCs. As we have said, no direct

knowledge of the theological orientation of the BCC members is
available to us, and issues arise as to whether or not these BCCs
would have a liberationist orientation (PL or CL) if their animators
were not of that orientation. However, we do have direct knowledge
concerning the chapels to which the PL BCCs are attached which
confirms that they have a liberationist orientation (Chapter
Fourteen). In the case of the CL BCC, interview evidence in Chapter
Fourteen confirms that the local religious personnel of the chapel are
sympathetic toward CL, with its focus on local networks of solidarity
and on processes and contexts which promote and enhance the value of
marginalized cultural forms. PL BCCs seek liberationist
transformation of institutions and the CL BCC look to increase
participation and foster shared identity within an existing social
order.

We do not know whether the BCCs are highly representative of
their marginalized sectors because it is difficult to show
conclusively the criteria of the selection of members. We cannot be
sure about how representative the BCC members' talk actually is
because of the processes of members selection. When BCC members are
asked who can be a member of a BCC, nearly all say that the BCC is
open to everyone who wants to join and in a BCC anyone can say what's
on their mind. But not everyone joins. In fact, evidence set out in
the thesis shows that BCCs are a self-selecting elite in their local
neighborhoods. In Chapter Six we were able to isolate features of
animators and members which seem to indicate implicit criteria of
selection.

1.2.2 Analysis of BBC Talk

Categorization of BCC Talk

We set out the level and social base of each discourse in
Chapters Eight to Eleven and Thirteen. We defined the concepts, level
and social base, and used them to make distinctions among specific
realizations of the secondary and religious discourses. We were able
to isolate secondary discourse in the talk according to their
definitions in Chapter Five. We allocated BCC talk first according to
discourse, and secondly according to level and social base. We can

394

have some confidence in the method of categorization because of the consistencies which we found in BCC types and in the expected relation between these consistencies and the class and religious background of the BCCs.

Selection of Exemplary Sequences

A major issue of the analysis is the principles of selection of the data to be analyzed. Ideally, we should have presented a complete analysis of the transcripts from all twenty-two audio-taped BCC meetings. Or we should have endeavored to present much longer sequences. Such a task would have been unworkable when we consider that in the thesis we have already presented thirty-five exemplary sequences in the chapters on the discourses alone, which together with their discussion has covered more than 200 pages. The selection of exemplary sequences was constrained by the space available in the overall thesis, and in the end has included only a fraction of the total transcriptions of BCC meetings. The analysis depends on the sequences of transcribed text which are considered exemplary. There is a question of our principle of selection arising out of the sustained reading of the transcripts - such a procedure is clearly subjective. Yet having observed each BCC at least ten times during the 14 month period of field work, we can have some confidence that the selection of sequences is exemplary. With respect to this principle of selection, one could have asked observers to read the transcripts, and on the basis of criteria for each of the BCC types, to judge the appropriateness of the selection. However, such a task would have been onerous and would have involved much time in explaining to non-indigenous speakers the content of the transcripts. This for the most part is in spanish, and in a popular Chilean spanish which is extraordinarily colloquial.

The second issue concerns selection in terms of content. In the exemplary sequences we have selected talk which indicates representations of problems and strategies for their solution. We opted for this selection of BCC talk because it gave some recognition to the official aims set out for BCCs by Catholic regulatory agencies which described BCCs generally as religious sites for the discussion

of everyday problems and develop solutions for them. Thus, the content of the BCC talk we have made available in the thesis is limited to the representations of selected problems and strategies for their solution in exemplary sequences. The definition of the concept of "problem" was based on the worries, concerns and difficulties that the members made explicit in their talk. Ideally, all problems referred to in the full corpus of the transcripts should have entered at some point and in some form into the analysis. Furthermore, our selection of problems made no reference to the fact that problems varied in their degree of severity, or that in the text itself problems varied in the amount of time they took up in the meeting and the number of members concerned with a given problem. Ideally, we should have followed the same procedures for the analysis of strategies with respect to their number, type and context. We did not find many problems in identifying the representations of problems, there were some difficulties in the case of strategies. It was occasionally difficult to discriminate between a statement of general intention and a more concrete strategy as a proposed act, and to decide where one strategy ended and another began. The basic constraint on how much was analyzed, the number of problems and strategies and their types was the time available and how best that time could be used. Basically, we chose exemplary sequences which we considered were typical of the talk, illustrating each of the quadrants in the models where this was possible.

1.2.3 Pedagogic Practice

The issues here concern the principles of description of the pedagogic practices and the role of the animator. On the whole, the identification of organizational, communicative and interactive practices and the role of the animator in those practices did not pose a major methodological problem. As in the case of problems and strategies ideally our classification should have been checked thoroughly by other researchers, but for reasons we have already given this was not feasible. For the identification and analysis of the discourses and their types we considered that Bernstein's concept of classification not only opened up the BCC talk, but provided a way of distinguishing discourses and contexts at all levels of the analysis.

396

We consider the classificatory values to be reliable. In the case of
framing we set up clear criteria for the degrees of strength of the
framing. We discussed the specific strengths of classification and
framing for each BCC in Chapter Five on the Field of Pedagogic
Practice.

1.2.4 Issues of Theory

With respect to the theory, we attempted to follow Bernstein's
model of pedagogic discourse and the modalities of BCC practices. We
have shown a significant reformulation of Bernstein's model of
pedagogic discourse by expanding the formulation of pedagogic
discourse itself. As we have seen in our research, secondary
discourses were filtered through religious discourse. This
ideological filtering led to the exclusion, selective inclusion and
refocusing of secondary discourses (referred to as a relation of
embedding) according to three distinct religious discourses, which
gave rise to three pedagogic discourses, "SD/RD", "RD^I/RD", "RD^G/RD".
On the basis of this reformulation or expansion of Bernstein's concept
of pedagogic discourse, we were able to determine that two BCCs were
not pedagogic contexts at all, which we represented as "SD/SD".

Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing were crucial
to the thesis since they were applicable to all levels of the
research. This language of description and the discriminations to
which it gave rise enabled us to identify the form of the three
religious discourses in the field of production of theological
discourse, recontextualizing and pedagogic practice. "$+-C^{IE}/+-F^{IE}$"
enabled us to write and to distinguish pedagogic practices, to
contrast BCC types in terms of variations in those practices, and
provided a language which enabled us to show that the BCC is (or is
not) a pedagogic context. Further, classification and framing allowed
us to see the forms of religious discourse as the fundamental
regulatory discourse and its shaping the specific realizations of
secondary discourses in the BCCs. However, we found that the concepts
of classification and framing and the theory of pedagogic discourse
were unable to deal with the particular realizations in BCC talk -
with the issues of concern to the members. That is, we were unable to

use Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing to discuss further the specific content of a stretch of BCC text.

