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CO-CONSTRUCTING THE VICTIM IN COUNSELING SESSIONS FOR COUPLES
AT THE WOMEN'S POLICE STATION: A MICROETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

por

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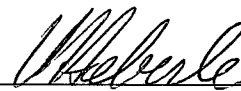
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Aqueles que de alguma maneira contribuíram para que esta dissertação pudesse existir. E não foram poucos...

“o quê que eu faço, o quê que eu não faço,”

(Mulher com problema de violência conjugal a uma das assistentes sociais da Delegacia da Mulher de Florianópolis, em fevereiro de 1998)

“O primeiro dever na vida é assumir uma postura e o que vem a ser o segundo ninguém ainda descobriu”.

(Oscar Wilde, in Ellman, 1988)

“Eu antes tinha querido ser os outros para conhecer o que não era eu. Entendi então que eu já tinha sido os outros e isso era fácil. Minha experiência maior seria ser o outro dos outros: e o outro dos outros era eu”.

(Clarice Lispector, 1999, p. 23)

“O fulcro do auto-engano não está no esforço de cada um em parecer o que não é. Ele reside na capacidade que temos de sentir e de acreditar de boa-fé que somos o que não somos”.

(Eduardo Giannetti, 1998, p. 106)

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ABSTRACT

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CLARA ZENI CAMARGO DORNELLES

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA CATARINA

2000

Supervising Professor: Viviane M. Heberle

This study describes naturally occurring counseling interactions in which a couple with marital problems and a social worker gather to talk about the couple's problems, at the Women's Police Station in Florianópolis, Brazil. Following the perspectives of talk-in-interaction studies and microethnographic methods (Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Erickson, 1992), I provide a description of the major *speech activities* (Gumperz, 1982) and accomplishments of the participants in the event. These activities—mechanics, problem, advice and agreement talk—were identified through the analysis of the *participant frameworks* (Goodwin, 1990) established by the participants. This analysis reveals that it is doing problem talk that the participants achieve their main interactional task: the co-construction of the victim. Besides, it shows that even though the participants' actions orient to an *institutional agenda* (Drew & Heritage, 1992), their

actual accomplishments may challenge pre-existing social orders of the encounter. After this, I focus on a participant framework of problem talk—mediated dispute/cross-examination—and examine the features of doing *face-work* (Goffman, 1967) in this interactional environment. This analysis demonstrates that, despite the mediation procedures, the participants of the interactions studied make an effort to keep their faces. I then apply the notion of *contextualization cues* (Gumperz, 1982) to describe the language resources the participants use to aggravate face-threats. I conclude this thesis by highlighting the fruitfulness of the setting studied for new talk-in-interaction research. I also stress the interdisciplinary aspect of the present work, which I hope will contribute to future work on issues of victimization and marital violence.

RESUMO

CO-CONSTRUINDO A VÍTIMA EM SESSÕES DE ORIENTAÇÃO A CASAIS NA
DELEGACIA DA MULHER: UM ESTUDO MICROETNOGRÁFICO

CLARA ZENI CAMARGO DORNELLES

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA CATARINA

2000

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Este estudo descreve sessões de orientação em que um casal com problemas conjugais e uma assistente social se encontram para falar sobre os problemas do casal, na Delegacia da Mulher de Florianópolis, Brasil. Seguindo perspectivas de estudos da fala em interação e métodos microetnográficos de pesquisa (Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Erickson, 1992), descrevo as principais *atividades de fala* (Gumperz, 1982) e realizações dos participantes no evento. Estas atividades—as falas *mecânica*, *sobre o problema*, *de conselho* e *de acordo*—foram identificadas pela análise dos *modelos de participação* (Goodwin, 1990) estabelecidos pelos participantes. Esta análise revela que é na fala sobre o problema que os participantes realizam a sua tarefa interacional mais importante: a co-construção da vítima. Além disso, mostra que embora as ações dos participantes se orientem para a *pauta institucional* (Drew & Heritage, 1992) do

encontro, suas realizações podem desafiar ordens sociais pré-existentes. Depois disso, concentro a análise em um dos modelos de participação da fala sobre o problema—a disputa mediada/tribunal—e examino as características do *trabalho de face* (Goffman, 1967) nesse ambiente interacional. Esta análise demonstra que os procedimentos de mediação não são suficientes para evitarem os danos às faces do marido e da esposa, já que tanto um quanto o outro geralmente usam trabalho de face agressivo: protegem a própria face ameaçando a do outro. Nesses casos, o trabalho de face se torna trabalho moral (Drew, 1998) e ganha a disputa aquele que melhor projeta um eu moralmente correto e vitimizado. Concluo esta dissertação, enfatizando o valor do encontro social estudado para novas pesquisas da fala em interação. Enfatizo também o caráter interdisciplinar do presente trabalho, que espero possa ser útil aos estudos futuros sobre questões de vitimização e violência conjugal.

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KEY TO TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS¹

<i>DS 1</i>	from data segment 1
SW ¹	social worker Marta
SW ²	social worker Sueli
.	indicates falling intonation
?	indicates rising intonation
,	indicates continuing intonation
[indicates overlapped speech
=[indicates simultaneous speech
=	indicates contiguous utterances
(.)	indicates micro-pause of less than 1 second
:	indicates extension of sounds
!	indicates an animated tone
↑ ↓	indicate marked falling and rising shifts in intonation
◦ ◦	indicate quieter talk
((pause))	indicates pause longer than micro-pause
((<i>italics</i>))	indicates details of the conversation
(word)	indicates uncertain transcription or uncertain speaker
()	indicates unintelligible words
<u>underlying</u>	indicates emphasis
CAPS	indicate louder talk
---	omitted talk

¹ Transcription convention adapted from Jefferson (1984).

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Eu sou mil possíveis em mim; mas não posso me resignar a querer apenas um deles”.
(Bastide, cited in Laplantine, 1997, p. 23)²

“O homem é menos ele que qualquer outro quando fala pessoalmente. Dê-lhe uma máscara, e ele lhe dirá a verdade”.
(Oscar Wilde, cited in Ellman, 1988, p. 288)

1.1. The social construction of the self

One of the subjects of great interest to human beings since ancient times is *identity*. Far from the old view of identity as unitary, nowadays research in talk-in-interaction has demonstrated how it is an interactional achievement rather than a static phenomenon (Aronsson, 1998; Goodwin, 1990; Erickson & Shultz, 1982; Ochs, 1993). In any actual situation of language use, participants negotiate their selves and establish relationships regardless of their concern with these accomplishments. In some situations, however, the participants may show an effort to project a desirable image of the self and thus to enact certain roles in the immediate talk. This is the case of the interactions I analyze in the present study—the counseling sessions (CSs) for couples held at the Women’s Police Station in Florianópolis.

The CSs here investigated are headed by a social worker and aim at identifying the reasons for the marital problems a couple is having at home. Besides, these encounters also aim at reaching some agreement as regards ways to solve the couple’s conflict. The kind of problems discussed in counseling interaction are generally related to the

misconduct of one of the partners and thus the general objective of those gatherings is to change people's conduct. In accounting for her/his own and the partner's conduct, one is likely to present the self favorably and the other unfavorably, causing participants to engage in a highly morally loaded activity. This corroborates Drew's (1998) claim that

any consideration of the accountability of social conduct brings directly into focus moral dimensions of language use: in the (interactional) circumstances in which we report our own or others' conduct, our descriptions are themselves accountable phenomena through which we recognizably display an action's (im)propriety, (in)correctness, (un)suitability, (in)appropriateness, (in)justice, (dis)honesty, and so forth. (p. 295)

Within such a conflicting interactional context, taking care of the self—"the ritually delicate object" (Goffman, 1967, p. 31)—becomes a hard task. Previous studies have shown how difficult it is to save face—the interactional self—in situations in which the participants deal with delicate topics. Linell and Bredmar (1996), for instance, have shown how midwives and expectant mothers are careful in dealing with potential face-threats. They often use interactional strategies like indirectness and mitigation to protect each other's face. This type of face-relationship seems to be very different from what happens in the CSs I studied, where wife and husband become self-righteous. As far as I am concerned, there is no study that focuses on the analysis of face-work in conflicting interchanges such as the ones which compose the data of the present study. Studying a social situation like CSs is revealing as regards "how far a person should go to save his face" (Goffman, 1967, p. 9).

1.2. Purposes of this study

Following an interdisciplinary perspective, the present study correlates discussions and findings from three distinct and overlapping research traditions: interactional

² This excerpt was quoted by Laplantine from Roger Bastide's *Anatomia de André Gide*.

sociolinguistics, conversational analysis and ethnographic microanalysis of interaction. The general purpose of this thesis may be regarded as an attempt to comprehend how a couple with marital problems and a social worker negotiate their identities and accomplish institutional goals in a setting in which the couple is called upon to account for their social behavior. As for the specific purposes, they are twofold. First, to examine the social organization and accomplishments of naturally occurring counseling interactions in which a couple and a social worker gather to talk about the couple's problems. Second, to investigate how the protagonists of counseling sessions, that is, husband and wife, manage to maintain their faces when having to talk about their conduct to a third party by using a moral loaded activity—complaints.

Research questions

The following questions are the point of departure for the present study:

1. What takes place in initial counseling sessions? What are the main accomplishments of the participants? What is typical/atypical in these sessions? How is institutionality made relevant by the participants (if at all)?
2. How is face-work carried out in the counseling interactions studied? What is the role morality plays in the face game?

1.3. Organization of this thesis

Chapter 2, *The interactional sociolinguistic approach to the study of talk*, presents an overview of the theoretical perspective that underlies my viewpoint regarding talk-in-interaction. The chapter is divided in two sections. In the first, I make a brief review on basic assumptions of interactional sociolinguistic studies, such as the co-constructive and situated nature of interaction. In the second part of the chapter, I present Goffman's

(1959, 1967) theorizations on face and face-work. Later on, I correlate Goffman's reflections to recent studies on the interrelation of morality and discourse (Bergmann, 1998; Linell & Bredmar, 1996), showing that the role of morality in the co-construction of face may be strengthened in some interactions.

In chapter 3, *Researcher and researched in counseling sessions at the Women's Police Station*, I initially give a brief historical account of the Women's Police Stations in Brazil. Then, I move on to a general description of counseling sessions, situating them within the social practice of the WPS in Florianópolis. After this, I give a general description of the setting and of the activities participants carry out through talk. Later on I present the participants, giving a brief account of their biographies. After this, I explain how I managed to enter the field as well as how I proceeded during fieldwork. Finally, I describe the methodological procedures adopted for interactional data adjustments.

In chapter 4, *Co-constructing (acts and roles on) the stage: Counseling interaction and the hidden agenda*, I apply Goodwin's (1990) notion of participant framework in an attempt to investigate the social organization of the counseling sessions that compose my data. I describe then the four speech activities I have identified in the event, which are mechanics talk, problem talk, advice talk and agreement talk. Along the description I discuss the main accomplishments of participants and the way interactants orient to or challenge the institutional mandate of counseling interaction.

Chapter 5, *Making a good showing of one's own self: An analysis of face-work in disputes for the victim-role*, presents the analysis of the aggressive use of face-work (Goffman, 1967) which is typical of disputes in counseling interaction. Taking into account previous studies that deal with the relation between mediation and face, I initially discuss the face-relationships the mediation procedures provide for the

participants of the setting I studied. After this, I apply Gumperz's notion of contextualization cues as a tool to identify the language features involved in the aggravation of face-threats.

