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## **SOCIAL NETWORKS: A VECTOR OF DISCURSIVE AND SOCIAL FORCES**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Our study concerns the analysis of a corpus composed of a set of extracts of articles of national and international electronic press. It is of capital importance because it has a discursive faculty and vector of social forces. To this end, it deals with the boycott as a main theme that unites a set of areas from which the topics discussed therein converge, namely: social, educational and political. In this sense, we plan to study the discursive strategies used in the corpus and see their impact on the different linguistic movements related to the notion of boycott. In other words, we will target the protest movements that run through the social networks. This kind of movement wants to be free and does not require a leader, contrary to the traditional protest which requires the affective presence of a leader. In review of what is said, we have contingent and defined the corpus by taking stock of its suitability with the following points: - The discursive function of the analysed corpus and its status as a vector of social forces. -The nature and impact of the various calls for boycott on social networks.

**Keywords:** Social networks, Press, Social, Boycott, Discourse.

## **SOSYAL AĞLAR: SÖYLEMSEL VE SOSYAL GÜÇLERİN BİR VEKTÖRÜ**

### **ÖZET**

Çalışmamız, ulusal ve uluslararası elektronik basın makalelerinden bir dizi alıntıdan oluşan bir külliyyatın analizine odaklanmaktadır. Söylemsel bir güce sahip olduğu ve sosyal güçlerin bir vektörü olduğu için büyük önem taşımaktadır. Bu amaçla, boykotu, içinde ele alınan konuların birleştiği bir dizi alanı, yani sosyal, eğitimsel ve politik alanları birleştiren bir ana tema olarak ele almaktadır. Bu anlamda, derlemde kullanılan söylemsel stratejileri incelemeyi

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ve bunların boykot kavramıyla ilgili farklı dil hareketleri üzerindeki etkilerini görmeyi planlıyoruz. Başka bir deyişle, sosyal ağlar boyunca devam eden protesto hareketlerini hedef alacağız. Bu tür bir hareket özgürdür ve bir liderin duygusal varlığını gerektiren geleneksel protestoların aksine bir lidere ihtiyaç duymaz. Söylenenleri gözden geçirirken, külliyatı aşağıdaki noktalara uygunluğunu değerlendirerek koşullandırdık ve tanımladık: - Analiz edilen külliyatın söylemsel işlevi ve sosyal güçlerin bir vektörü olarak statüsü. -Sosyal ağlarda boykot için yapılan çeşitli çağrılarının doğası ve etkisi.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Sosyal ağlar, Basın, Sosyal, Boykot, Söylem.

## INTRODUCTION

Our interest in electronic articles and speeches produced on social networks is due to the increasing number of users of the web. This is particularly true of political, economic and cultural figures. Lately, we are witnessing a growing number of social movements that choose to open accounts on the channels offered such as Facebook, Tweeter, Instagram, LinkedIn. These communication tools are a fertile field to gather as much information, as many adherents as possible to face a given policy. The reason why we notice that many young people have constituted spaces of exchange and sharing to claim, challenge, criticise, demonstrate and protest against a political, economic and social ideology.

The notion of boycott is adjacent to the verbal paradigms mentioned above. In this sense, we are going to take stock of this notion which refers in its nature to the different formulations of protest that we find in researchers such as Robert FOSSAERT who bases it on discursive rules whose social production is characterized by individualistic actions and collective relations.

In this article, we will work on a set of online journalistic texts that all deal with the discourse of the boycott on the Moroccan national and international level. Our choice is not arbitrary; it stems from the new situation that the whole world is experiencing. These texts reflect the same goals and linguistic norms.

In this sense, we will delimit and define the corpus and see its compatibility with the following questions

- To what extent does the corpus collected from social networks relate to protest and boycott?
- What are the different calls for boycott on the NSRs?
- To what extent does the corpus analysed have a discursive function and manifest itself as a vector of social forces?

For this reason, and to make the study more fluid, accessible and scientific, we will divide the corpus according to three points of view: a social point of view, a teaching point of view and a political point of view.

### **THE CORPUS: AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION**

The word corpus has a variety of definitions. Authors and specialists in the field of scientific research methodology propose several meanings. In what follows, we limit ourselves to the following definitions:

According to the Petit Robert (Robert et al., 2016), the word "corpus" is a "Finite set of actual utterances assembled for the study of a linguistic phenomenon. Written or oral corpus. Closed corpus, open corpus, which can be expanded".