In order to deal with the analysis of the BCC text we turned to Bourdieu. In Chapter Seven we set out the concepts of strategy, habitus and practice, clearly recognizing that his concepts cannot be adopted unreservedly. Thus, we chose a weak reading of habitus rather than a strong reading. There has been very little empirical research on the relation between habitus and strategy by researchers other than Bourdieu (1984, 1990a, 1990b). Further, Bourdieu gives no strong evidence for where one class habitus ends and another begins. Like Bourdieu we have no direct evidence of how the class habitus shapes the cognitive schemes, practices and relations. In this sense, our research reflects this weakness of evidence procedures associated with Bourdieu's work. However, we have shown that it is not sufficient to consider habitus in class terms. With respect to religious habitus we have given strong evidence for its effects in the BCC context. In our case, we have shown first that different degrees of marginality produce quite great differences in BCC talk in terms of its level and, to a lesser extent, in terms of its social base. Secondly, within those degrees of marginality, we have shown the differences in BCC talk associated with religious habitus. Furthermore, we have related the class and religious habitus to the range of codes which shape the talk (problems and strategies) in the BCCs. We consider that we have found strong evidence for the relation of habitus and strategy with respect to everyday problems of the marginalized poor.

Another theoretical issue which arises out of Bourdieu's work is the applicability of formal and practical mastery to BCC talk. A close examination of theological texts leaves no doubt that PL and CL like OC are by definition formal discourses in the Theological Field. Even though they are located in informal centres, PL and CL agents in the Theological Field exercise formal mastery over their discourse. When we applied the concepts of practical and formal mastery to the Field of Pedagogic Practice, problems arose with respect to the application of the concepts.

Practical mastery in the thesis referred to the application of religion to the problems of everyday life. However, in the case of OC what counts as a context to which the christian faith may be applied

and extended is clearly different from PL and CL. All members in the BCCs show some mastery over the specific religious modalities; they do apply religion to their everyday problems albeit to very different problems.

The identification of formal mastery over OC was straightforward given its high degree of abstraction. What was formal mastery over PL and CL? In the cases of PL and CL, the function of formal mastery over PL or CL we considered was to select and refocus biblical narratives and to provide the metaphorical bridging between those selected biblical narratives and everyday experience. Those with formal mastery over PL or CL knew the selected stories which could give rise to the relation between features of biblical texts and everyday contexts to be inserted in the pedagogic practices. But it may be the case that this 'low level' of recontextualizing through metaphorical bridging short-circuited contact with the principles of their own PL and CL discourses. As theological discourses, PL and CL are in themselves equally as abstract as OC, perhaps more so as they require a knowledge of the social sciences.

2 Empirical Findings

2.1 Field of Production of Theological Discourse

The conditions for the actual range of positions in the Chilean theological field arose out of the ambiguities in Catholic discourse and practice after the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). Our enquiry into theological discourse in Chile was set out in Chapter Four.

There we presented a diachronic enquiry into the field of theological production in Chile with specific reference to its discourses (OC, CL and PL). In the field of production of theological discourse we were interested in the degree to which a theological discourse incorporated a vision of society influenced by the social sciences or by other more informal discourses. We used Bernstein's concept of classification to distinguish between the three theological discourses which constituted the field of the production of theological discourse. Thus, OC was categorized as strongly classified, whereas CL and PL was categorized as weakly classified. CL incorporated formal and informal discourses (narratives) which

described and analyzed the wide range of practices of marginalized existence, whereas PL incorporated formal discourses which analyzed political and economic power relations of the marginalized in society.

It is on the basis of these classificatory values that each theological position gives rise to distinct problematics, and from these problematics a vision of society may be derived. The personal problematic of OC precludes the incorporation of social science discourses within its classification, and as such offers no vision of society. The code orientation of OC, however, has given rise to an adjacent discourse called Catholic social doctrine which offers a vision of society in which class differences blend into a utopian *interclassismo*. By virtue of their weak external classification, CL and PL create a vision of society by dislocating elements from other discourses and relocating them in theology. CL creates an apparently ethnographic discourse 'from the poor' which focuses on the religious and cultural forms of marginality. PL creates an analytical discourse 'for the poor' which focuses on the tensions, dilemmas and conflicts which face the marginalized as they are supposed to move into an imagined future through the gradual unfolding of their political *proyecto popular*.

2.2 Recontextualizing Field

The thesis had originally envisioned an enquiry into a recontextualizing field which would have focused on the description of the range of ideological biases though which the three theological discourses would be filtered in the construction of pedagogic texts. In Chapter Four we set out how the empirical research revealed that there is neither a recontextualizing field, nor a significant number of pedagogic texts designed specifically for BCCs. Furthermore, no mechanisms exist in the Church for the circulation of these few pedagogic texts to the BCC, nor is there any significant directive pertinent to their circulation in BCC policies of Catholic regulatory agencies. Thus, we have concluded that while policies as "desired outcomes" for BCCs abound from no less than nine regulatory agencies, the Catholic Church in Santiago has no pedagogic mechanisms or effective practices which it can introduce at the local level (into a BCC meeting) to positively shape the discourse in BCCs.

Nevertheless, the Catholic regulatory agencies have been developing policies to regulate BCCs since 1969. The control over the BCCs was not through a direct control over the talk established by the construction of texts or explicit training of the animators: that is, the control was not pedagogic. Instead the Church relied only upon the formal linkage of BCCs to the local chapel to effect control. That is, the control was institutional. The Church relied upon its own symbolic power expressed in the hierarchy of the local chapel and its local administrative arrangement to ensure a legitimate BCC discourse. It relied upon the animator's membership in chapel committees and chapel attendance of members to be adequate controls. The BCC was considered to be both a defense against the threats to catholic hegemony, and at the same time, its potential autonomy was regarded with suspicion. Tying BCCs to the local chapel was considered by the Church to be an effective means of dealing with the political and religious threats from the outside (PC and protestant recruitment), as well as the threat from the inside (BCC autonomy).

Our research shows that the control policies of the Church were orientated to a hypothetical BCC which was imagined as a site of resistance to local chapel directives. Contrary to this representation of the BCC which we inferred from the documents of Catholic regulatory agencies, our research shows that BCC animators and members participate in a wide range of chapel organizations (Tables 6.8 and 6.9 in Chapter Six). We even found that animators and members reproduce local chapel control and objectives in their talk at the micro level. That is, when the BCCs speak about the practices in the local chapel, the orientation of that talk refers to guidelines set out by the local chapel hierarchy and its dependent organizations.[2] These guidelines sometimes focus discussion in which the members discuss problems they have in the local chapel and strategies for their solution. However, we found no evidence that formal institutional control focusing on animator attendance in chapel council meetings had any influence whatsoever over the shaping of the meanings and practices realized in the various secondary discourses except local chapel discourse. Thus, because of the absence of pedagogic control by the full range of Catholic regulatory agencies, the range and orientation of secondary discourses takes place in the BCCs independently of the Catholic Church.