My final remarks are stated in chapter 6. Initially, I summarize the findings of this thesis. Then I move on to make some remarks on these findings. Next, I make some comments regarding the microethnographic research methods I followed for data collection and analysis. This brings into discussion issues related to ethical concerns in research. Finally, I give suggestions for further research, pointing out the relevances and the limitations of the present study.

CHAPTER 2

THE INTERACTIONAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF TALK

“...what we perceive and retain in our mind is a function of our culturally determined predisposition to perceive and assimilate”. (Gumperz, 1982, p. 12)

“The individual must rely on others to complete the picture of him of which he himself is allowed to paint only certain parts ... for a complete man to be expressed, individuals must hold hands in a chain of ceremony, each giving deferentially with proper demeanor to the one on the right what will be received deferentially from the others on the left”. (Goffman, 1967, p.84)

This chapter is divided into two parts. In the first section, I introduce basic assumptions of the interactional sociolinguistic approach to the study of social interaction. These assumptions concern the co-constructive (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995) and situated nature (Goffman, 1959, 1963, 1967, 1983; Gumperz, 1982) of interactional actions. In the second section, I discuss the conceptualization of face and face-work. Initially, I outline Goffman's (1959, 1967) perspective on the phenomena. After this, I refer to studies on morality and discourse (Bergmann, 1998; Linell & Bredmar, 1996), suggesting that there is one facet of morality which has been neglected in studies of face and face-work, but which may be crucial for the co-construction of face—the moral duties code.

2.1. Language and the mundane

Interactional sociolinguistics (IS) is a quite new and interdisciplinary area of research. It was only around the 1980's, with the effort of some scholars to construct a theory which could account "for the communicative function of language variability and for its relation to speakers' goals" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 29) that it became established as a research tradition. The main concern of the area—the study of the relation among language, society and culture—is inherited from anthropology, sociology and linguistics (Schiffrin, 1994).

Two major contributors to IS are Gumperz and Goffman, a linguistic anthropologist and a sociologist, respectively. Gumperz has called for a focus on real situations of speech, instead of an idealized view of language as a bulk of decontextualized sentences. Gumperz (1982) has directly opposed basic assumptions of linguistic traditions which refer strictly to abstract features of language (Saussure, 1959) and thus "take into account only a portion of the totality of communicative signs that may enter into the interpretation of communicative acts" (p. 16). Gumperz (1982) and Gumperz and his students (1982) have shown how people from different cultures may miscommunicate exactly because of differences in the contextualization of speech.

Goffman's major contribution to talk-in-interaction studies concerns his view of the situation as a domain in its own right. As he puts it "it is social situations that provide the natural theater in which all bodily displays are enacted and in which all bodily displays are read" (1997, p. 239). A social situation begins when two or more individuals meet to share a "single moving focus of attention" (1967, p. 35) and finishes by the time they separate. During this social event, people decide "how to behave" (p. 36), by taking into account the ritual code of the occasion, that is, its rules of talk. These rules may be explicitly prescribed—as in legal proceedings—or never made explicit, and even so competent

communicators are likely to orient to them so as to preserve the interactional order as well as the integrity of the self (I discuss this in section 2.2.1.).

Goffman has referred to the definition of the situation as the grounds for interactants' actions. As he puts it

together the participants contribute to a single over-all definition of the situation which involves not so much a real agreement as to what exists but rather a real agreement as to whose claims concerning what issues will be temporarily honored (Goffman, 1959, pp. 9-10).

The definition of the situation is an ongoing process which is dependent on the way we frame (Goffman, 1986) interaction, that is, on the view we construct for *what is going on* in the current moment in talk. It is through defining which roles participants are playing and which goals are being pursued that we decide what our next action will be. Conflictual views of what is going on may cause interaction to come to "a confused and embarrassed halt" (p. 12).

Besides drawing on Gumperz and Goffman, IS also builds on findings from conversation analysis (CA). By analyzing the way people use language in everyday situations, conversation analysts have discovered that "conversation has...an elaborate and detailed architecture" (Levinson, 1983) within which there is "order at all points" (Sacks, cited in Psathas, 1995, p. 8). Another related research approach is the ethnographic microanalysis of interaction (microethnography), with which IS shares numerous concerns and assumptions (Garcez, 1997). Microethnography has been especially influential in defining the important procedures which underly data collection as well data segmentation (Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Erickson, 1992). Besides, microethnographers have demonstrated that interactants' verbal and nonverbal actions are organized in real-time and

space, which stresses the existence of locally appropriate ways of making sense in social interaction. IS thus promotes an interest in the study of

the interpenetration of social and linguistic meanings in the conduct of human interaction. It focuses on the analysis of the production and interpretation of naturally occurring utterances in situated social context. (Garcez, 1996, p. 49)

Within this perspective, human beings are seen as agents and not “passive robots living out preprogrammed linguistic ‘rules,’ discourse ‘conventions,’ or cultural prescriptions for social identities” (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995, pp. 177-178). We are thus beings that make sense of interactional actions and co-construct (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995) meanings and our own selves in the unfolding talk. In sum, talk is a mode of action, through which humans organize themselves and conjointly create “form, interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity, institution, skill, ideology, emotion, or other culturally meaningful reality” (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995, p. 171).

Even though I acknowledge the co-constructive nature of human communication, I believe that there are also constraints which emerge when people are in co-presence, engaged in what Goffman (1963) calls *focused interaction*. Therefore, I see conversation paradoxically as the center of human creativity and the center of social restrictions: interactants do construct meanings together, but they do not act without some influence of the social rules inherent to the situation they are in. Competent communicators are able to play with these rules and to negotiate with co-interactants so as to achieve (desired) outcomes.

2.2. Face and face-work: Conceptualizing the phenomena

The phenomenon of face has captured the interests of researchers from diverse fields such as communication studies, psychology, anthropology, linguistics and applied linguistics. Besides a common interest in face, these fields share the challenge of constructing a coherent view of what they mean by face and related constructs. On the one hand, it is possible to find in the literature numerous studies that do not specify how face and face-work are being evoked. On the other hand, numerous scholars have appropriated the phenomena in quite varied ways.

In the present thesis, my own view of face and face-work are grounded in Goffman's (1967). The reason for choosing to work with his instead of other scholars' theorization is due to the fact that his is a situated account of the phenomena. Goffman defines face as

the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact ... an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes—albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself. (p. 5)

It is through taking care of preserving each other's faces that participants contribute for interaction to flow smoothly. If a conversation breaks down and embarrassment occurs, participants' faces are put at risk and they may experience face loss. A threat to face that is probably familiar to some of us occurs, for example, when we are talking to a person that is not our intimate and our stomach rumbles. In a moment like this, we either make some recognition of the happening (saying something such as *Gosh! I'd better have something to eat!*) or we let it pass, without making any comment on it. In Goffman's (1967) theory, both of these actions would be considered face-work actions, since they serve to "counteract [an incident]—that is, [an event] whose effective symbolic implications

threaten face”; face-work serves “to make whatever [a person] is doing consistent with face” (p. 12). The overtly recognition of the rumble would be classified in Goffman’s terms as *corrective* face-work. He would name *the let it pass technique* “tactful blindness” or “poise”, which are examples of the *avoidance process*. Another type of face-work which Goffman elaborates on is the *aggressive*. Basically, it consists of introducing a threat to one’s own or to the other’s face in a way to benefit from it. It is like scoring points through risky moves in a match. An example of aggressive face-work is acting in a way so as to cause the other to feel guilt and ritual disequilibrium, which is very threatening as “tables can be turned and the aggressor can lose more than he could have gained had his move won the point” (p. 25).

According to Goffman, the choice of appropriate face-work and the recognition of a face-threat involve sharing knowledge, inferencing and presuppositions. To put face-saving practices in action, interactants rely on their presuppositions of the way others will interpret such actions. The skilled social actor, the diplomat, is the one that demonstrates both self-respect and considerateness, that is, s/he shows defensive orientation towards her/his own face and at the same time protects the other’s. In sum, neither face-threats nor face-saving practices result from the actions of individuals alone. On the contrary, all these practices are conjointly negotiated and accomplished. Because of this

in trying to save the face of others, the person must choose a tack that will not lead to loss of his own; in trying to save his own face, he must consider the loss of face that his action may entail for others. (p. 14)

As the maintenance of face is to the advantage of all involved in an interchange, interactants generally share a tacit agreement to cooperate in maintaining each others’ faces and lines. Therefore, a mutual “working acceptance” (p. 11) of lines and faces is allowed to

prevail—an accord without which interaction would be hard to keep. This way, individuals save their faces and also the situation.

Face is thus a public and cultural construct—an interactional phenomenon. It is related to self-esteem, sentiments of pride and honor; it is attached to a person's sense of self. Rather than being a physical entity, face is “diffusely located in the flow of events” (p. 7) and the amount of concern each participant will have for this is dependent on the rules of the group and on the definition of the situation. Besides, it is through negotiating faces that people become acquainted with each other. After talking to a person for the first time, for example, we generally make some judgement as regards her/his social worth, such as *what a nice person!* or *how disgusting!* These types of assessments result from the face-relationships we establish with others and show how “morality and interaction are deeply intertwined with each other” (Bergmann, 1998, p. 286). In the next section, I discuss the relation between face and the moral characteristic of discourse.

2.2.1. Morality in the face-game

Bergmann (1998) points out that social interaction has a proto-moral quality, which means that any utterance of talk may convey a moral meaning depending on the way it is contextualized. The same author criticizes language researchers' skepticism in approaching this interrelation. One exception to his criticism is Goffman's theorizations on face and the rituality of interaction. According to Bergmann, Goffman's view on the relation between morality and interaction provides for an understanding that

whenever respect and approval (or disrespect and disapproval) for an individual are communicated, a moral discourse takes place (regardless of the feelings and thoughts of the participants). (p. 286)

In interchanges in which morality comes to the surface of talk, the participants might take precautions as regards each others' face. Linell and Bredmar's (1996) study of midwives' and expectant mothers' interaction shows that in encounters in which sensitive topics are addressed, participants need to display additional effort to maintain ritual equilibrium. They define as sensitive or delicate topics those that "cannot be addressed directly or explicitly by the speaker without endangering the interactional harmony of the encounter by threatening the listener's face (and therefore also the speaker's own face)" (pp. 347-348). Therefore, interactants in the setting they studied were careful in dealing with potential face-threats, like asking an expectant mother about her drinking habits—a lifestyle implicating topic. This may bring into play information that threatens the mother's social image. Language resources such as indirectness and mitigation are thus used by the participants to override this sensitiveness. However, as Linell and Bredmar argue, this language strategy may have a contrary effect, because by addressing issues indirectly to recontextualize them as nonsensitive, one may reconstruct them as delicate.

But what makes a topic such as drinking to be face-threatening in this social situation? We cannot affirm that *drinking habits* is a delicate topic in any setting. Among drunkards, for instance, this may not be so. The face-threat thus does not result from any intrinsic value of the topic, but from the value the participants give to it in relation to other features of the encounter, such as identity. In the case of the study being discussed, drinking does not seem to be a behavior a pregnant woman should engage in. This way, I believe that considerations about how a mother, a father, a doctor or a teacher should behave are likely to influence the construction of our faces as well as the way we do face-work in any of these roles. Preti's (1996) study of face in the discourse of the old-old illustrates this

remarkably. He shows how elderly people make an effort to maintain their social image, which is constantly threatened because of the stigma of age.