(Garric and Longhi, 2012) propose the following definition: "A corpus is defined as a reasoned set of texts, structured by an internal coherence".

Language researchers define and approach a given corpus from different angles. For some, it is a set of selected oral or iconic written statements that will be studied and analysed. In this sense, (Arrive et al., 1986) define it as "a basis for observation which allows us to undertake the description and analysis of the language in question". For others, the corpus is based on a preliminary, pre-established and preconceived work insofar as the set of statements or texts selected are considered "representative".

#### ***Constitution of the corpus***

The corpus selected will be considered as representative, a prototype of the set of texts which illustrates the possibilities of structural analysis encompassing all the texts kept as a sample.

In this respect, and in the same vein, we have taken into consideration those parameters that organise and structure our corpus in order to present a typology of its own; we have taken into account the criteria relating to: The genre of the text and the theme discussed.

The texts selected for analysis belong to the electronic print media. They come from national and international websites. As we look through them, we notice that the question of gender challenges us. Our corpus reflects the diversity and richness of information. This diversity is manifested by the uniqueness of the journalistic content (e.g. A1, C1):



## Au Maroc, un boycott surprise contre la vie chère

(A1)

Par Théo Olivier, Correspondance au Maroc — 5 juin 2018 à 18:03

[https://www.liberation.fr/planete/2018/06/05/au-maroc-un-boycott-surprise-contre-la-vie-chere\\_1636798](https://www.liberation.fr/planete/2018/06/05/au-maroc-un-boycott-surprise-contre-la-vie-chere_1636798)

(C1)

Par LA VÉRITÉ / AFP · 28 octobre 2020 à 21:51 · Temps de lecture 2 minutes

## INTERNATIONAL Macron/caricatures: Le boycott des produits français s'amplifie au Koweït

<https://www.laverite.ma/macron-caricatures-le-boycott-des-produits-francais-simplifie-au-koweit/>

With reference to the discursive practice we are interested in, this semantic anchor point establishes a theoretical basis for the constitution of this type of text. The notion of genre is in this sense not understood in its normative or contractual aspect, but as a socio-discursive process of CONTESTATION. The texts brought together share the same content insofar as they translate the same linguistic purposes and norms.

From this point of view, we have divided the corpus into three basic headings:

1. The first deals with the social: extracts with the letter **A**
2. The second deals with education: extracts with the letter **B**
3. The third section deals with politics: extracts with the letter **C**

It should be noted that the source websites of our corpus include the official pages of electronic newspapers and magazines.

### *Thematic map*

Going through the corpus, we noted the exclusivity of the boycott theme in all press articles. This theme ranges from the protest against the high cost of living (in the case of Morocco) to the demonstration against political systems (in the case of France). In this perspective, we have divided it into two categories: the first deals with the boycott at the national level, the second with the boycott at the international level.

## REASONS FOR THE BOYCOTT IN MOROCCO

The call for a brand boycott is not new in Morocco. After the repression of peaceful demonstrations in the RIF, JERADA or OUTAT LHAIJ, going out into the street became a risky business. The solution of deliverance was this boycott movement. It is a first popular victory since independence.

But this time, it has gained more momentum than past actions, which had remained confidential. This new boycott is carried by the Facebook network. It has characteristics that make it an atypical phenomenon.

The call went out on Friday 20 April, from two Facebook pages, almost simultaneously. The first hashtag was #laissez\_le\_cailler (in Arabic). The first target was milk, more precisely Centrale Danone. The movement gained a little visibility over the weekend and was extended to Afriquia and Sidi Ali as targets.



<https://www.welovebuzz.com/oulmes-et-centrale-danone-essuyent-des-pertes-colossales-suite-au-boycott-des-marocains/>

From this social gestation, protest writings abound on social networks. The phenomenon has become more widespread and has caused serious losses to the Moroccan economy.

## REASONS FOR THE BOYCOTT AGAINST FRANCE

The freedom to caricature the Prophet Mohammed: this claim, reaffirmed by French President Emmanuel Macron during the national tribute to the murdered professor Samuel PATY, has earned him a stream of criticism in various parts of the Muslim world. Initiatives against France, such as calls for a boycott of French products, have sprung up in several Middle Eastern countries.

The Turkish President, ERDOGAN, is the first politician in power, and for the moment the only one, to have officially relayed this call. "Just as in France some

people say don't buy Turkish brands, I am addressing my nation from here: above all, don't pay attention to French brands, don't buy them," he said.