2.3 Field of Pedagogic Practice

2.3.1 Commonalities

Before we discuss the differences among the BCCs in terms of their pedagogic codes, we should recall the commonalities across the sample in terms of the organizational features of the overall context which we set out in Chapter Five.

In BCC organizational practices, the boundary between the sacred and the everyday was reinforced by different degrees of ritual marking between the three episodes in the regular meeting and by ritual texts within the sacred episode (Section 2 of Chapter Five). The complexity of the ritual marking between episodes, that is, at the beginning and at the end of the sacred episode, varied across the sample. It in interesting to note that the ritual marking between episodes itself is traditional, and its forms are clearly derived from other church contexts (prayer meetings, Sunday Mass). We might even argue that the form of ritual marking of the BCC meeting is traditional OC, irrespective of the code modality of the discourse within the sacred episode. A question remains which is beyond the lines of enquiry set out in this thesis. How did the BCC meeting come to have this structure and the organizational practices which sustain it?

The ritual marking between the three episodes of a BCC meeting draws our research focus to the second or sacred episode. This episode is recognizable in virtually all BCC meetings under study, although it varies considerably in length. Within the sacred episode ritual marking was introduced in the form of biblical texts, vocal prayer and singing. In eighteen of twenty-two meetings a biblical text was introduced, in seventeen vocal prayer was used, and in eight meetings singing was introduced. The biblical texts were selected by the animators or members, and the songs were selected generally from a local chapel song book. We should recall that there is an inverse relation in the incidence of sacred to everyday talk in the sacred episode. Thus, if a BCC occupies a large portion of this episode with sacred texts, then little everyday talk will be introduced.

2.3.2 Differences in Pedagogic Code

Introduction

We have set out three theological codes throughout the thesis, orthodox-conciliar and two modalities of liberation code, political and cultural. Each of these codes has a specific influence in shaping what is talked about in a BCC and how it is talked about. In Sections 3, 4 and 5 of Chapter Five, the differences in the pedagogic codes were given by the classification and framing of the BCC procedures. Secondly, in Chapters Eight through Eleven we set out the specific problems which were talked about in each BCC and the strategies which animator and members proposed for their solution. We expected and found a relationship between pedagogic code and the problems and strategies which issued from the BCC talk.

We can now set out our overall conclusions with respect to the above. We shall first give our results with respect to classification which considers the theological discourse, and secondly with respect to framing which refers to the pedagogic control over the communication and interaction. We will then show the expected relation between classification and framing values for the BCC and the level and social base of the talk. We shall present the results first of all with respect to degree of marginality of the BCC, and secondly, we shall set out the results with respect to the influence of previous religious socialization on pedagogic code.

2.3.2.1 Pedagogic Codes of Low Marginality

Classification

All four BCCs in the areas of low marginality have a religious discourse which was strongly classified, that is, OC. However, in the case of two BCCs, **John XXIII** and **Saint James**, we have found that there is no pedagogic discourse as the talk is solely about the local chapel (given as "SD/SD"). However, it is clear from other data that the political talk goes forward on the basis of OC.

We have characterized the two BCCs which have pedagogic discourse as "RD^I/RD". Where we have "RD^I/RD", religious discourse is

applied to the pedagogizing of itself. This religious discourse, has its origin in two modes of OC: Charismatic Renewal and *Cursillo*. Charismatic Renewal introduces into the sacred episode an extraordinarily high amount of sacred text (stylized vocal prayer and singing). In this mode of OC there is no recontextualizing of secondary discourses as one would expect, but the human psyche is seen almost exclusively as a site for contact with God. This seems to be an example of recontextualizing within OC which is based upon immediate spiritual relationship between God and the individual, as the "^{I}" indicates.

In the case of *Cursillo* the opposite occurs. In the BCC **Justice** secondary discourses are introduced, but not as occasions for discussion of everyday problems and solutions. In this BCC, secondary discourses become occasions for the display of highly abstract theological talk according to the principles of this movement. Thus, what is foregrounded as pedagogic is not everyday problems, but the display of this mode of religious discourse.

In terms of the representations and strategies of BCCs of low marginality, as we had expected the level is micro (except for the mobility strategies) and the social base is individual. With one exception, the range of secondary discourses is narrow. In the *Cursillo* BCC, **Justice**, while a wide range of secondary discourses is introduced, but these discourses provide only a formal platform on which members might display the principles of *Cursillo*.

Framing

With respect to pedagogic practices, crucial differences have been found among the less marginalized BCCs. The framing over the communicative and interactive practices varies according to previous religious socialization. BCCs with previous religious socialization have weak framing values. Whereas BCCs without previous religious socialization have animator-driven control, and thus, strong framing. Thus, control over the communication and interaction is diffused among the members in those BCCs where members have acquired the OC principles through previous religious socialization in family catechism.

404

It is a matter of some interest that we found strong framing in a BCC where there is no pedagogic discourse (**Saint James**), and in a BCC where we have shown that there is a pedagogic discourse (**Saint Michael**). Thus, in these BCCs the animator is regarded as an authority who controls the local chapel political talk in the case of **Saint James**, or as one who controls the liturgical prayer discourse of the Charismatic Renewal in **Saint Michael**. In BCCs without family catechism there is strong framing. Here the animator must impose and reinforce the OC principles through stronger animator-centered control over the interactive and communicative practices. By contrast, it would seem that previous religious socialization may orientate its subjects toward weak framing in the cases of **John XXIII** and **Justice**. But this may be due to the fact that **John XXIII** has been together since 1969. In the other BCC, **Justice**, weak framing arose out of the acceptance by the animator of one member's dominance over the *Cursillo* discourse. Clearly as we have only two BCCs of low marginality which are pedagogic contexts, the findings of the relation between previous religious socialization and weak framing must be treated with great caution.

Here are the final conclusions with respect to the pedagogic codes and low marginality. Low marginality is associated with a pedagogic code which select a narrow range of secondary discourses (if it selects any at all) (+C). In the cases of **Saint James** and **John XXIII** ("SD/SD"), there is no pedagogic discourse and in the case of **Saint Michael** and **Justice** ("RD^{I}/RD"), there is no application of religious principles to everyday problems and their solution. In general, the social base is individual and the level is micro. In two cases, the BCC is a space for the revivification and display of individualized religious discourses which are imported from beyond the local chapel (spiritual in the case of <u>Charismatic Renewal</u>, and moral in the case of <u>Cursillo</u>). In the other two cases, the BCC is a site for political control or resistance (to that control) in the local chapel. <u>The only BCCs with no pedagogic discourse are low marginality</u>. In these BCCs of low marginality, the space has been appropriated for purposes not envisioned by the official policy of Catholic regulatory agencies. Here, groups have appropriated the BCC space for their own political purposes. BCCs with previous religious socialization have weak and very weak framing (-/--F). By contrast,

BCCs which did not emerge from family catechism, framing is strong and very strong (+/++F). In general and of some interest previous religious socialization is associated with OC but not with either of its modalities, *Cursillo* or Charismatic Renewal. However, in the case of liberation theology, previous religious socialization is associated with the cultural (CL) and not the political modality (PL) of liberation theology.