Moral issues—or what I would call the moral duties code—seem to influence the face-relationships interactants establish. In Linell and Bredmar's cited example, it seems that both parties, that is, midwives and expectant mothers, are interested in maintaining their own and each other's face. Nothing more natural, if, as I have said, generally, interactants do constant work so as to avoid face loss. However, there are situations in which interactants' interests may be exactly provoking face loss, and thus an overdose of moral invested topics are likely to be provoked. This is the case of the counseling interactions I studied, in which one person keeps his/her face by threatening the other's. The mutual cooperation in face-work is thus replaced by an interplay of face-threatening and face-saving practices (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

In the next chapter, I present the context of investigation—counseling sessions for couples in a WPS—as well as the steps I have followed, from choosing the field of research to the procedures for the interactional analysis. In chapter 4, I analyze the major constituents of counseling interaction and thus segment talk for the description of the aggressive use of face-work to be developed in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCHER AND RESEARCHED IN COUNSELING SESSIONS

AT THE WOMEN'S POLICE STATION

“Não podemos chegar à sabedoria final socrática de conhecer-nos a nós mesmos se nunca deixarmos os estreitos limites dos costumes, crenças e preconceitos em que todo homem nasceu. Nada nos pode ensinar melhor lição nesse assunto de máxima importância do que o hábito mental que nos permite tratar as crenças e valores de outro homem do seu próprio ponto de vista”.
(Malinowski, in DaMatta, 1997, p. 6)

In this chapter I give a description of the social encounters with which I built up my data. And I say *built up* because carrying out research following ethnographic methods entails a great amount of selecting and producing data. Ethnographic descriptions result from complex relationships between researcher and researched (Duranti, 1997; Ellen, 1984). Since fieldwork is a “subjective experience” (Ellen, 1984, p. 3), and also “the product of live dialogue” (Duranti, 1997, p. 87, citing Tedlock, 1983), the data (recordings, transcripts, interviews, fieldnotes) reflect the choices, viewpoints and attitudes of participants in the ethnographic enterprise (including the researcher and the researched).

Here, I explain why and how my “observation was *made*” (Kaplan, 1964, p. 133, cited in Holy, 1984, p. 18), that is, why/how I approached such a field of investigation, how I managed to collect my data, to limit my scope of analysis, and how the people I researched played crucial roles in my decision-making. Before presenting this procedural narrative, however, I locate the social situation I researched—counseling

sessions for heterosexual couples⁶—within the macro context it is a part of—the *Women's Police Stations*⁷ (WPS) in Brazil. I do this by giving an overview of the origins, characteristics and aims of both WPSs and counseling sessions.

3.1. A brief historical account of the Women's Police Stations in Brazil

One of the many challenges of Brazilian society has been to understand and eliminate violence against women, especially marital violence, which has the highest incidence among other types of violence against women. And if this is currently recognized as an issue by society in general and by the state,⁸ this is due to the stressed claims of the Brazilian feminist movement, in the 1970s.⁹ Feminist scholars and activists insisted on the government's responsibility in abolishing crime in the home. They emphasized the necessity of creating an institutional apparatus¹⁰ to guarantee abused women police, legal and psychological assistance. In standard police stations, police officers rarely investigated cases of violence against women and, when they did, they were hostile towards the female victims (Thomas, 1994), suggesting that women themselves must have provoked the abuse.

⁶ *Sessões de orientação a casais*, in Portuguese.

⁷ Here I designate the *Delegacia de Proteção à Mulher*, commonly known as *Delegacia da Mulher*, as *Women's Police Station*, after Thomas (1994).

⁸ There are numerous (university) projects and (non)governmental entities dealing with gender violence nowadays in Brazil. At UFSC, for instance, every other year there is a meeting called *Fazendo gênero na UFSC*, which brings together professionals and researchers from various areas.

⁹ The attempt of battered women to denounce violence in the home is in no way recent. Da Silva's (1980, cited in Izumino, 1998) study of the processes of divorce in the 18th century, for instance, reveals that at that time women were already searching for a recognition of marital violence as a social, rather than individual, problem.

¹⁰ Feminists had already had a failed experience with the *SOS-Mulher*, the first (nongovernmental) entity created to support women victims of violence. The failure is attributed to the clashed interests of feminists and abused women: transforming gender relations, by eliminating patriarchy, versus regenerating the husband. A remarkable study on the practice of the *SOS* is Gregori's (1992). See also Izumino (1998).

The greatest obstacle feminists had to transpose in their enterprise¹¹ was to destroy commonsense beliefs such as *em briga de marido e mulher não se mete a colher* (one does not interfere in a couple's affairs) or *isso é problema de pobre, de gente sem educação* (this is a problem of the poor, of uneducated people). It was necessary for society as a whole to recognize the social and criminal status of the problem. As cases of homicide among "respectable" families, of high social class, popped up in the media, public opinion intensified the pressure on the government (Teles, 1993). It was within this climate of *let's find a solution* that the WPSs were founded. By late 1985, eight WPSs were finally operating in the state of São Paulo. The one located in Florianópolis, which is the one I investigate, was also established in 1985, the second one in Brazil.¹²

WPSs were thus created in order to make violence against women both visible and treatable, that is, subject to be denounced and repressed through specialized means (Izumino, 1998). Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, such aims proved to be very hard to accomplish. In addition to the lack of financial support, there was a lack of adequate training for police officers to deal with gender-specific crimes (Thomas, 1994). In order to overcome this problem, some police stations hired social workers specialized in dealing with gender violence¹³ (Thomas, 1994). The WPS in Florianópolis was not an exception. By the time I carried out this research,¹⁴ the WPS had four social workers

¹¹ Their slogan was *Quem ama não mata* (he who loves her will not kill her).

¹² The WPS is located on Mauro Ramos Street, in Florianópolis, in an old building which had been a hospice in the past. Police officers and social workers sometimes commented on this past history, referring to the *ar pesado* (heavy atmosphere) of the place.

¹³ Thomas (1994) points out that because of the lack of financial support, some WPSs, like the ones in Belo Horizonte and Rio de Janeiro, do not provide especial service to deal with gender-related crimes anymore.

¹⁴ February and March, 1998.

(two of them still in training),¹⁵ psychologists and lawyers. These professionals compose the support team of the WPS I researched.

In the next section, I present background information about the social work and the counseling sessions studied.

3.2. The context of investigation

Social work at the WPS in Florianópolis started in 1991. Even though the relevance of the position of the social worker is acknowledged by the institution and by its clients, it is not officially recognized. The most practical consequence is that the social workers' autonomy is constrained. The social workers offer a kind of emergency service, since they do not have contact with their clients beyond the walls of the WPS.

The social workers' purpose during the initial years was to give women an orientation concerning their legal rights in the divorce process. Noticing that the same women constantly returned as victims of violence, even when engaged in new marital relationships, Marta¹⁶ (at that time the only social worker at the WPS) said that she realized that divorce functioned only as an emergency solution for conflict. In other words, it did not solve the real causes of the problems women faced at home.¹⁷ Therefore, she decided to change her approach by promoting reflection upon the factors that caused marital problems. Thus, Marta created a space in which both the women and their partners could expose their problems and tentative solutions for their conflict could

¹⁵ In 1999, the two trainees were not there anymore. Besides, one of the social workers was transferred to a regular police station, because of personal reasons, in the same year.

¹⁶ Notice that I use pseudonyms to refer to the participants.

¹⁷ However, when the couple decides that there is no way to go on with their marital relationship, she helps them in accomplishing the legal steps toward the divorce.

be drawn: the counseling sessions for couples.¹⁸ According to her, nowadays, the objective of social work is twofold: first, it aims at eliminating violence; second, it involves changing people's conduct and gender stereotyped worldviews.

At first, I could not grasp why Marta made a distinction between the two purposes, as I saw both as two sides of the same coin. During fieldwork, I noticed that, contrary to my expectations, questioning gender roles in society was not a rule at the WPS. I realized then that the image of a WPS I had in my mind was very idealistic. I did not find there the radical feminists I thought I would. If I could find some reflection on gender issues, it was among the social workers. However, if on the one hand it is the space where reflection upon gender roles does happen; on the other hand, it contributes to emphasize the maintenance of the family by reminding people of their family rights and duties. Below, I present a segment in which the social worker explains to the wife the kind of service they provide for couples:

DS 2

- 1 Lia: pois é, mas que tipo de: ajuda vocês oferecem,=
- 2 SW¹: =orientação, (.) pro casal né, a gente- como- (.) vocês vieram hoje. a gente vai discutir o objeto problema de vocês, saber o que é que tá incomodando, pra poder buscar a solução junto, apontar. não dizer o que vocês devem fazer, mas m-clarear pra vocês, o quê que tá incomodando,=
=((*trimm*))=
- 3 SW¹: =o mais profundo, o objeto, PRINCIPAL do problema. porque o resto=
=[são conseqüências,]
[[*(trimm)*]]
(.)
- 4 SW¹: né, (.) então a gente vai clarear e mostrar uma solução,=
=((*trimm*))=
- 5 SW¹: =como vi- viver sem violência (.) dá pra viver sem violência,=
=((*trimm*))=
- 6 SW¹: =conversando,

At the counseling sessions, both the female and the male partner have the chance to tell their side of the story concerning their marital conflict. Regardless of what

¹⁸ Social workers also orient and give police support to male-victims of females. Besides, marital conflict is not the only reason that leads (wo)men to the WPS. For the purposes of this research, however, I focus on interchanges in which the participants are the wife (as the *a priori* victim), the husband (as the *a priori* defendant) and the social worker (as the mediator).

actually takes place in the sessions, social workers stress their concern with their role, that is, with their attempt to do their job in what they consider to be professional and coherent ways. As they are aware of the fact that WPSs are seen by the general public as institutions where women are assigned the role of the victim, social workers show concern in asserting their neutrality; in demonstrating that they follow a methodology of analysis which allows men to have *vez e voz* (their turn and their voice). This is what makes counseling sessions unique in relation to (other) feminist ways of solving marital violence: the social workers stress that conflict in the home is a construction of both wife and husband. Thus, men are not depicted as the only ones responsible for the family disorder.

Before entering the social workers' room at the WPS in Florianópolis, the wife and her husband must have gone through some act of violence that led to the charge and, consequently, the session of counseling. Thus, I refer to counseling sessions as encounters of a conflictual nature, because they come to exist as a result of marital conflict. To put it in simpler words, there would be no session if there were no previous conflict to be complained about and accounted for.

Once it is recorded, a woman's complaint becomes public concern through her narrative of the violent scenes of which she claims to be the victim. In order to fill in a form (a copy is shown in appendix B1), the police officer asks the wife for factual information about her husband and herself (like age, address, profession, and race), as well as details about their relationship (how long they have been a couple, the number of children) and about the violent act (a threat, or a physical or psychological aggression) that provoked the complaint.¹⁹

¹⁹ The police report contains a third-person narrative (which results from the woman's and the officer's interchange, but is written by the latter) which contextualizes the charge.

The next procedure is to send the police report to the *delegada*, the WPS chief police officer, who analyzes the case and decides about the necessary steps to be followed by the victim. From then on, any police or legal action that the victim pursues is based on the police report. At this point, if the woman insists on continuing with the charge, and if her case is considered delicate, she will receive guidance from the chief police officer personally. There are three other possible steps the victim's police report may lead her (Santos, 1997): (1) to police examination (in this case the woman is asked to have a medical examination at the Legal Medical Institute); (2) to the small claims court; (3) to the support team of the WPS, which includes psychologists, lawyers and social workers. If the woman's case is sent to the support team, she may be assisted by a social worker, on the second floor of the WPS. That is when the woman, her husband and one or two social worker(s) will construct the social encounters I am interested in. One of the social workers told me that about seven years ago there was a selection of the charges in order to decide between sending them to the psychologists or to the social workers. Nowadays, cases are distributed among them randomly mainly because of their great number, so as not to overload a specific division.