### **Erdogan appelle au boycottage des produits français**



Photo: Turkish Presidency via Associated Press. À deux reprises, ce week-end, le président turc avait mis en cause la «santé mentale» du président français, Emmanuel Macron, dénonçant ses positions vis-à-vis des musulmans.

<https://www.ledevoir.com/monde/588487/erdogan-appelle-au-boycott-des-produits-francais-soutiens-en-europe-pour-macron>

Until the Turkish leader's speech, the majority of boycott demands were made via social networks, under the hashtags #Boycott\_France, or #Boycott\_France\_Products. In several countries, companies have taken a stand. In Qatar, the retail chains Al-Meera and Souq al-Baladi announced this weekend that they would "withdraw" French products from shops until further notice. In other countries, party leaders relayed the call for a boycott. The crisis is settling in unabated in France.

### **THE CORPUS VS. DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS**

For this reason, and to make the study more fluid, accessible and scientific, we will divide the corpus into three points of view: a social point of view, a teaching point of view and a political point of view.

Indeed, the electronic corpus, which was unknown to the general public for a long time some thirty years ago, has given rise to some research. The first works on this journalistic genre were published in the 1990s, when the Internet became a scientific, interactive and indisputable source (Charaudeau, 1997). Moreover, the work of eminent linguists who have been interested in the analysis of this type of discourse corroborates our statements (Adam, 1997).



### *Social perspective*

If we look at the section on social discourse, we see that it is made up of a set of elements that form what researchers call the semiotic unit. This semiotic unit includes: the name of the website, the image, the caption, the body of the article, the title, the subtitles, the date of publication, the author and the e-mail address of the journalistic website.

In this sense, all the headings we have mentioned share these characteristics: that of fixing in time a text content and inserting it in a temporal chain specific to the media institution and the socio-economic environment. In this respect, we will assume that the three sections indicated are similar and highlight the same theme (the boycott), except that each of them focuses on a targeted topic that goes with the situational context of the socio-political environment<sup>2</sup>.

Furthermore, in order to achieve the principle of relevance of the place of production, it is fundamental that the place of construction of the press articles respects the principle of veracity because what constitutes the device of constitution and construction of the websites revolves around a logic of truth. It is this truth that creates a kind of social authority, represented by the electronic newspaper on the one hand and the demonstrators on the other through the headlines, the images of the protagonists in action; which become an autonomous and decisive reality in their own right:



But the fundamental principle of truthfulness to which the newspaper, and through it the journalist, is bound is also in a conflict situation between the subjective effect of the journalist and the truth of the objective world:

<sup>2</sup> We have noted that the three sections share the same theme, but each of them focuses on a subject that emanates from the current political situation.

➔ Au Maroc, un boycott surprise contre la vie chère

C'est un détail parlant. Dans ce snack ouvert en pleine nuit de ramadan, dans la petite ville d'Erfoud aux portes du désert marocain, il n'y a aucune bouteille d'eau minérale Sidi Ali dans le frigo. «*Oui, je boycotte, je suis avec le peuple*», revendique le propriétaire. Même son de cloche à Casablanca, la capitale économique du pays. Un épicier avoue écouler au compte-gouttes son stock de cette marque habituellement la plus populaire du royaume, qu'il n'a pas réapprovisionnée depuis plus d'un mois.

(A4)

[https://www.liberation.fr/planete/2018/06/05/au-maroc-un-boycott-surprise-contre-la-vie-chere\\_1656798](https://www.liberation.fr/planete/2018/06/05/au-maroc-un-boycott-surprise-contre-la-vie-chere_1656798)

It is in this precise situation that the social role of media websites becomes possible and interesting for the study of the public space. This singular attitude that is created from then on is the object of our study, on the social role of media institutions that become a space where internet users confront the different forms of veracity that represent the media instances and the contestants. Rationality is thus embedded in the space of social communication by the subjectivity conveyed by the enunciating instances that are the electronic newspaper and the internet users:

Officiellement, cette campagne de boycott est née sur les réseaux sociaux, en réponse à la cherté de la vie, pour forcer le gouvernement à agir en faveur d'une diminution des prix. Ce ne serait pas la première fois que les Marocains dénoncent leurs conditions de vie — socioéconomiques notamment — : entre 2016 et 2017, la région du Rif (nord) s'était embrasée et des dizaines de manifestations avaient eu lieu pour exiger des autorités marocaines qu'elles soient plus à l'écoute. Rien de tel, visiblement, en l'espèce : le boycott massif, qui dure depuis 4 mois maintenant, relèverait davantage du règlement de compte politique que de la crise sociale — instrumentalisée, donc.