2.3.2.2 Pedagogic Codes of High Marginality

Classification

The range of religious discourses in BCCs of high marginality includes OC, CL and PL. The range of secondary discourses is wider among BCCs of high marginality than in BCCs of low marginality. As we saw in the chapters on religious discourse, OC gives rise to "RD^G/RD", CL and PL give rise to "SD/RD". We can immediately see that these forms of liberation theology are confined wholly to BCCs in the area of high marginality, and that in the case of OC, the orientation of the talk is different from that of BCCs of low marginality. In the cases of OC in BCCs of low marginality, OC is associated with a stress on individual mobility within the chapel or a highly individualized relationship with God abstracted from practical concerns. Whereas OC in areas of high marginality is associated with talk focusing around cooperative practices in the chapel and the wider community. OC here appears to encourage individual growth through participation in activities in the local chapel and beyond. Moreover, OC here conceives groups in the chapel as pedagogic sites where individuals may be socialized into these flexible cooperative practices.

The second difference between modalities of OC refers to the range of secondary discourses. OC in high marginality is associated with a greater range of secondary discourses. However, the social base of the secondary discourses is both individual and collective, but the level is almost entirely micro.

The greatest range of secondary discourses is focused through religious discourse, as "SD/RD". From this, we inferred that the BCCs were operating with liberation theology where they discussed everyday

406

problems and strategies for their solution. However, of great
interest, we found that we were able to distinguish between BCCs as
operating with one of two modalities, political or cultural. In the
two PL BCCs, with the high incidence of discourse as macro (level) and
collective (social base), the concept of society is derived entirely
from a discourse of political power and from extended <u>politico-
religious metaphors</u> which we set out in the exemplary sequence in
Chapter Eleven on Political Discourse and in Chapter Thirteen on
Religious Discourse. BCC talk focuses on the tensions and dilemmas of
national politics as they relate to the interests of the marginalized
classes (tensions between the poor sectors and the State, or between
the poor sectors and the political right). Based on a concept of
political society, constituted by dominating and dominated groups,
members also introduce the process of social change which is derived
exclusively from macro political change.

In PL BCCs society is political society where groups contest
human rights and recognition by the State. Domestic discourse is only
rarely selected, and in the only extensive sequence of domestic
discourse (in **Workers of God**), a domestic problem is a function of the
neighborhood's negative influence on a member's family and the
strategies introduced do not exclude physical violence. In the PL
BCCs, pedagogic discourse creates a discourse where members discuss a
political future based on a christian collectivist ideology.

In the CL BCC, the secondary discourses deal with social
relations <u>within the contexts of marginality</u>. Only infrequently does
the BCC introduce a discourse of social change at the macro level, a
discourse more characteristic of PL. Rather, it is more frequently
the case that the CL pedagogic discourse privileges texts which are
expressive of the values of marginalized culture in any secondary
discourse. The BCC and local chapel are represented frequently as
agencies of material and spiritual solidarity within the neighborhood.
Domestic discourse figured prominently in one meeting, where a
religio-domestic metaphor extends the specific identities of the Holy
Family to the marginalized family. Thus, this pedagogic discourse
privileges texts with a religious view of marginality <u>as valuable in
itself</u>.

CL focuses on a wide range of problems where the discourse is micro level and where the social base may be either individual or collective, whereas PL focuses on a wide range of discourses which are macro collective.

Framing

In the four BCCs of low marginality the framing is generally weak and very weak. In the case of the CL BCC **Solidarity**, the BCC itself is so large (19 members) that this contributes to a large degree to the generally stronger animator-driven control over discourse and interaction. Here the animator frequently introduces the topic of the meeting, reinforces the topic, disciplines members for the content of their interventions and ensure that all members have the opportunity to speak (interactive). Thus, we have strong framing.

2.3.3 Previous Religious Socialization and High Marginality

Previous religious socialization produced crucial differences in pedagogic code in the BCCs of high marginality. In those BCCs with no previous religious socialization the religious discourse is PL, and appears to reflect the class habitus of the members. However, OC and CL BCCs of high marginality are BCCs where the members, as a group, have experienced family catechism. It appears that such previous religious socialization within high marginality reduces or negates involvement in PL and creates framing values (weak control over communicative and interactive patterns) similar to BCCs of low marginality. Previous religious socialization is not associated with PL. Further, previous religious socialization focuses secondary discourses at the micro level.

In contrast to low marginality, in BCCs of high marginality the pedagogic space has been appropriated for purposes which are more closely envisioned in the official policy of Catholic regulatory agencies. However, this convergence of BCC aims can only be considered coincidental, since these regulatory agencies exercise no pedagogic shaping of the BCCs.

3 Class Habitus and Religious Socialization

We have found as we expected that the religious discourse of the
BCCs is a complex function of their previous religious socialization
and marginal class position. Religious socialization functions among
marginalized catholics as a "secondary socialization". The nationally
authorized pedagogic texts of family catechism were recontextualized
for use in local chapels of high marginality of the Western Zone in
order to place strong emphasis through narrative forms on cooperative
practices and solidarity among the poor. *Encuentro de Dios Vivo*
(standard text) and *Hijos, Hermanos y Señores* (text for BCCs of high
marginality in the Western Zone) are both pedagogic texts whose
pedagogic code is $+C^{I/E}/+F^{I/E}$.[3] The pedagogic codes underlying these
two pedagogic texts is strong classification and strong framing.

It may be the case that the pedagogic practice and texts
experienced and read during 24-month course of family catechism
orientate individuals to the micro level of practice as a site for
change rather than to the macro collective. Patterns of no political
preference set out in Chapter Six indicate low levels of political
preference among members of BCCs of low marginality with previous
religious socialization (especially among women). Further, its strong
emphasis upon the individual may well weaken group solidarities
arising out of the experiences of a shared material disadvantage and
oppression: a common class position. Thus, family catechism clearly
reinforces OC by a penetrating form of socialization into its
discourse and facilitates an individualistic orientation, and as a
consequence, may weaken collectively-based group solidarities. It is
for these reasons that the pedagogic codes of BCCs of high marginality
but with previous religious socialization resemble BCCs of low
marginality, irrespective of whether their members have received
family catechism. There is always the possibility that family
catechism acts selectively in areas of high marginality on those who
experience it. Thus, those who opt for family catechism, especially
those who join as a group or become a group may have a relatively weak
class habitus which is either reinforced or made progressively weaker
by the form of religious socialization in Family Catechism groups.
But we must recall that marginalized parents who wish to have their

children make their First Communion (as eight year-olds) must participate in family catechism irrespective of the strength of their class habitus. It is likely that participants of family catechism groups who resist the Family Catechism pedagogy would disband at the end of that experience. Thus, the class habitus of BCCs which have emerged from family catechism resemble the class habitus of low marginality and appear orientated towards discourses and practices at the micro local level and with an individual social base.