After receiving their set of cases, the social workers issue the writs (a copy is shown in appendix B2) which will be delivered by police officers to the couples. In order to expedite the process, sometimes the woman herself takes her husband's writ home. Must be stressed that many women withdraw the charges right after filing the complaint, for fear of their husbands' reactions. Others withdraw the charge after the writs are delivered, and do not show up for the counseling session.²⁰ This may happen because the couple decided to solve their conflict by themselves. Still another reason

²⁰ According to the social workers, women very frequently cancel the session, saying that they will give their partners another chance.

may be the preference to avoid any risk to their *face* by not participating in the ritual proposed by the police. As Goffman (1967) puts it “the surest way for a person to prevent threats to his face is to avoid contacts in which these threats are likely to occur” (p.15).

Below, I present a narrative of the paths both wife and husband follow before performing their roles in the scene I focus on.

3.2.1. The encounters

The four encounters I deal with in this study are initial interviews,²¹ that is, it is the first time each couple participates in a counseling session at the WPS. The overall and basic structure of the sessions may be represented as follows:

- calling the couple, who is waiting in another room
- introducing the people present in the room to the couple
- requesting permission to record the interview
- reading the police report made by the wife
- referring to the mediation procedure to be followed
- searching for the problem
- giving/receiving advice
- reaching agreement
- closing

Through this segmentation, we can identify four main speech activities participants go through during these counseling interactions: discussing the mechanics of the interaction (mechanics talk), searching for the couple’s problem (problem talk), giving/receiving advice (advice talk) and reaching agreement (agreement talk). By speech activity I mean to designate the “set of social relationships enacted about a set of schemata in relation to some communicative goal” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 166). Note that the four activities mentioned above are not necessarily carried out one after the other.

Besides, each one of them may occur more than once in a session. However, notice that participants do not orient to matters of advice or agreement before engaging in the search for the problem, which is the activity in which they usually spend more time. This does not exclude the possibility that the participants reengage in the search for the problem after advice has been accomplished in some way.

My objective with this hasty presentation of major speech activities of the event is to provide a contextualization for the reader's sake and not an analysis proper. These activities as well as the reasons to segment talk in this way will be explained in detail in chapter 4.

Following is a layout of the room in which the sessions took place.

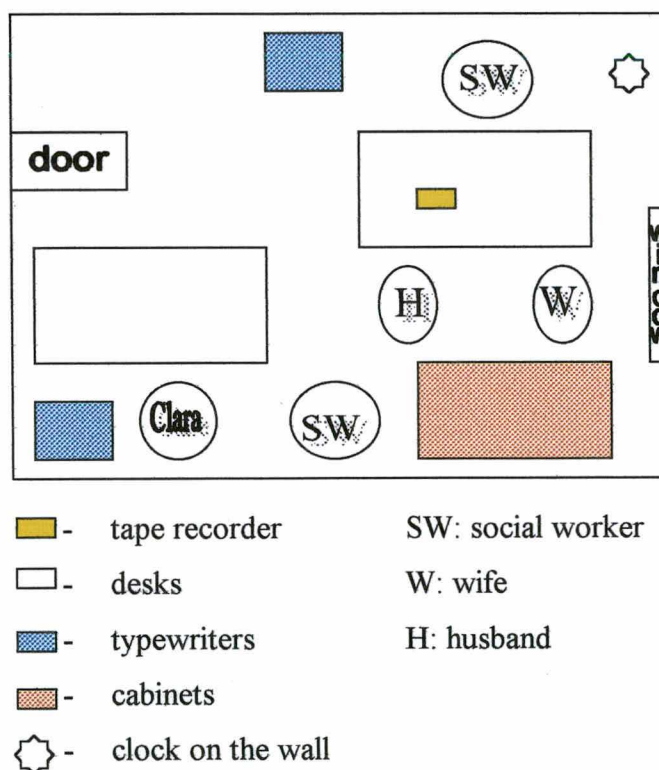


Figure 1- Layout of the setting studied

²¹ The main difference between initial and non-initial sessions concerns their basic task. In initial sessions participants' main concern is defining *the problem*. In non-initial interviews problems are already defined.

It is around the desk in which the tape recorder is placed that the protagonists in this scene perform their roles. Note that the organization of the sittings never varies. The wife always sits closest to the window, next to her husband. Both of them are positioned face to face (in spatial terms) across from the social worker.

In the next section, along with the presentation of the social workers and the couples, I present a summary of what the participants do in the counseling sessions I selected for the present study.

3.2.2. The participants

The social workers

Marta is the most experienced social worker that participates in the sessions. She is in her early forties, and has been working at the WPS for seven years. She entered the police station as a notary public, but as she had both an undergraduate and a graduate degree in social work, and there was a need for a social worker at the WPS, she took the position and became the first social worker of the WPS in Florianópolis. Marta received her undergraduate and master's degrees from the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC) and is currently working towards her law degree at the Universidade do Sul de Santa Catarina.

Marta demonstrated interest in violence against women issues. During our talks, she always commented on the long journey people still have to go through to free society from patriarchy and its negative consequences. The achievement of gender equality is a concern Marta showed to have not only as a social worker, but also as a mother, a wife, and a person. As a social worker, her practice was very much

recognized by the other professionals at the WPS, as I could notice during the participant observation period. It is not a coincidence that every time there is a delicate case to deal with, police officers count on Marta, or Madre Tereza, as some of them kindly call her, to do this.

During the sessions I observed, Marta shared her work with her two social worker-interns. Even though I had the opportunity to attend sessions directed by both interns, only one of them, Sueli, took part directly in this study. Marta showed me her concern in contributing to the development of her trainees as good, critical and responsible social workers. She was very proud of Sueli, 19, who concluded the undergraduate course in social work at UFSC during the course of this research. Sueli fulfilled her internship requirement from 1997 through 1998. During the first year she observed the sessions and kept a journal. In 1998, she began acting in the role of social worker, under Marta's supervision. Sueli and I established an academic dialogue, exchanging books and references. Her final undergraduate paper was on the relationship between economic factors and violence against women.

Another social worker I had contact with was Hélia, 50, working for the WPS since 1995. Even though I asked her permission to audiotape her sessions, she kindly refused my request. She justified it saying that she is seen at the WPS as a tough person. And she ratified this label telling me that her way of orienting people is quite different from Marta's, because she is tougher. I respected her position and did not insist. After all,

... respect for our hosts' sensitivity should always override our desire for "good" data and the thrill of documenting something exemplary for our research goals (Duranti, 1997, p. 102).

Even though Hélia did not allow me to record her sessions, she was interested in understanding what I was doing there. She was the first person at the WPS who asked me specific questions about my research. Although I did not observe her sessions, she asked my opinion regarding their work, questioning me about the ways they should change in order to be effective. The day when Hélia asked me this, I realized that the link I had established with them as a researcher should be a *two-way link*. In other words, my microanalysis of interaction could shed some light on their practice as social workers.

The couples

Lia & Jonas, Marta as social worker; February, 19, 1998, 22 minutes

Lia and Jonas, both around 40, are the couple who participated in the first session I observed. They had been married for 15 years and divorced for 2 months by the time the complaint was filed. Lia's charge concerned the fact that Jonas kept disturbing her after they got divorced. At a certain point, he addressed her with dirty words; at another he invaded her house and took things that belonged to her. In addition, the wife says that he also kept bothering her daughter. The interesting thing about Lia and Jonas is that they were living together again, and engaged in finding ways to understand and solve their problems, which they believe should be treated through psychological help. During the session, they agreed on the need to reflect about the way they defined family roles. In Marta's words "onde é que é o lugar do pai, da mãe" (what is the role of the father, of the mother). The couple emphasized how obscure the cause of their problems was, since, as Jonas says, "a gente não tem problema assim de bebida" (we don't have problems like drinking).

Jane & Rafael, Marta as social worker, March, 12, 1998, 1 hour: 10 minutes

Jane and Rafael, both around 50, and married for 24 years, are the couple participating in the most conflictual session I had the chance to observe. In the charge, Jane accuses Rafael of slapping her face, of threatening to expel her from home, alleging that she has a lover. Throughout the session, other problems are discussed, and the main concern of the couple seems to be related to financial issues: they do not agree on the way the family should use the money they earn. In the end, participants do not achieve an agreement and the session finishes in a very embarrassing way.

Soraia & Paulo, Sueli as social worker most of the time, March, 13, 1998, 40 minutes

The third couple whose session I observed, Soraia and Paulo, are in their late 50's. Soraia pressed the charge because Paulo got drunk and tried to hang her. During the session, the fact that he stays until late at night drinking in bars, and supposedly has a lover, is highlighted. The hanging event is treated as one among a series of narratives about Paulo's misconduct. Soraia also complains about his drinking habits.

Laura & Marco, Sueli as social worker, March, 30, 1998, 15 minutes

Laura and Marco, in their late 60's, are both retired. They have been married for 37 years. Laura came to the WPS to complain about Marco's misbehavior. According to her, he always disturbs her, their children and neighbors, and lately things have been getting worse, especially when he drinks. She adds that on the day she made the charge, he aggressed her verbally.

As a participant-observer, I remained in silence during all the conversations, in the “blind spot” (Duranti, 1997, p. 101), trying to be the least intrusive I could. However, I am aware that my presence made a difference sometimes. For instance, during Jane and Rafael’s session, while she was addressing the social worker, he kept looking at me, expressing opposition to his wife’s sayings through nonverbal behavior. Besides, I was more intrusive in all sessions when I came to the desk to reverse the tape.

As I had already carried out research at the WPS (I explain this in the next section, 2.2), I was not a complete stranger there. In addition, the fact that I was back, going on with my interest in the WPS’ practices, was positively viewed. However, I felt that it was quite difficult for them to grasp what a student of applied linguistics was doing there. Although I did explain I was not interested in analyzing the use of (non)standard Portuguese, I noticed some of the WPS staff oriented to this understanding. It was a challenge to make them overcome common sense views of the scope of a course like Letras. In the end, I am sure that the people who participated directly in my work understood my concern with their interactional doings.

Since the first day at the WPS, I was treated with respect. As I stayed at Marta’s office with her and her trainees, we constantly had the opportunity to discuss issues related to gender and violence, among others. The fact that we shared some interests and views contributed to bring us together. I even had the opportunity to participate in some of their activities, for example, filing writs, calling people who were waiting for the sessions, answering the phone. And there was also the chat during coffee-break everyday. Regarding my contact with the couples, except for some minutes talking to Jane, it was restricted to the sessions. And this is one of the limitations of my study. I

could have profited from interviewing them, but I decided not to be more intrusive than I had already been.

In the following section, I explain how I negotiated entry in the field, how I collected the data and how I initiated the process of limiting the scope of analysis.

3.3. Entering the field

Contrary to my expectations, getting permission to carry out my research at the WPS was quite easy. I believe this was due to two factors. First, I was not the first student to ask for permission to collect research data there. On the contrary, it is very common to find other university students researching at the WPS files. Second, I myself had already carried out research there, as an undergraduate student, in 1996. Thus, I had already met some of the police officers and also the WPS chief police officer, and this surely helped my negotiation of entry. I expected the negotiation of entry to be difficult exactly because, differently from my first entry there, my intention was not to have access to the WPS files, but to record people talking about their lives and police members doing their job.