(A5)

<https://www.afrik.com/boycott-au-maroc-veritable-danger-pour-l-economie-et-l-emploi%E2%80%89>

All in all, the corpus generated thanks to the democratisation of the use of the web profoundly modifies social and cultural structures and models (Maingueneau, 2005). The most well-known feature is the social dimension that has developed and anchors the corpus in this respect: this evolution allows Internet users<sup>3</sup> to interact with the available information in a social way by facilitating the creation of social links between often unknown individuals and by promoting collaboration between them. It is possible for everyone to make public and "socialise" their productions. In other words, by browsing the so-called social section, we are witnessing what Saint Paul said: "*In eo movemur et humus*" in it we move and we are:

<sup>3</sup> By this we mean the instance of production (which includes the journalist and the challenger) and reception.



Mustapha Sehim  
 Politologue

Ce mouvement a fait deux victimes le PJD et le RNI. Le secrétaire général du PJD n'a pas su maîtriser son ministre et confirme la faiblesse du chef de gouvernement. Le président du RNI a perdu son pari de se positionner pour des élections anticipées dès la moitié de l'actuelle législature.

(A6)

<https://leseco.ma/comprendre-les-raisons-du-boycott/>

They participate in the historical rationality of the boycott event, as well as being an instrument of social prestige on a par with wealth and power:

C'est inédit dans l'histoire du Maroc moderne. Sur un simple message qui a fait irruption dans les réseaux sociaux depuis mi-avril, trois marques commerciales se retrouvent dans le collimateur du consommateur marocain: Sidi Ali, Afriquia et Centrale Danone. Depuis cette date, les conséquences dommageables de ce mouvement ont dépassé toutes les prévisions.

(A7)

<https://www.leconomiste.com/article/1033902-le-mouvement-de-boycott-au-maroc-une-lecture-sociotechnique>

In it are formulated and disseminated all the "imposed subjects of a given era" (Bourdieu and Saint-Martin, 1976). The very variety of discourses and doxic positions permitted seems to saturate the field of the dicible. The examples collected have 'an answer for everything' (Bourdieu and Saint-Martin, 1976, p.11), they seem to allow for everything to be spoken about in many ways, thereby constituting the non-dictable as unthinkable. Already, on reading them, we notice that the social rubric paints a social discourse with its genres, its themes and its pre-constructs. It is customary to make oneself heard with this contestation, this omnipresent manifestation in our corpus No one can flatter himself to speak in a vacuum, but always in response to something:

« Les nouvelles formes de protestations au Maroc » est le thème de la journée d'étude, organisée, hier à Casablanca, par le Conseil Economique, Social et Environnemental (CESE). Cette rencontre met en lumière les recommandations relatives aux nouvelles formes de protestation au Maroc, et les propositions liées au renforcement des droits des consommateurs, surtout après le mouvement du boycott de quelques marques de biens de consommation.

(A8)

<https://maroc-diplomatique.net/le-boycott-une-nouvelle-forme-de-protestations-au-maroc-selon-letude-du-cese/>

That said, example A8 has a 'monopoly on the representation of reality' (Bergevin, 1983). This representation of reality largely contributes to making reality and history. It is precisely because it is a matter of 'monopoly' that the journalist seems to denounce as a reflection of reality, since 'everyone' sees reality and the historical moment through it more or less in the same way:



Representing reality is a way for the journalist, the researcher and the protestor to attract the attention of the mass and to proclaim loudly their refusal to be alienated. They produce and fix legitimacies, validations, and publicity that can make their voices heard:



In a laconic way, we are first confronted with online press articles considered as semiotic artefacts. We are then invited to lock ourselves into the immanence of their structures and meanings. The very fact of having focused on their studies, in the global network of their intertextuality, shows how interesting they are for scientific research. Not only because discourses, images and paratexts coexist, interfere and position themselves in relation to each other:



<https://nouveau-parti-anticapitaliste.org/actualite/international/maroc-un-boycott-sans-precedent-contre-la-vie-chere>

but also because a socio-historical problematic can only conceive of the representations communicated by the corpus by not dissociating the semiotic tooling from the discursive functions it conceals: the meaning of the corpus, which is the object of our study, is suggestive of the fact that it has a discursive function and that it is the vector of social forces.