In the case of low marginality, where previous religious socialization is not associated with differences in representations of problems and strategies, it seems here that representations and strategies have their origin in the class position of low marginality. Here, individual effort to secure change and reduced collective solidarities is stressed. But perhaps this is the wrong way to put the issue. It is probably the convergence of the micro individual orientation of family catechism with the individual mobility orientation of the class habitus of the less marginalized[4] that is responsible for the similarity of all of the BCCs in the low marginality area. Thus, in the case of low marginality religious socialization does not alter class habitus. By contrast, among BCCs of high marginality, religious socialization is associated with great differences in the BCC talk. There the religious-class subject of educational BCCs is significantly different from the religious class subject of non-educational BCCs. In BCCs of high marginality, religious socialization brings representations and strategies in all secondary discourses down to the micro level (negating macro level discourse), reduces the metaphorical register of religious discourse, reduces the incidence of political discourse, and increases the incidence of domestic discourse.

4 BCCs and Gender Difference

As local chapel groupings, BCCs may have a specific gender function because of the high levels of participation of women in marginalized local chapels of Greater Santiago. The distribution of participants in terms of gender in Güell's systematic empirical study of 204 marginalized groups in one highly marginalized sector of Santiago (of which 15 were BCC type groups) indicates that 65.1% of

410

the participants were women and 35.0% were men. This contrasts with the gender distribution for the general population at large in that sector where 51.1% are women and 48.8% are men. This greater participation of women is not only a quantitative matter, women also have a great importance in the work of constitution and leadership of church groups (Güell 1987:25). Among the organizers of the groups in Güell's study 76.0% are women and 23.9% are men (Güell 1987:30). In the BCCs in our sample, seven of the eight animators are women.

Valdivieso's empirical research which focuses exclusively on BCCs indicated a gender distribution in his sample of 313 BCCs (3,737 total members) similar to Güell's pattern: 68.0% were women and 32% were men. But Valdivieso provides no information with respect to the gender of BCC animators. When Valdivieso's gender distribution is broken down according to Eastern and Western Zones the pattern in each zone is similar to that of the overall sample, that is, roughly a "2-to-1" proportion. With respect to our sample, Table 6.3 in Chapter Six reflects a similar "2-to-1" gender distribution in BCCs of high marginality but BCCs of low marginality are constituted by as many men as women. In our sample, the distribution of BCC members in terms of gender is uncharacteristically balanced in the BCCs of low marginality where the distribution of men and women are equal.

Our data indicates two possible gender functions for the BCC. It may be the case that the higher level of women's participation in chapel-based organizations like the BCCs indicates that the chapel may be a space appropriated for the promotion of strong class or gender solidarity in face-to-face groups (Campero 1987a; Valdés 1988:145). This fact is born out (a) in interview data which stresses gender solidarity in the BCC, and (b) in BCC talk in highly marginalized BCCs, women introduce problems and draw on a *repertoire* of strategies to cope with domestic difficulties. On the other hand, the local chapel may be considered as a site in which women are able to aspire to positions of power in catechetical and solidarity groups in the local chapel, positions which in other contexts might be closed to them (Drogus 1990). Thus, in the first case the BCC may be a site for the revivification of gender solidarity, and in the latter case, the BCC may be a site for differentiation and stratification through power

411

positions with respect to women in the local neighborhood (as both Güell's data and our data suggest).

The employment profile in Chapter Six (Tables 6.5 and 6.6) indicated that 100% of male BCC members were engaged in full-time employment, whereas only 41.5% of women were so employed. Previous religious socialization is not associated with any difference in the incidence of employed women, whereas degree of marginality was associated with great differences. More than twice as many women in BCCs of low marginality were employed full-time (70.5% vs. 27.7%). Thus, BCCs tend to act selectively on women in terms of employment, but only where we have low marginality. It may be the case that the improved economic position results from the combined household income.

The political profile of our sample in Tables 6.10-6.13 reveals sharp differences in terms of gender where the incidence of "no political preference" across the sample was 50.9% among women and 27.7% among men. Furthermore, in BCCs <u>with</u> previous religious socialization the level of no preference among women nearly doubles the level for women in BCCs <u>without</u> previous religious socialization (63.3% vs. 34.7%). As we saw in Chapter Six, the association between previous religious socialization and the incidence of "no political preference" among women is quite striking. In BCCs of high marginality, where the threat of Church desertion through political radicalization is perceived to be most acute by the Catholic hierarchy, the actual risk of desertion in general, but among women especially, must be considered extremely low since so many failed to express even a political preference.

What is the origin of gender differences as they arise in BCC membership, in the incidence of political talk and in the incidence of political preference? To what might we attribute the self-professed political indifference and ignorance of BCC women especially in the case of those with previous religious socialization? Either these women held these attitudes before they joined their family catechism groups or they were "depoliticized" through the pedagogies of family catechism and/or of the BCCs.

Originally, we had expected <u>generally</u> that BCC talk would set out programmes of change in a wide range of secondary discourses.

412

Given the gender distribution in our sample we expected that women might have set out programmes of change for domestic or even church gender roles irrespective of class interests. What does the evidence in the BCC talk suggest as it is set out in the thesis? With respect to domestic and church relations across the BCC sample there is little or no concern among the women (or among men) about the very strong classification of domestic gender roles which we indicated in Chapter Eight. In low marginality BCCs, neither women nor men introduce programmes of domestic change, but rather they develop strategies of negotiation for communication problems. In the BCCs of high marginality we found three resistance strategies of verbal or physical violence promoted by BCC women against their husbands in order to 'keep them under control', especially when they endeavor to participate in activities outside the home (Raczynski and Serrano 1985; Valdés 1988). The issue was not a programme of change of gender relations but the development of immediate coping strategies against their husbands. With respect to church discourse, members never discuss the relative power positions of women in the Catholic Church.

With respect to a feminine political discourse, the only empirical research focuses on women in local chapels in Sao Paolo, Brazil (Drogus 1990). Drogus argues that, on the basis of research in local chapels in areas of high marginality, feminine discourse should be considered traditional since women do not introduce a discourse of gender interests which would reallocate the domestic division of labour so that women could pursue other more political interests (Drogus 1990:72). Thus, we concur with Drogus as we have concluded that women do not use the BCC to develop programmes of change according to gender interests either in the home or in the local chapel. Furthermore, the "activity preferences" among women (Table 6.8) indicate that women in our sample prefer local self-help and support activities rather than political participation. In general, since seven of the eight BCC animators are women we would have expected that the BCCs would not be highly politicized.