During my previous research, I had the opportunity to talk to Marta, who told me that, if I wanted to, I could attend her sessions with people having problems of violence in the home. However, as interaction was not of my interest at that time, I did not attend the sessions. My undergraduate study was related to the investigation of the way women and men are represented in a written genre that circulates within the WPS, which is the police report. As I became interested in the study of talk, I found out that Marta's sessions would be valuable data for analysis, for I would be able to investigate what these people were doing together when "receiving/giving orientation". The first thing I

did, then, was to get in contact with Olga, the WPS detective. She was the person I had most contact with during my first entry there. So, she introduced me to Marta again.

As Marta accepted my research proposal,²² we agreed that I would inform the WPS chief police officer about my work. And I did that. I talked briefly to the officer about my purposes and gave her a document in which I was identified as a master's student at UFSC. And I was welcomed by her, as well as by the other professionals at the police station.

3.3.1. Collecting the data

The first time I went to the WPS to observe sessions, I had a very vague idea of what happened during counseling interaction. I was even in doubt if I was going to work with sessions for individual clients, usually women, or for couples, both wife and husband face to face. Two issues were crucial in helping me define the kind of session I would focus on. First, when talking about the couple's sessions, social workers emphasized that men would have their *vez e voz* (turn and voice), and that this could reveal the real causes of marital conflict. They told me that there were sessions in which wife and husband exchanged roles: he became the victim. I got interested in knowing how this happened and how the social workers dealt with the fact that, as Marta puts it, *cada um mostra a sua parte boazinha* (each one makes a good showing of him/herself) during the interaction. Second, I had a personal and academic interest in the debate on gender relations. It was exactly this interest that brought me to the WPS. After writing a paper on the way a women's magazine influenced the construction of women's identity (Dornelles, 1997), I was to see how gender was dealt with by real people, men and

²² The fact that it was Marta herself who suggested the recordings as well as the fact that she was still in agreement with this were surely decisive for me to get permission to collect my data.

women, for whom it was an immediate life concern. Besides, previous research on gender and violence (Gregori, 1992) points to the lack of men's voice in discussions on violent marital relations. In order to avoid "partial constructions" (Gregori, 1992, p. 200) of violent scenes, Gregori advocates the inclusion of the male side of the story.

During the afternoons of February and March, 1998, I had the opportunity to observe the routines of the WPS very closely. Such routines included police officers on duty, people complaining, people seeking orientation, people begging for a job and food, hopeless, socially violated people, waiting in the corridors. Sometimes, I felt I was in an emergency room at a hospital. At other times, things were quite peaceful and even funny, for example, when celebrating International Women's Day. There was fruit salad for everybody!

It was within such an atmosphere that I carried out fieldwork, which included taking notes, interviewing people (in)formally, recording conversations and negotiating permission to observe/record sessions each time a new participant came to the scene. I was thus inserted into the "continuous process of negotiation" which qualitative research requires (Erickson, 1992, p. 211).

The fieldnotes include observations about the interactants' physical behavior, relevant background information about the participants, people's opinions regarding (marital) violence and the role of the WPS (with an emphasis on understanding the role of the social work). In addition to questioning the participants informally, I formally interviewed the social workers who participated in the research. The interviews, which happened in August, 1998, were basically about the origin, organization and aims of counseling sessions. Although I had an agenda (see appendix B3), I did try not to

restrict the interview to answering the pre-established questions. Besides, I interviewed them separately.

As for the recordings of sessions, I recorded a total of eight, from which I chose four to compose the corpus of the present study. I selected those sessions which were initial sessions for couples, that is, it was the first time the couple came for an interview with the social worker. Regarding the four sessions I left out, two were not initial interviews, and the other two were not related to marital conflict. Although a number of four sessions were usually scheduled for each afternoon,²³ there were days in which none of the people scheduled showed up. Furthermore, just some of the sessions were for couples.²⁴ Because of this, I ended up attending more sessions than the ones I recorded.

For the recordings, I used a portable audio-recorder, which I placed on the desk around which participants sat. The quality of the recording is good, even though the room was really noisy, because of the busy traffic outside. Before each session, Marta introduced me to the couple by telling them I was a university student interested in investigating how people communicated with each other. After this, I asked the couple permission to record their interaction. I assured them that the material was going to be used only for academic purposes, that they would not be identified in the research, and that they had the right to ask me to erase the tape if they so wished by the end of the session. Fortunately, all the couples I approached agreed with the recordings and none changed their minds.²⁵ As I did not record the participants authorizing me to audio-

²³ Counseling sessions took place only in the afternoon.

²⁴ The police station where I carried out research includes two sectors: *proteção à mulher* and *proteção ao menor e ao adolescente*. This way, I also observed sessions in which participants were concerned with violence against children and adolescents.

²⁵ The only *no* I received was in one of the first sessions I observed, when I was not interested in recording couples yet, but women.

record, I drafted a form (see appendix B4) in which social workers gave me this consent and testified to the couples' permissions. All these procedures reflect my concern with confidentiality, that is, "the fundamental ethical requirement of the researcher to prevent harm coming to those studied through the processes by which they are studied" (Erickson, 1992, p. 212).

When negotiating entry with the social workers, I had already stressed the guarantee of confidentiality and the use of the data for matters of research only. During the first recordings, however, Marta's concern with preserving the couples' identity was marked by the use of pseudonyms, *seu João e dona Maria*, to refer to them and by the omission of information such as addresses in her talk. As time went by, Marta stopped doing this. Regarding the obtrusiveness of the tape recorder, I can say that for the couples, and later on for the social workers as well, it was as if the machine was not there. This may be due to the fact that for the participants of counseling sessions, "involvement in the emotional dynamics of the exchanges reduces the amount of attention that can be given to the monitoring of their speech" (Labov & Fanshel, 1977, p. 354).

The problems I had with the recordings were of a mechanical sort. First of all, I did not record sessions from their very beginning, exactly because I was concerned with assuring participants' permission to record. Thus, the recordings always begin after the consent; greetings and discussions on authorization to record are not on tape. Secondly, as I was using only one tape recorder, I lost some parts of the conversations when I reversed the tape.

3.4. Procedures for data adjustments and analysis

From data collection to the segmentation of the interactional event, I had a hard time making choices. The first issue I had to decide upon concerned the kind of counseling session I was going to focus on (for women alone or for couples?). As I explained in the previous section, I opted for *initial counseling sessions for heterosexual couples*. After that, I had to decide if I was going to work only with one sample of the sessions or with more than one. I chose to work with the four initial sessions I had recorded because I found that a single session would not be enough for me to see what was typical and atypical in them.

For an initial handling of the data, I worked on one of the interactional exchanges. I chose Jane and Rafael's session because it was the most conflictual one and the most difficult for participants to maintain face, I supposed. Here I encountered the hardest task I had to accomplish: segmenting talk. At this point of my study, I had a strong tendency to see each sample of interaction as a whole. In other words, I was not able to decompose sessions. I always had the sensation that I was losing something if I segmented them. I believe this was due to the fact that during my participant observation, I had already established that the focus of my analysis would be *face-work*, because the participants demonstrated an effort to project positive impressions of their selves. However, in looking at my data, and trying to select segments in which face-work was evident, I found this was too broad a criterion for segmentation. The considerations which came out of this initial handling happened to be of a very etic kind, as I did misunderstand what was going on.

I finally decided to follow Erickson and Shultz's (1981) and Erickson's (1992) methodology for data analysis. Thus, I listened to all the tapes again, without stopping

at any moment, but making notes in which I pointed out the main topics and details that called my attention. In the next session of hearings, I tried to figure out the main parts of the event and the junctures that separated them. At this point, the analysis of the participant frameworks (Goodwin, 1990) helped me to identify the four main speech activities participants carry out: mechanics talk, problem talk, advice talk and agreement talk. From the four activities identified, problem talk seemed to be the most relevant one for participants' accomplishments within the encounter. I then transcribed some samples of this activity from the four tapes and tried to identify its main features. I notice then that problem talk typically unfolds into two participant frameworks—the mediated and the direct disputes—which overlap with a third one, which I name cross-examination and which signals a hidden speech activity. I also found out that the main actions of the participants in these frameworks are complaints. I decided then to investigate how face-work was carried out in mediated dispute/cross examination. Throughout these stages, I kept in mind the information I had from fieldwork as a way to ground my analysis.

In the present chapter, I provided a general description of the context of investigation, a narrative of the way fieldwork was carried out and how I processed the data. In the next chapter, I proceed to the examination of the major constituents of the event here roughly described (in section 3.2.1.). Underlying this description is an intention to investigate the main accomplishments of the participants as well as to segment talk for the interactional analysis to be carried out in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4

CO-CONSTRUCTING (ACTS AND ROLES ON) THE STAGE: COUNSELING INTERACTION AND THE HIDDEN AGENDA

“In all situations, even the most institutionalized and ritualized, people are agents in the production of their own and others’ social selves”.
(Ochs, 1993, p. 296)

My purpose in this chapter is to describe the overall organization of counseling interaction as well as the main accomplishments of participants in the event. As briefly mentioned in chapter 3 (p. 22),²⁷ I have identified four major *speech activities* (Gumperz, 1982) participants carry out: *mechanics talk*, *problem talk*, *advice* and *agreement talk*. As a theoretical tool, I applied Goodwin’s (1990) notion of *participant frameworks*. The chapter thus begins with the conceptualization of theoretical terms which are central to the subsequent description. After this, I describe each of the four activities of the event. The analysis of frameworks reveals an underneath activity, which rarely comes to the surface of talk—cross-examination within problem talk. In the end of the chapter, I include another section in which I briefly discuss a discrepant case, that is, a session in which what happens is quite atypical. This counter-example contributes to show how, even though participants’ actions are institutionally shaped, their actual achievements are co-constructed in situ.

²⁷ There I define speech activity following Gumperz.

4.1. Counseling interaction and its major constituents

By examining the standard shape of the event, I identified four main speech activities participants carry out, as they pursue institutional tasks: *mechanics talk*, *problem talk*, *advice talk* and *agreement talk*. Participant frameworks as defined by Goodwin (1990) proved to be an efficient analytic descriptor for characterizing the different activities. Her conceptualization of the term encapsulates two basic processes: (1) the way activities align participants toward each other (for instance, being a speaker or a hearer as a turn is constructed); and (2) the way ongoing talk characterizes or depicts relevant parties (animating them as figures within talk, for example). Goodwin stresses that, even though these two processes are conceptually distinct, in practice, they are frequently intertwined. She exemplifies this distinction with the “he-said-she-said” framework typical of confrontations among Maple Street girls.²⁸ According to her analysis of such confrontations, the *speaker* reports that she knew from a third party that the *addressee* was talking about her behind her back. The way participants are described within the report contributes to positioning them as *accuser* and *defendant* in the activity of the moment. In addition, it also aligns those who are present, but are not protagonists of the accusation, who become then the *audience* to the confrontation. Goodwin’s study is remarkable in demonstrating the key role of participant framework for the social organization of face-to-face interaction.

The reason for choosing Goodwin’s notion of *participant frameworks*, instead of related concepts such as Erickson and Shultz’s (1981) *participation structures* or Goffman’s (1981) *participation frameworks* is due to the type of data I work with in this thesis. In counseling sessions (CSs), participants enact roles and establish relationships “in talk directed from one speaker *to* another” and “by one speaker *about* another”

²⁸ Goodwin calls Maple Street a residential street in a black working-class neighborhood in Southwest Philadelphia.

(O'Connor & Michaels, 1996, p. 68; emphasis in the original). Goodwin's concept is the only one to acknowledge the second process.