### *Educational and commercial perspective*

In this sense, the following reading attempts to survey the corpus known as the Education section.



**Ils continuent le boycott des cours et annoncent une marche nationale jeudi 12 novembre à Rabat.**

(B1)

[https://telquel.ma/2015/11/11/les-enseignants-stagiaires-les-pas-etudiants-medecine\\_1469726](https://telquel.ma/2015/11/11/les-enseignants-stagiaires-les-pas-etudiants-medecine_1469726)

In this respect, it is clear that the corpus (B1, B2, B3, B4) is in line with what we have argued in the previous analysis and features protesters who are furious about making their demands heard via social networks. This discursive enterprise does not go unnoticed insofar as it calls upon a new notion that we call discursive euphoria. In other words, we may hear about the notions of acceptability, legitimacy, competence, interest, belief, habitus; nevertheless, discursive

euphoria is the elevation that a given text conceals in order to offer Internet users a socially, sociologically and pragmatically convincing discourse.



(B2)

**Suspension de trois enseignants pour leur soutien du boycott des étudiants en médecine**

Posted By: Mourad Kamel on: 12 juin 2019 In: A la Une, Politique

<https://fr.machahid24.com/politique/1694.html>

Discursive euphoria (from now on we will note it as EuD) is that concept which goes beyond acceptability, legitimacy or other things. EuD can be the 'seduction', the 'charm' that a discourse conceals by means of the emotion shared between the journalist, the Internet user and the protester (the main actor who triggers the EuD process). It is then intrinsic to any discourse at the moment of its reading and proposes ethical, aesthetic and informative values, fixed at a given moment in the public space of the contestants:

It is in this state of affairs that the boycotters express their dissatisfaction with the policies of the political system. They are convinced to defend their causes:

**Ils auraient incité d'autres professeurs à ne pas assurer l'encadrement des examens et seraient allés jusqu'à coordonner l'action des étudiants dans le boycott.**

<https://fr.machahid24.com/politique/1694.html>

(B3)

To have their demands recognised and to be recognised as an indispensable actor in the educational sphere:



Les futurs professeurs du Maroc ont choisi la rue pour s'indigner contre deux décrets ministériels (2-15-588 et 2-15-589) adoptés par le gouvernement le 23 juillet 2015, qui introduisent notamment un nouveau système de bourses et de concours.

(B4)

[https://telquel.ma/2015/11/11/les-enseignants-stagiaires-les-pas-etudiants-medecine\\_1469726](https://telquel.ma/2015/11/11/les-enseignants-stagiaires-les-pas-etudiants-medecine_1469726)

There is no doubt that the EuD envelops the minds of the protesters and makes them submit to two logics that occur and that we have grouped together under the single name of pre-eminence: one brings together factors of cohesion, of recurrence among the boycotters, the other factors of superiority, of supremacy and of confrontation with the state. It is this double logic that paints the arm wrestling between the two protagonists.

The so-called teaching rubric presents itself as fragmented, centrifugal, hostile to the prevailing ideology with a total explanatory claim. It weaves an actantial pattern from the adjuvant subject to the opposing subject, according to semioticians (Courtes, 2007).

### *Political point of view*

In fact, if we look at the following corpus (C1, C2, C3, C4, C5), all these press extracts agree on the notion of boycotting French products. First of all, the contents that are profiled, circulated and lucidly appreciated among them, as well as the material objects that serve as their support, are manufactured, positioned and converge towards a single objective: that of boycotting French products because of the cartoons blaspheming the prophet MAHOMET

## Nouvelles manifestations contre la France dans le monde arabo-musulman

[https://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/monde/nouvelles-manifestations-contre-la-france-dans-le-monde-arabo-musulman\\_2137571.html](https://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/monde/nouvelles-manifestations-contre-la-france-dans-le-monde-arabo-musulman_2137571.html)

(C1)

Across the Muslim world, worshippers reacted angrily to French President Macron's remarks: in Syria, the Gaza Strip and Libya, portraits of the French president were burned. In several Gulf countries, French goods have been withdrawn from the stalls. A political crisis is setting in between France and the Arab countries, among them Morocco:



≡ HESPRESS

## Propos anti-Islam de Macron : Des Marocains adhèrent à la campagne de boycott des produits français

Oum El Ghit Bousif 24 Oct 2020 à 21:25 Société ★★★★★



(C2)