Drogus' interview data indicates that women who participate in highly marginalized local chapels profess to be unknowledgable about national politics, or that they do not like politics because it is conflictive or 'dirty'. This is very similar to the interview data

413

for women in highly marginalized educational BCCs in our sample where
a high percentage of women did not express even a preference for a
political party (and perhaps much less political involvement) (Tables
6.10 and 6.13).

When we consider the BCCs as a site for intensifying political
participation of women on the basis of class interests, we can only
agree partially with Drogus. While the OC and CL BCCs are not sites
for women to develop a political programme based on class interest, we
depart from Drogus when we turn to the findings specifically on women
in PL BCCs. In the case of PL BCCs, while there is no feminine
discourse of domestic or church change, our evidence does suggest that
women in PL BCCs are engaged in programmes of political change. We
have based this conclusion on the following.

    (1)   animators are women in PL BCCs, and prefer the CDP
             and the CP (Table 6.10)

    (2)   a high level of preference for left political parties
             among women in PL BCCs (Table 6.13)

    (3)   high incidence of political talk in these PL BCCs
             (Table 5.1)

    (4)   high level of political participation in both support
             organizations at the local level and in politically
             orientated organizations outside the BCC (Table 6.8)

It should not be at all surprising that the PL BCCs do not have
a domestic programme of change since, as we have shown, PL discourse
does not engage domestic discourse either in the field of production
of theological discourse or in the field of pedagogic practice of the
BCC. By the same token it should not be surprising that women do not
introduce a programme of church change, since they are engaged for the
most part in solidarity groups in the local chapel.

The thesis has shown that PL discourse is more concerned with
the 'relations of production' than with 'relations of reproduction'.
The programme of change to which the PL code gives rise is political,
and in our sample this affects the political orientation of women.

5 Official Policy: BCCs and their Future

5.1 Political and Religious

Since the Vatican Council, the political function of religious organizations has expanded to include not only the accommodationists, rightists and establishmentarians, but also oppositional stances which may operate selectively to delegitimize specific political practices and challenge the social policies of the State. Research indicates that there has even been a general shift in political function of the theological field across Latin America with the emergence of liberation theology (Gotay 1986:157), where liberation theology provides categories for a politics of opposition and contestation for informal and official Catholic bodies, as well as providing legitimacy to left politics. In Brazil, for example, research has indicated that an oppositional stance has become the official position of the Catholic hierarchy (Adriance 1985a; Bamat 1983; Langton 1986; Seidler 1986).

As we have shown with respect to the BCCs, the promotion of the BCC may have arisen originally out of a concern of the Chilean Catholic Church for "the split of the working classes in Chile between the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) and the Communist Party (CP)" (Cox 1984, Smith 1982). The original promotion of the CDP by the Catholic hierarchy through the 1950s and 1960s may be seen as a vehicle to counter the extreme secularization of politics promoted by the CP especially among the marginalized (Neuhouser 1989:236). The Catholic hierarchy considered that marxism was "incapable of sustaining a religious focus" since it focuses on "atheistic materialism and a commitment to class struggle" (Roelofs 1988:549). In addition to this secular mission to increase the resistance of marginalized Catholics to the CP, the BCC was proposed as a site to increase resistance to protestant recruitment. Thus, the BCC was set out as a politico-religious context to stop both political secularization and desertion of the Catholic Church for evangelical sects among Chile's poor (Foley 1990:464; Smith 1982). Through its promotion of the BCC, the Catholic hierarchy has sought to create a face-to-face context where neither the extreme political left (CP) nor the religious right (evangelicals) can win the hearts of the poor. The Catholic hierarchy perceived the church identity of the

marginalized as being more seriously threatened than the dominating classes.[5]

Have BCCs responded to these political and religious aims as set out originally by the Catholic hierarchy in Chile? It is difficult to say. To answer this question we shall turn first to systematic empirical research on the political function of marginalized church groups carried out in other Latin American countries, then to research carried out in Chile (Güell 1987; Valdivieso 1989), and finally to findings based on our own small sample. Outside Chile, some research literature is unreliable because of the absence of an empirical base.[6] Systematic empirical research outside Chile (predominantly in Brazil) which focuses on the political function of marginalized church groups is only indirectly applicable to our research because its research object is different (Chapter One). In contrast to the BCC, Banck (1990) and Hewitt (1986, 1987a, 1987b) focus their research on Basic Ecclesial Communities (BECs rather than BCCs) which operates in lieu of the local chapel. These sites are alternative parochial organizations (20-50 members) with a full range of local chapel functions and their own governing councils (Hewitt 1986:28), whereas in our research, BCCs (much smaller than the BECs) operate exclusively at a sub-parochial level (within a local chapel). Nevertheless, Hewitt's findings help to focus our consideration on the general political function of marginalized Catholic groups. The aim of his research was to describe the type and degree of BEC involvement in neighborhood improvement processes in sectors of high marginality in Sao Paolo, Brazil. Hewitt found that in response to a questionnaire administered to 210 members of 6 BECs "... nearly half (47.6%) expressed a preference for more traditional, as opposed to politically linked or other innovative [BEC] activities" (Hewitt 1986:25-26). Hewitt's findings indicate a low level of class consciousness and partisan political action among BEC participants. Furthermore, this data seems to substantiate Mainwaring's earlier speculation that these Brazilian-style BECs do not lead necessarily toward greater political organization (Mainwaring 1984:100).

We shall now consider the findings concerning the expected political function of BCCs in empirical studies undertaken in Chile. We have already cited the two systematic empirical studies of BCCs in

Chile (Güell 1987; Valdivieso 1989). We will recall that Güell's research was based on an interview administered to three types of chapel-dependent groups in one highly marginalized sector of Santiago called *Pudahuel Sur*. The 204 groups were of three broad types: catechism, reflection (which includes the BCCs) and local support groups. Overall, this research signaled that the orientation of Church groups to the national political scene was ethical, that is, members analyzed the national political scene in terms of specific social values. In the Güell research it was found that only 50 of the 204 groups (17.6%) were orientated toward the national political scene in Chile in terms of "acting in function of the values of unity, peace, justice and reconciliation". Of those 50 groups, 32 acted in name of the value of unity and understanding, 7 in terms of national reconciliation, 6 in terms of peace and only 5 in terms of justice. In a related finding, 72 groups (25.3%) were found to be orientated toward "raising the consciousness of others by denouncing injustices" in the Chilean national scene (Güell 1987:127), although there is no indication of what forms of realization that denunciation might take.