I now proceed to the description of the speech activities identified. As previously mentioned, the description will make salient that problem talk is the activity in which participants accomplish tasks that seem to be central to the event. Because of this, I explain it in a more detailed way than I do the other activities.

4.1.1. Mechanics talk and the ritual order

It is March 30th, 1998. The big clock next to the window on one of the walls of the social worker's room displays 2 p. m. It is time for the first couple scheduled that day to come in. As the social worker in charge is Sueli (SW²), the trainee, she sits at Marta's desk, whereas Marta positions herself in the back of the room, next to me. At this point, someone knocks at the door: a woman introducing herself as one of the daughters of Laura and Marco, the first couple to be seen that afternoon. She enters the room and asks the social workers to *dar uma prensa* (be tough) on her father, because he has been behaving in reprehensible ways. After no more than two minutes, the daughter leaves and SW² calls Laura and Marco. As they sit down around the desk, we greet each other and I ask for permission to record. After this, the session begins:

DS 12

- 1 SW²: eu vou ler a intimaçã- [a:::]=
- 2 Marco: [tá, tá]
- 3 SW¹: =reclamação=
- 4 SW²: =o boletim de ocorrência=
- 5 Marco: =tá=
- 6 SW²: =que: a dona::, Laura (.) registrou contra o senhor, tá, (.) eu pediria que cada um falasse na sua vez, primeiro quando eu acabar de ler eu vou passar a palavra pra dona Laura né, depois o senhor, pra gente conseguir conversar com calma, (.) tá,

This is a typical way CSs start: with the establishment of the special turn-taking allocation rules characteristic of the event.²⁹ These rules, as exposed above by the social worker, are grounded in mediation procedures. Basically, these procedures aim at assuring husband and wife the right to pre-allocate turns to tell his/her side of the conflictual stories they are enacting at home. The social worker is the one responsible for guaranteeing disputants the right to speak. It is thus the moments in which participants refer to the rules of the game, which I call mechanics talk.

Mechanics talk is typically an *opening activity*. This does not mean, however, that participants never orient to this activity in other moments of the event. The following segment shows SW² calling Marco's attention after he challenges the mediation system, interfering abruptly with Laura's pre-allocated turn:

- DS 12
- 7 SW²: o. quê que tá acontecendo, dona Laura,
((pause))
- 8 Laura: ah ele bebe, que ele é mal- muito mal criado, tudo quan[to] é nome ele diz (.) ele=
9 Marco: [não,]
- 10 Laura: =me ofende a mim [()]
- 11 Marco: [↑ não, não] ([)]
- 12 SW²: [não. (.) o se]nhor,=
13 Marco: =eu sei eu sei=
→ 14 SW²: =o senhor espera ela, (.) [falar **primei**ro [tá,]
15 Marco: [()] [()]

As Marco insists on trying to gain the floor, mechanics talk is reopened again, in line 18:

- DS 12
- 16 Laura: ele chega ele vai pra estrada da (.) ele vai pra estrada ele chama a minha filha de sapatão, meu filho de ladrão (isso é alto) da vizinha.
(.)
- 17 Marco: (a: mas ↑ele falo-) (.) não, >psxiu<
(.)
- 18 SW²: =NÃO. primeiro [o senhor esPERa ela fa]LAR.=
19 Marco: [não tô falando não,]

²⁹ See Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) for the groundwork on the description of speech exchange systems.

The continuation of the passage shows that Marco persists in interrupting (lines 19, 20, 27 and 29, below). This time, however, the other participants react to his interruptions, by using what I call an *ignoring strategy*, that is, they continue in mediated talk, as if he were not present. This is indicated by Laura's use of third person singular to refer to him:

- DS 12
- 19 Marco: [não tô falando não,]
 20 Marco: =ladrão não tô falando ↑isso aí. (.) [eu não fa↑lei] isso.=
 → 21 Laura: [ele:::]
 → 22 Laura: =e ele é mal cri↑ado. >tudo quanto é palavra ele diz< (dentro) dessa boca aí quando ele tá bêbado.
 (.)
 23 SW²: =e os seus filhos são ca↑sados (.) não,=
 24 Laura: =são.=
 25 SW²: =são,
 ((pause))
 → 26 Laura: ele agora (.) brigou (.) com o vizinho (.) do lado,=
 27 Marco: =bri[gou não, que ele]=
 → 28 Laura: [se desentendeu]
 29 Marco: =() [()]

But Marco does not give up interrupting, which causes SW¹, who is observing the session, to interfere in order to stress the rules once again:

- DS 12
- 27 Marco: =bri[gou não, que ele]=
 28 Laura: [se desentendeu]
 29 Marco: =() [()]
 → 30 SW¹: [Ô SEU, SEU,] como é seu nome, seu [MARCO, o senhor] dá licença,=
 31 SW²: [SEU Marco]
 32 Marco: =↑Marco.
 (.)
 → 33 SW¹ a o senhor- faz o seguinte, eu sei que o senhor quer fa↑LAR, a- se o senhor quer falar antes DEla, até a gente ↑troca.=
 34 Marco: =tá cer[to.]
 → 35 SW¹: >[ma]s aí depois o senhor não vai poder falar ma[is< o bom,] até o mais=
 36 Marco: [tá, tá (.) tá certo.]
 → 37 SW¹: =inteligente seria (.) que o senhor deixasse ela falar TUDO (.) aí o senhor guarda TUDO na cabeça o que o senhor acha que tá E↑RRADO. que não é assim,
 [depois o senhor FALA.]
 38 SW²: [depois o senhor fala.]

Finally, both SW¹ and SW² lead on a discussion on the rules, giving details on how Marco should proceed:

- DS 12
- 38 SW²: [depois o senhor fala.]
- 39 SW¹: =porque se o senhor falar ↑ANTES. ninguém vai lhe ouvir DE↑POIS.=
- 40 Marco: =tá bom.
(.)
- 41 SW¹: =tá? a escolha é sua. =
- 42 SW²: =não inte[↑rrompa]
- 43 SW¹: >[por isso] que a gente [tá dan]do=
44 Marco: [(°tá bom°)]
- 45 SW¹: =[chan]ce< dela falar antes (.) e o senhor, >daí ↑fala depois dela é me↑lhor.<=
→ 46 SW²: [tá.]
- 47 Marco: =(°sei (.) [sei°])
- 48 SW¹: [ago]ra, se o senhor interromper, (.) nós vamos trocar.
((pause))
- 49 SW²: pode falar=
- 50 Laura: =e ele fica muito agressivo quando ele bebe. e malc-. e sem bebida ele é malcriado...

The last five segments are examples of moments in which participants highlight their asymmetrical and institutional differences. Whereas the social workers are the ones demonstrably in control of the ceremonial rules of interaction, that is, the ones who know the rules and establish the way interaction should proceed, Marco does not challenge their authority, and Laura waits for the social worker's signal to continue complaining.

Social workers are generally the primary speakers³⁰ in mechanics talk, whereas the husband and/or the wife are the recipients. However, in one of the CSs I studied, in Jane and Rafael's, I found passages in which either the husband or the wife appropriates the social worker's stance by claiming for his/her right to talk. The following segment presents Jane orienting to mechanics talk in a way to reallocate her turn, which was disrupted by Rafael:

- DS 4
- 26 Rafael: [>a senhora] pegue sua mão no telefone, liga pra delegacia de Barreiros, que a família dela é toda assim, tia.< TEM UMA LISTA, TODOS (.) tem QUAtro já separados=
- 27 Jane: =não te confunde [com os] outros=
- 28 Rafael: [para]
- 29 Rafael: =deixa eu falar [deixa eu falar]
- 30 Jane: [não te confun]de
(.)

³⁰ The primary speaker is the one that has the main turn, whereas the secondary speaker has the marginal turn. By the same token, the primary recipient is the one that is addressed by the main turn, whereas the secondary recipient is not.

- 31 Jane: >eu ai- eu ainda não terminei<=
 32 SW¹: =então então deixa só ela terminar o se[nhor] vai falar=

Later on in the same interaction, it is Jane who interrupts Rafael's pre-allocated turn:

- DS 5
 → 11 Jane: po- po[sso falar,]
 12 Rafael: [não, pára.]
 (.)
 13 Rafael: [deixa,] deixa eu [falar,]=
 14 Jane: [↑°não,°] [(°então fala°)]=
 15 SW¹: =(°é::°)=
 16 Rafael: =deixa eu falar,=
 17 SW¹: =fala, seu::=

Despite the different ways disputants interrupt the other's turn (Jane asks for permission to talk, whereas Rafael does not), in both segments, the social worker acknowledges the propriety of the disputants' claims and reassures the ongoing speaker status.

As I have tried to demonstrate, mechanics talk functions to maintain as well as to re-establish the ritual order of CSs. It serves to guarantee the wife and the husband the necessary space to expose their points as regards the marital conflict. This way, it settles a specific framework of problem talk—the mediated dispute structure. The following graphs represent the participant frameworks typical of mechanics talk. Notice that the social worker is the one who is usually positioned as a primary speaker, even though exceptions do occur.

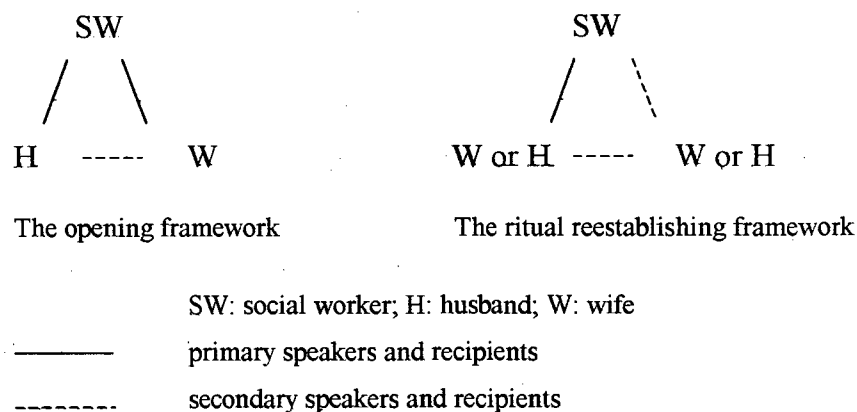


Figure 2 – Participant framework in mechanics talk

4.1.2. Problem talk³¹: in search for the problem and the victim

During problem talk, the participants of the interactions studied here are likely to organize themselves in a way so as to diagnose the couple's problem of conduct and establish its motives. The discussion to be carried out in this section aims at understanding the relationship between participant frameworks and the diagnostic process, that is, the relation between the structure of the interaction and the definition of the culprit and victim of the marital crises. As the description will demonstrate, due to the roles they create and the relationships they establish while doing problem talk, the participants of the CSs analyzed usually end up trying to find out who the victim is. Thus, I argue that the identification of the (reasons for the) problem and the victim (and thus the culprit) are, most of the time, one of the goals in counseling interactions.

Let us turn back to the segment from the beginning of the event that I have presented above. We are again at that moment in which the social worker asserts the normative procedures to be followed (discussed in section 4.1.1.). Our focus now is on what takes place after mechanics talk:

- DS 12
- 1 SW²: eu vou ler a intimaçã- [a::]=
 2 Marco: [tá, tá]
 3 SW¹: =reclamação=
 4 SW²: =o boletim de ocorrência=
 5 Marco: =tá=
 6 SW²: =que: a dona::, Laura (.) registrou contra o senhor, tá, (.) eu pediria que cada um falasse na sua vez, primeiro quando eu acabar de ler eu vou passar a palavra pra dona Laura né, depois o senhor, pra gente conseguir conversar com calma, (.) tá,
 → → ((she begins reading)) compareceu nesta delegacia de polícia, a vítima, nos comunicando que é casada com o indiciado há 37 anos, (.) com quem possui 4 filhos, (.) que o mesmo sempre incomodou a vítima, (.) os filhos, e os vizinhos, (.) que ultimamente está ficando pior, principalmente, quando ingere bebidas alcoólicas, (.) que na data desta ocorrência o mesmo perturbou (.) e agrediu moralmente a todos (.) é o relato.