<https://fr.hespress.com/171430-propos-anti-islam-de-macron-des-marocains-adherent-a-la-campagne-de-boycott-des-produits-francais.html>

In this perspective, far from a thematic analysis that focuses on the causes and consequences of such a global spiral, we try instead to see the effect of language used to paint such a fracas: we call it "*the metaphor of flow*" according to (Deroubaix, 1997). This metaphor which, according to (Gobin, 2011), consists of "*slowly deviating through the effect of passing time and filling up with the inventions of the present, with the centre serving as a common lexical reservoir for a certain time and a certain time*". In other words, we are witnessing a discursive market that advocates values of exchange in a common mould, if not that of union, of the communion of Arab-Muslim countries in the face of the West, particularly France. These ideological values are proclaimed and shared by the protesters:

(C3)

LA VÉRITÉ



Par LA VÉRITÉ / AFP 23 octobre 2020 à 21:57 Temps de lecture 2 minutes

**INTERNATIONAL** Macron/caricatures: Le boycott des produits français s'amplifie au Koweït



<https://www.laverite.ma/macron-caricatures-le-boycott-des-produits-francais-s-amplifie-au-koweit/>

By taking stock of our corpus as a whole, we will identify common denominators; these are carried out through collective actions as shown in the following image:



(C4)

[https://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/m onde/nouvelles-manifestations-contre-la-france-dans-le-m onde-arabo-m usulm an\\_2137571.html](https://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/m onde/nouvelles-manifestations-contre-la-france-dans-le-m onde-arabo-m usulm an_2137571.html)

Or individuals :



Boycott des produits de la France: ce mauritanien immole sa Peugeot

(C5)

<https://www.financialafrik.com/2020/11/01/boycott-des-produits-de-la-france-ce-m auritanien-imm ole-sa-peugeot/>

The political rubric not only produces objects, it institutes the recipients of these (discursive) objects by identifying them (C12); not discursive *objects for discursive subjects, but also discursive subjects for discursive objects*<sup>4</sup>.

In doing so, the political rubric operates like any other discourse in a set of discursive practices that allow ideas and opinions to circulate in social networks where various actors confront each other who must respect certain rules of the communication device. It is also driven by the desire and need to influence the other according to (Charaudeau, 2005). The political authority and the authority of the protesters are thus placed in a confrontation of power relations that lead them to use discursive strategies of persuasion:

<sup>4</sup> We underline.



<https://www.jeanmarcorandini.com/article-440464-les-appels-au-boycott-de-produits-francais-se-multiplient-dans-les-pays-du-moyen-orient-apres-le-discours-d-emmanuel-macron-sur-les-caricatures-lors-de-l-hommage-a-samuel-paty.html>

The main effect of the corpus is therefore, laconically, to bring the protesters together, to generate support against the cartoons against the Prophet Mohammed and to enable exchanges between them. This being the case, we can argue that its main characteristic is the regularisation of exchanges between the different protesters on a national or international scale. From this perspective, the corpus chosen for our study seeks to create a sense of unity and sharing of certain aspects of society:



<http://www.slate.fr/story/171975/economie-danone-maroc-boycott-gestion-de-crise-communication>

## Les enseignants stagiaires sur les pas des étudiants en médecine?

Maroc — LE 11 NOVEMBRE 2013

(B1)



This feeling of belonging to a group corresponds to the discursive strategy of creating an identity within society. The main goal is to allow all protesters to recognise themselves as part of the same social body, sharing a certain cultural and historical cement. In other words, this grouping allows for the creation of a space for dialogue where issues that concern all protesters and affect them in a direct or indirect way are discussed.

### CONCLUSION

At the end of this analysis, we can note that the three headings analysed share the same content, the same ideas and the same notion: that of the boycott. This notion aims at changing the existing order. The hosted discourses produce an interaction link between the members of the demonstration in a sphere called social networks.

To be in the crowd is to participate in an interaction. The language used is a repository of individual experiences, it traces a path for subjective thought to become external and common to all demonstrators. As a result, the discourse subsequently becomes a means of objectifying collective reality, and thus of pooling opinion. This is what our corpus reveals.

Roughly speaking, it turns out that a panoply of actantial presences emerges, ranging from the journalist, the politician and the protesters, each of whom defends his or her discursive position according to his or her interest and the context in which the discourse is produced.

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