Güell concluded that the overall ethical orientation toward the national political scene among the reflection groups in his sample (BCCs) tended to characterize the national political scene in general as being empty of the above-mentioned values. Thus, Güell argues that these BCC-type reflection groups would tend to criticize the State and other social institutions, and their members would tend to associate more with political groups than would catechism or solidarity groups. By contrast, Güell indicates that the ethical orientation of the catechism groups directs them toward local organizations where they promote greater unity in local communitarian organizations without questioning the large social institutions like the State (Güell 1987:130-132). This last finding concerning the different foci of the ethical orientations of BCC-type and catechism groups is significant. Our research does not support Güell's comprehensive conclusion that BCC-type reflection groups have an ethical orientation toward national political scene. In our small sample, the ethical orientation toward the national political scene arises only in PL BCCs (without religious socialization), and not in BCCs in general, as Güell's research leads us to believe.

As we have already seen in Chapter Six, Valdivieso's research (1989) provides interesting findings which are related more specifically to the political function of the BCCs as originally expected by the Catholic hierarchy. We may draw some inferences from that data about the political function of BCCs as perceived by members. Generally, when asked what contribution BCCs made to their lives, the members of only 4 of 313 BCCs (1.3%) considered that BCCs gave them "the strength to build a better society".[7] The most frequent responses given to this same question indicate a similar number of BCCs in each Zone considered that the BCC gave them either greater faith (48 [28.7%] in the Eastern Zone with lower marginality and 12 [24.0%] in the Western Zone with its higher marginality) or an opportunity to develop friendships (52 [31.1%] in the Eastern Zone and 15 [30.0%] in the Western). Thus, it appears that BCC contributions to the members are perceived by the members as being individual (in the case of greater faith) or local and interpersonal (in the case of friendship).

This unexpected 'apolitical' trend is carried out in related evidence. Across Valdivieso's sample, data indicates that among BCCs political and union militancy are rare. In his overall sample, only 32 of 313 BCCs (10.0%) have one or more members in labour unions, 25 (8.0%) have one or more members in human rights advocacy groups, and 22 (7.0%) have members in organized political parties. Valdivieso argues that this low level of political participation may be explained by the high incidence of women "homemakers" (dueñas de casa) in the BCC sample. In our sample as Table 6.9 in Chapter Six indicated only one animator is engaged in a politically-related organization outside the chapel. Table 6.8 indicated that among members of our highly marginalized BCCs 6 of 34 (17.6%) are engaged in such activities, and among members of our less marginalized BCCs only 10 of 55 (18.1%) participate in such activities. It is only among the highly marginalized, non-educational in our sample that a significant number of members are engaged in such activities (8 of 21 or 38.0%). Yet, whatever the explanation of these generally low participation levels in political activities, any perception by the Catholic hierarchy that BCCs produce members who are susceptible to recruitment by extreme political groups must be seriously reconsidered.

If we now consider political preference, across our small sample of 89 members in 8 BCCs over 40% of them said that they had no preference for a political party (Table 6.10). In each BCC type, no less than 28% of members had "no political preference". Chapter Six indicated that among women in BCCs of high marginality with previous religious education 70% have "no political preference". It will be interesting to discover whether the general trend toward `"no political preference"' may lead to BCC abstention from electoral politics since the sixteen years of the military regime itself "may have reduced political awareness" (Dodson 1979a:203). What did the data tell us about political preference? The small sample of BCC members in our research (n=89) indicates that 59.2% of BCC members who expressed a political preference (n=52) chose the CDP (n=32), whereas only 11.1% preferred the CP (n=6) (Table 6.10). Extreme politics was virtually absent. In one BCC of low marginality, two members (2.2% of total sample) even supported a pro-Pinochet party (UDI: *Unión Democrática Independiente*). At the other extreme, only six BCC members prefer the CP. Thus, certainly within our sample of BCC members political extremism (UDI and CP) is very low. Thus, according to our research the BCCs are not sites for extremist politics, nor are BCCs sites for the the clarification of political preference, although the majority of those members with a preference indicate the CDP as their party.

If we now turn to the issue of evangelical recruitment, in terms of the specific church function of the BCC, our data indicates that animators and members attend Sunday mass in the local chapel regularly and they participate in chapel-related activities as Chapter Six indicates (Tables 6.8 and 6.9). The Valdivieso data indicates that better than 80.0% of BCCs participate in their local chapel council meeting. Across the Valdivieso sample, nearly 50.0% of BCCs are represented in the council meeting by their animators. Furthermore, 219 of 313 BCCs (69.9%) in the overall Valdivieso sample consider they have a good relation with their local religious personnel. And 259 of 313 BCCs (82.7%) wanted more contact with local religious personnel. Furthermore, 168 of the 195 BCCs (86.1%) which wanted to ask something of the local hierarchy expressed a desire for greater contact with the bishop. Thus, it would appear that BCC members are not at risk either politically or religiously. Politically, BCC members tend to be

centrist (CDP) and religiously their attitudes seem highly resistant to protestant recruitment. Even in the PL BCCs which promote macro collective strategies of protest in the face of practices of political and church leaders, the importance of structure, that is, in the relationship between the marginalized and political or Church hierarchies, is only rarely if ever questioned.

5.2 Official Policy and BCC Autonomy

We have already shown that BCC membership is atypical with respect to the local communities, and that this atypicality results from how the membership is constituted. Membership is very much a matter of members inviting those similar to themselves or the result of long established groups. Thus, the character of a BCC is the result of the autonomy over the matter of its membership. It is the autonomy which enables the groups to be both similar and different from others. Their autonomy enables the BCC groups to be similar with respect to their relation to the local chapel, and different from each other with respect to class and religious habitus. The members of these self-selected BCC groups are atypical of their communities with respect to income, employment, education and marital status Tables 6.4, 6.6 and 6.7). The autonomy thus furnishes both the commonalities and diversities of BCC membership. It ensures that members are protected from political extremism. In as much as BCCs are informal sites for potential leaders within the local chapels, then the socialization of such leaders is regulated.

Three features of BCCs follow from their autonomy (at least within our sample).

> (1) BCC members are atypical within their neighborhoods and local chapels
>
> (2) they are self-selecting groups of similars
>
> (3) the similars vary with respect to class and religious habitus

In our research, the autonomy of the BCCs has not facilitated the aims of official Catholic policy. If the Catholic Church promoted the BCCs because they considered that the marginalized were a group subject to protestant recruitment or political extremism, we would not

420

have thought the membership would be as it was. Surely if this were
to be achieved, then the BCC members should be more typical of their
communities. It was not expected that the membership would be an
elite in the chapel and in the neighborhood. If, on the other hand,
by promoting the BCCs the Catholic hierarchy was seeking a chapel
elite to fight evangelical or political seduction, again we would not
have thought the membership would be as it was. Such a crusading
elite has not emerged in our sample or in any other Chilean empirical
research. As we have already seen, the political and religious aims
of official policy have not bee fulfilled: politically, relations with
grassroots political organizations are weak, and religiously,
evangelical recruitment has been quite successful among the urban poor
in Santiago. The BCC has become a site of differentiation and
stratification attracting only a marginalized elite and not the
Catholic masses, and it has not stopped desertion to evangelical
chapels. Empirical research indicates that protestant membership in
Chile at the present stands at around 35.0% (Van Dorp 1985), and with
its charismatic dimension, this recruitment has been particularly
effective among the marginalized. May we conclude then that BCCs have
failed in this original function?