³¹ Jefferson (1984) uses a similar label—troubles telling—to refer to sequences of talk in which one participant introduces some trouble which will not necessarily be taken by the others as a topic to be dealt with. Jefferson and Lee's (1992) work on troubles telling focuses on the display of advice during ordinary conversation and a service encounter. Also, Buttny (1993), in his study of therapy sessions for couples, uses the term *problem talk* as a synonym for the *telling of problems*.

After the establishment of the ritual rules, the social worker reads the police report, a document which contains the charge previously made by the wife (about the police report, see section 3.2.). The reading of the police report makes the institutionally given positions of the parties present explicit: the wife is the complainant/accuser and victim; the husband is the accused and defendant; the social worker is the representative of the police institution. Therefore, the reading marks a change in footing, since it “implies a change in the alignment” (Goffman, 1981, p. 128) participants take up for themselves. Applying Goffman’s notions of animator and principal, we can make some considerations regarding this subtle change in alignment. Animator and principal (and also author)³² are notions that help us to understand what Goffman calls “the production format” (p. 145) of an utterance. He conceptualizes animator as the “talking machine...engaged in acoustic activity” (p. 144), that is, “an individual active in the role of utterance production” (p. 144). As for the principal, he refers to it as “someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say” (p. 144). When the social worker talks about the normative procedures of the encounter, she is the animator and principal of the utterances she produces. As for the other participants, they are primary recipients of the social worker’s utterances. Later on, when reading, SW² takes up the role of the animator of words she “had no hand in formulating” (Goffman, 1981, p. 145). The principal in this case is the wife, since it is her opinions, sentiments and beliefs that are being invoked from past to ongoing activity. The shift in footing points to a new configuration in the participant framework, which marks the passage from mechanics to problem talk. Such transition is strengthened by the social worker’s usual question:

³² The author is “someone who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded” (Goffman, 1981, p. 144).

- DS 12
- 6 SW²: é o relato.
((pause))
- 7 SW²: o quê que tá acontecendo, dona Laura,
((pause))
- 8 Laura: ah ele bebe, que ele é mal- muito mal criado, tudo quan[to] é nome ele diz (.) ele=
9 Marco: [não,]
- 10 Laura: =me ofende a mim [()]

By asking *o quê que tá acontecendo* (what's going on), the social worker elicits more information about the scenes of marital conflict, and, therefore, orients talk towards the overtly expression of problems, which had already been introduced by the written complaint. After the reading of the police report, both the wife and the husband have the right to have at least one pre-allocated turn to make their complaints. During the first time she has the turn, the wife generally confirms the written complaint by enumerating problems whose causes she attributes to the husband's conduct. Only after she finishes telling the mediator all she wants to tell (in turns varying from 5 to 20 minutes), does the husband gain the floor to tell his version of the story. The husband's turn may both be designed as a counter-complaint (which implies a denial of guilt) or as an excuse (thus acceptance of guilt). If, after the wife's and the husband's first pre-allocated turn, the social worker still has not achieved a diagnosis nor defined the victim, disputants are likely to 'pre-allocate turns again. Problem talk will only be over when the social worker signals that she has find out the victim, and, thus, orient talk to advice talk.

During one's turn, interferences of the other party are only allowed when they do not disrupt the ongoing speaker's flow of action. In other words, the other party to the dispute, who is then the secondary recipient, is only authorized to participate as a secondary speaker, without taking the current speaker's turn away. The previous discussion on mechanics talk (section 4.1.1.) showed what happens when one disputant tries to gain the floor during another speaker's pre-allocated turn. During these turns,

participants organize themselves as *mediated disputants*, a type of organization typical of the *mediated dispute*—a participant framework of problem talk. Below, I discuss the features of the mediated dispute and of the *direct dispute*—another participant framework of problem talk.

The mediated dispute: It's his/her fault!

Let us begin the discussion on mediated dispute—the most usual participant framework of problem talk—by examining its occurrence. In the scene that precedes the following excerpt, Laura's pre-allocated turn had been disrupted by Marco. She is now reengaging in complaining about his behavior:

- DS 12
 49 SW²: pode falar=
 → 50 Laura: =e ele fica muito agressivo quando ele bebe. e malc-. e sem bebida ele é malcriado também (.) sabe,=
 51 SW²: =arram=
 → 52 Laura: =ele tem uma boca muito ↑suja. (.) e tudo quanto é palavrão ele diz. (.) el- não pode ir uma, uma ami- a minha irmã vai lá (.) foi lá Natal (.) dar um parabéns pra mim dar um abraço de:, de Natal, as mi- as minhas sobrinhas, (.) ele ↑bebe ele bota eles a correr, (.) meu filho de Blumenau chegou, a minha nora chegou a sair (.) cho↑rando.

Laura is talking to a person (the mediator) about a third party who is present (her husband), but not allowed to take a turn at talk. The husband is portrayed in her talk as a person who is aggressive, especially, but not exclusively, when he drinks. Laura accounts for her accusation by telling about a specific event in which Marco treated their family in a bad way. The scene she mentions happens during Christmas, when Laura's sister and nieces came to visit her. She tells the mediator that, on that occasion, Marco drank and ended up disrupting the family meeting. Marco is thus positioned as a defendant in the ongoing activity as well as a potential candidate for the culprit-role, which will be a role he will indeed perform in the end of the session. This suggests how “methods of portraying participants...also provide structures for aligning them” within the immediate talk (Goodwin, 1990, p. 10).

Even though the session begins with the reading of a document in which the husband figures as the reprehensible character to the detriment of the victimized position of the wife, during the ongoing talk she may also play the role of the defendant. This is an example of the fluidity of identity in interaction (Aronsson, 1998; Erickson & Shultz, 1982). The initial cartography of the social space (Aronsson, 1998) of CSs, that is, the pre-determined social organization of the event, is in a way challenged, because the wife is not always necessarily positioned as the complainant, nor the husband as the defendant. To exemplify this, I present below a passage from the beginning of Rafael's first pre-allocated turn:

- DS 4*
- 52 Rafael: eu não tenho tempo de cuidar de casa
(.)
- 53 Rafael: sabe o quê que ela faz?
(.)
- 54 Rafael: ela não limpa ↑um banheiro (.) ela não lava ↑uma roupa dos filhos (.) ela não faz
↑um café pros filhos (.) ela não faz ↑uma janta pra mim,

After listening to Jane's complaints about his behavior, Rafael takes his chance to counter-complain. He depicts Jane as a housewife who does not take care of the house and of her family the way he thinks she should. Jane becomes then the accused character in the activity of the moment.

As regard the status of the mediator, she is the one to whom complaints are addressed; the one who specifies who is to talk to whom; the one who is thus free to self select, and the one who directs talk towards the institutional task agenda (Drew & Heritage, 1992). The following segment shows that as she listens to Laura's account, SW² focuses her attention on the subject of drinking, which suggests that she is orienting to the institutional mandate—diagnosing the problem and establishing the victim.

- DS 12
- 52 Laura: ...ele ↑bebe ele bota eles a correr, (.) meu filho de Blumenau chegou, a minha nora chegou a sair (.) cho↑rando.
((pause))
- 53 Laura: por causa dele, que ele entrou bêbado. ele agora a gente mora (parede e meia) com o vizinho né [()] =
- 54 (SW²): [ah é]
- 55 Laura: =minha prima (.) eles se desentenderam ele e o homem né, (.) e agora por causa disso ele bebe ele cham- só chama o homem de vagabundo, (.) fica falando do homem na vizinhança, =
- 56 SW²: =e faz tempo (.) faz::: bastante tempo, que ele bebe?

In the arrowed turn, the mediator acknowledges receipt, but does not evaluate Laura's accounts. Differently from what would generally happen in ordinary conversation, complaints are not assessed.³³ Instead, they are used by the mediator as a source of information that may help diagnose the problem. In the segment under discussion, the mediator demonstrates interest in *eliciting* details about the husband's drinking habit—an interest that might have been influenced by Laura's emphasis on the issue, as she relates the husband's aggression to it. As the continuation of the segment above shows, the social worker insists on eliciting information about drinking:

- DS 12
- 56 SW²: =e faz tempo (.) faz::: bastante tempo, que ele bebe?
(.)
- 57 SW²: não, =
- 58 Laura: =↑a! toda vida.
(.)
- 59 SW²: sempre bebeu, [DESDE QUE A SENHORA (.) casou,]
60 Laura: [todo o lugar (.) que a gente mora,] ãrram. todo lugar que a gente mora a gente sai corrido (.) porque ele dá em brigar com a vizinhança, =

Besides the elicitation technique, mediators also use *formulations* as a resource to orient actions towards the diagnosis of the problem. Formulations consist of “utterances in which a speaker is summarizing the gist of prior talk by the recipient” (Garcez, 1996, p. 126). In problem talk, formulations seem to function as a way to check information which grounds subsequent eliciting practices. The next data excerpt shows SW¹

³³ Drew (1998) discusses the specificities of complaint sequences in ordinary conversation.

summarizing/checking some of the information previously given by Jane—in the police report and during the beginning of her pre-allocated turn:

- DS 4
- 2 SW¹: =tá. ô dona::: Jane, deixa eu entender uma coisa (.) a senhora diz que ele a ((*begins reading*)) ameaça botar a senhora pra fora de casa e alega que tem um amante ((*stops reading*)) e isso vem ocorrendo de quanto tempo pra cá que, >porque a senhora disse que< houve uma ↑fase (.) em que os filhos dele levantaram a hipótese d- da senhora ter um amante. aí depois os filhos saíram e se afastaram [(acabou)] [foi aí que]=
- 3 Jane:
- 4 Jane: =melhorou
(.)
- 5 SW¹: [melhorou]
- 6 Jane: [deu algum] melhoramento
(.)
- 7 SW¹: e agora (.) a coisa começou agora com seus filhos, seus filhos que tão negando?=
(.)