Perhaps, we must distinguish between the intended pedagogic
function as set out originally by the Catholic hierarchy and the
unintended pedagogic function as it has actually developed in BCC
practice. It appears that, in contrast to the original intention, the
actual pedagogic function of BCCs is to provide training sites for
chapel leadership. We have seen that the BCC members are highly alert
to chapel practices and engage in a range of pedagogic and cooperative
practices.

It may be the case that what has happened has been a result of
the autonomy of BCCs. If the local religious personnel in the chapel
had more control over the the BCC animators then the members might not
have developed their practices of self-selection. If the Catholic
Church had been more concerned with pedagogy and had created and
circulated pedagogic texts or had developed systematic training for
animators, then the outcome of this twenty year period of BCC
development may have been quite different.

If our analysis holds, then each BCC offers to the membership
specific cultural specializations according to religious and class
habitus. It is a means by which one's cultural-religious identity is
affirmed and intensified. The specialization of each BCC reflects an
intersection between social class and religious socialization. The
BCC is a context for social recognition, differentiation and
stratification, the affirmation of class and religious solidarities in
the domestic, church, economic and political arenas, and it is a
context for the exercise of religious commitment to values. Thus, the
actual function of the BCC (and not the original intended pedagogic
one) allows for variations which reflect different life conditions of
the atypically marginalized.

5.3 Future of the BCCs

We must consider the future of the BCCs in the light of the
groups that the Catholic Church had originally targeted in the
promotion of the BCCs.

(1) We should expect the return to democracy to demand some
adjustments from the membership of the BCCs in terms of their
discourses and practices. Based on the experience of other countries
the influence of a return to democracy from authoritarian regimes
issues a challenge to grassroots organizations. The importance of
BCCs may decrease since research indicates that the return to
democracy in Brazil was accompanied by a rapid decline in the level of
popular protest and organization (Gay 1990:113). In Valdivieso's
sample (313 BCCs), only 177 (49%) considered that the BCCs would
change if the country returned to democratic system. Furthermore,
only seven of 313 BCCs (2.2%) expected that change to focus on their
BCC experiencing an increased participation in society. This data
supports the hypothesis that the BCCs are essentially chapel
orientated and less susceptible in terms of their discourses and
practices to the ebb and flow of political change.

(2) If the findings from our small sample are valid and
reliable, then the future of the BCC may not be very different from
the past. As the members are chapel rather than politically

orientated, then the return to democracy should not have any great effect on the BCCs.

(3) If the threat from the political left is in decline ,then one of the original *raison dêtre* for the BCC is disappearing. How will this effect the official policy of the Catholic regulatory agencies? What of protestant evangelical recruitment? Here we have argued, and shown in part, that the BCC by virtue of its membership is no protection from the Catholic masses from this recruitment.

(4) There is the issue of the development of liberation theology in the period of restored democracy. Will liberation theology continue to be influential within the theological field and among the marginalized? If it continues to be influential, then according to our small sample, some BCCs will be fulfilling the original goals of official policy, that is, applying their faith to the problems of everyday life. If the influence of liberation theology wanes, then it would seem that major aims would not be fulfilled as such application does not appear to take place in OC BCCs.

5.4 Future Research

In terms of our research, the future research might focus on the following:

(1) It would be important for research to explore more systematically the relation between class and religious habitus, and to do so on the basis of a larger and more representative sample.

(2) Research according to the methodology of this thesis should examine the effects on membership, interactions and discourse, arising out of reductions in the autonomy of the BCC. Research should examine cases when local religious personnel are regular participants in BCCs.

(3) Our research did not include any study of the social network of the BCC members. Future research should focus on such a study. This should include practices both within and beyond the local chapel.

(4) Research into the effects of a return to democracy on official Catholic policy with respect to the role, membership, and community and chapel relations of the BCCs. It would seem from our research that the issue of the autonomy of the BCC is highly pertinent to such a policy.

NOTES for Chapter Fifteen

[1] Bourdieu 1984:120.

[2] This was true for all BCCs except **Saint James** where this BCC resisted decisions made by hierarchies in the local chapel.

[3] The nationally authorized pedagogic texts were entitled, *Al Encuentro de Dios Vivo* (29th edition, 1988), published by the Archdiocesan Institute of Catechism, and the recontextualized pedagogic texts for the highly marginalized sectors were entitled, *Hijos, Hermanos y Señores* (1st edition, 1986), which was published by the Department of Catechism of the Vicariate of the Western Zone of the Archdiocese of Santiago. The specific features of the recontextualizing principle of the agency which published the latter text merit a study of their own.

[4] The individual enhancement of power in BCCs of low marginality has been of three modalities: <u>social</u> in the case of chapel mobility, <u>spiritual</u> in the case of Charismatic Renewal and <u>moral</u> in the case of *Cursillo*.

[5] Official statements with respect to the threat of left political extremism among highly marginalized catholics have been made frequently by the Catholic hierarchy since *CELAM* I in Rio de Janiero in 1955. In these documents, left politics is generally represented as highly secularized, without a religious base and as operating independently without seeking official Catholic legitimization. However, the level of concern for extreme left politics and the creativity of its pastoral response to left politics (i.e., the BCCs) does not appear to orientate the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy toward more extreme rightist politics among the middle and upper classes. BCC promotion was and continues to be a class-specific policy which targets the marginalized sectors of the Catholic Church, whereas no such policies have been introduced to counter extreme rightist politics among the middle and upper classes. It appears that the Catholic Church has not considered the extreme political right as threatening as the left, nor has the Catholic Church responded to the right with equal pastoral creativity or determination. It may be the case that the poor have traditionally been

more problematic for the Catholic Church as they have faced the double-threat: the political threat of the CP and the church threat protestant evangelical recruitment.

[6]Other literature on the political function of the local chapels in Brazil is conceptual rather than empirical in that it does not offer many heuristic categories for the systematic analysis of empirical data on BEC practice. Rather, this literature tends to comment generally on the empirical data of others (Drogus 1990), or it claims to be based on empirical data but fails to present empirical findings (Drogus 1990; Ferguson 1990), or it presents an analysis of the sociological significance of either BEC policies of the Catholic hierarchy or of liberation theology (Bruneau 1985; Deelen 1980; Fernandes 1985; Mainwaring 1984; Vink 1985).

[7]Looking at the responses to this question of the Western and Eastern Zones respectively we find practically no differences. As we saw in Chapter Six, BCCs in the Eastern Zone of the Archdiocese of Santiago tend to be of lower marginality than those in the Western Zone (Brahm 1989).

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433

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