Jane's confirmations of the formulation made by the mediator reveals that SW¹ has already grasped the possible problem Jane is facing at home: "a coisa começou agora com seus filhos," (now you are having trouble with your children,), in that "coisa" refers to the conflict previously described by Jane herself. As a potential problem is found, the mediator leads the activity a step further—finding out the reasons for the problem she has identified:

- DS 4
- 8 Jane: =a mesma, é a mesma coisa, [ai]
- 9 SW¹: [POR]QUE isso surgiu?=
(.)
- 10 Jane: =nesse meio tempo [agora] faz uns 2 anos dia 26 de janeiro fez 2 anos que ele teve=
(.)
- 11 SW¹: [isso que eu,]

The status relationship Jane and the social worker establish during the occurrence invokes a subtle change in the participant framework. After self-selecting, the mediator becomes the primary speaker, whereas Jane becomes the primary recipient, and her husband remains being the secondary recipient. Besides, Jane is projected as the one who has to account for assertions previously made. In the next pages, I describe other examples of similar configuration to better understand *what is going on here*. The following excerpt was taken from Rafael's—Jane's husband—turn:

- DS 4
 → 60 SW¹: [tá,] mas o porquê, dessa questão assim d- de alegar que ela tem amante,=
 61 Rafael: =não, [()]
 → 62 SW¹: [isso tem fundamento,]
 (.)
 63 Rafael: tem fundamento sabe o que que acon[tece,] é que ↑quando a senhora procura ela,=
 64 SW¹: [um,]

Here, the social worker makes a direct question to Rafael about the grounds (line 60), that is, about the evidence he has for claiming that Jane has a lover.³⁴ However, the account Rafael gives is not the preferred type in this situation. In turns 68 and 70, below, SW¹ challenges Rafael's claims concerning his wife's adulterous behavior:

- DS 4
 65 Rafael: = que eu chego em casa pra procurar ela, ela tá no Paraná (.) tá em Porto Alegre, (.) a gente não sabe onde é que anda=
 66 SW¹: =mas o senhor não soube ↑nada, assim, (.) [de de de ho-]
 67 Rafael: [não, (isso a-)] o que e- o que ela faz, é papel de gente que vi- que não é ↑certa.
 (.)
 → 68 SW¹: [ela sai,] mas o senhor nunca VIU ela com homem, nunca soube dela com homem,=
 69 Rafael: [()]
 → 70 SW¹: = dessa coisa não. [concretamente,] >CONCRE]TA[MENTE<] rea- não,=
 71 Rafael: [bom, o- o-] [o que ela diz,]

The arrowed turns above reveal that not just any explanation will do to function as basis for the kind of complaint under discussion. After rejecting “going out” as an account for the complaint, the mediator also rejects “o que ela diz,” (what she says) as grounds for the case:

- DS 4
 70 SW¹: = dessa coisa não. [concretamente, >CONCRE]TA[MENTE<] rea- não,=
 → 71 Rafael: [bom, o- o-] [o que ela diz,]
 → 72 SW¹: = o que o senhor imagina que ela faça, (.) a- a- isso eu não: [vou entrar nesse mérito]
 73 Rafael: [o que eu imagino] é que ela me chama de corno o que que a senhora quer que eu diga?=
 74 SW¹: =não, eu quero saber, não, não é nesse te- nisso que eu quero entrar, >eu quero assim< concretamente. tem alguma história de- de ela ter enganado o senhor? al- alguma coisa [conCRETA,]

As the mediator reveals in turn 74, above, what she considers to be concrete evidence is “alguma história” (some story) about Jane's supposed love affair. Still

³⁴ Pomerantz (1984a) discusses the practice of giving evidence in ordinary conversation.

Rafael does not provide the preferred evidence. In line 75, he insists on using Jane's words as evidence, which the mediator rejects once again (turn 76), by insisting on the story type of evidence:

- DS 4
 → 75 Rafael: [é é o] que ela fala [pros]
 → 76 SW¹: [EXIS]TE UMA PESSOA REAL que o senhor
 soube, que [realmente, (seu fulano),]

The next excerpt shows that it is not any story that serves as grounds to account for Rafael's accusation against Jane. Rafael mentions a narrative whose authorship he attributes to their children (line 77, below), but about which he lacks details. As a consequence, the social worker rejects the evidence he gives once more:

- DS 4
 77 Rafael: [que os guris contavam,] (que) os guris nunca diziam quem é. também eu
 nunca tentei descobrir, ((claps)) se era ou se não era=
 → 78 SW¹: =ah tá.=
 79 Rafael: =né=
 → 80 SW¹: =então, o senhor nunca soube [de na]da,=

As turn 80 above suggests, adequate evidence should be a complaint narrative whose author would be Rafael himself: he should have heard or seen some evidence for his complaint. As Rafael is not able to give this type of evidence, the case is closed, and he introduces a new complaint about Jane.

In the other sessions I studied, I also found passages in which the social worker tests the evidence the complainant gives. Below, an example from Soraia and Paulo's session:

- DS 9
 → 1 SW²: e a senhora acredita nessas histórias que [contam,]
 2 Soraia: [olha,]
 (.)
 3 Soraia: [eu antes] não [acredita[va]]

In the continuation of the above sequence, Soraia accounts for the reasons that lead her to believe in what other people say about her husband. This time the mediator seems to be convinced by the evidence the complainant gives, as a later sequence shows:

- DS 10
- 1 SW²: é:: é seu Paulo assim ó, ela mostrou que (.) ela gosta do senhor né, eu acho assim ó (.) [por] mais que a gente não acredite em intrigas=
 2 Paulo: [um,]
 3 SW²: = alheias [né,] mas eu acho que o senhor tá dando motivo pra ser fala[do né,]
 4 Paulo: [um,] [ã:]

I suggest that in giving and assessing evidence, complainant and mediator position themselves as defendant and judge: the former claiming his/her assertions to be true and the latter in search for the truth. In my data, I found one moment in which both defendant and judge argue because Marco, the defendant, fails to account for his *partial* denial of the complaints his wife has made against him:

- DS 13
- 37 SW²: =então é mentira o que ela di[sse, que o senhor brigou com o vizinho, ali,]
 38 Marco: [não (.) não (.) (la é,) não. xiu]
 (.)
 → 39 Marco: a um (.) lá umas coisas que ela fa- falou é verdade.
 ((pause))
 40 Marco: lá umas coisas é verdade.
 (.)
 → 41 SW²: o quê que é verdade?=
 → 42 Marco: =é um (.) o que ela falou (.) algumas coisas ali é verdade. [()]
 → 43 SW²: [não A GENTE] TEM
 QUE CONVERSAR DI↑REITO [POR QUE] SENÃO NÃO VAI DAR DE=
 44 Marco: [é eu]
 → 45 SW²: =CONVERSAR COM O SENHOR,=
 → 46 Marco: =é eu sei=
 → 47 SW²: =o quê que é VERDADE o quê que é [MEN↑TIRA,]
 → 48 Marco: [↑é eu só] eu só falei assim que é:: tem tem

This excerpt shows both defendant and judge orienting to the assessment of the validity of complaints previously made by Laura, who is then the secondary recipient and potential victim. This type of scene is not typical in mediated disputes in the CSs I

studied. However, by handling and analyzing the data, I have noticed that the process of giving and assessing information seems to be always present in problem talk. What is rare is questioning explicitly the truthfulness of accounts, as on line 47 above. Besides, the more difficult it is to reach a consensus on who the victim is and what the problem is, the more emergent are the organization resources that promote the assessment of accounting practices. I remind the reader that I began this discussion on giving and assessing evidence, when discussing about formulations. It seems to me that formulations are strategies which contribute to the emergence of a *hidden* speech activity of problem talk—cross-examination. Disputes and cross-examinations are not at all separable—they are sequentially interdependent. Below, is a graphic representation of each of these overlapping participant frameworks:

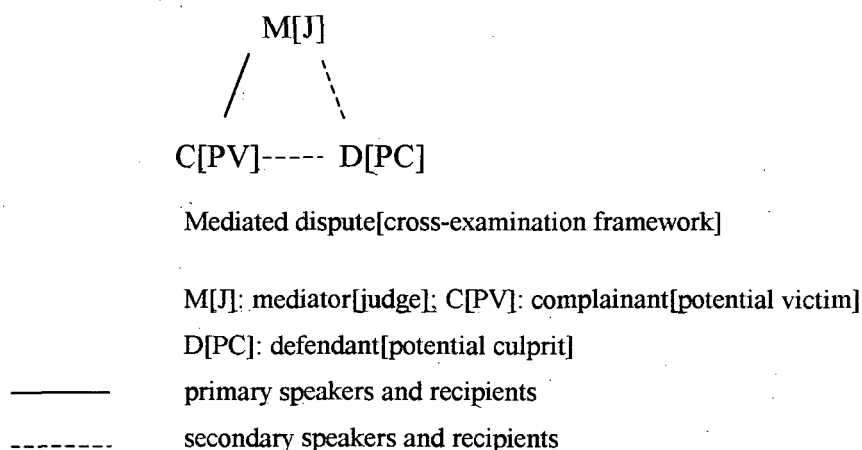


Figure 3 – Participant framework in mediated dispute

Direct disputes: It's your fault!

In her study of mediation hearings, Garcia (1991) points out that adjacent exchanges between disputants are likely to be cancelled by the mediator to prevent interaction from turning into a full-fledged argument. Even though I also found

evidence of this same procedure on the part of the mediators in my data, this does not happen every time disputants exchange oppositional utterances.

As they organize themselves as direct disputants, husband and wife become primary speaker and recipient. In this framework, the social worker participates as a secondary recipient. Direct disputes always emerge when A opposes B, who responds then with another opposition turn. To exemplify this, I present next a segment taken from the middle of Rafael's pre-allocated turn. At this very moment, Jane's conduct is being scrutinized by the other interactants and she interferes, signaling opposition:

- DS 5
- 31 Rafael: ...>só paga viagem pra mãe< (.) deu televisão pra mãe deu tudo (.) iss- agora (>
no centro ninguém <.) saiu numa sex[ta,]
- 32 SW¹: [ela] tem dinheiro?=
(.)
- 33 Rafael: [ela tra↑ba]lha nega,
34 Jane: [(eu não.)]
(.)
- 35 Rafael: ela ganha mais do que eu.
((pause))
- 36 SW¹: ah, ela é faxi- (°ela é°)=
- 37 Rafael: =ela, ela é [faxineira,]
- 38 Jane: [não é não eu,] eu tra-tra-eu trabalho em ca- >em casa de família,< não é
tanto assim, não. só porque EU não boto o meu dinheiro fora n[ão],

In turn 38 above, Jane verbalizes her opposition to Rafael's previous assertion about herself, saying it is not true that she earns so much. Besides, she stresses that she does not waste money. Rafael opposes this assumption by laughing (line 39, below).

This is the way they engage in direct dispute:

- DS 5
- 38 Jane: [não é não eu,] eu tra-tra-eu trabalho em ca- >em casa de família,< não
é tanto assim, não. só porque EU não boto o meu dinheiro fora n[ão],
- 39 Rafael: [((laughs))]=
- 40 Rafael: =mas [se não gasta um tostão!]
- 41 Jane: [eu emprego eu sei] eu sei empregar [meu dinheiro]
- 42 Rafael: [não gasta um tostão com] pão,=
43 Rafael: =é obri[gada] a [guardar] di↑nheiro,=
44 Jane: [é:] [↑claro]

The linguistic procedures Jane and Rafael use to build opposition are compatible with some of the features Goodwin (1990) has identified in disputes among children.

One of these features concerns the production of an opposition turn immediately after the opposed turn, that is, without delays before the production of the disagreement. In the excerpt above, opposition turns overlap each other, which contributes to highlight disagreement even more.

Another feature of disputes Goodwin describes and which I found in the data is *partial repetition*. As Goodwin puts it “partial repetition of prior talk selects out a particular part of prior speaker’s talk to be focused upon”, that is, “to locate a trouble source in another’s talk” (p. 146).³⁵ This is the strategy Rafael uses in the following sequence, as he enacts the direct disputant role:

- DS 6
 93 Jane: [se eu vender o] terreno >eu quero fazer a mi[nha] casa lá=
 94 Rafael: [ó]
 95 Jane: =em Forqui[lha,]<
 96 Rafael: [ó]
 (.)
 → 97 Rafael: =[se eu vender, o meu terreno.]

In electing the assertion “se eu vender o terreno” as the trouble source, Rafael reconstructs its meaning by including the pronoun “meu” (turn 97) and thus builds a case against Jane, as the continuation of the segment shows:

- DS 6
 97 Rafael: =[se eu vender, o meu terreno.]
 98 Jane: =[porque TU não vai fazer],
 (.)
 99 Jane: tu não vai fazer=
 → 100 Rafael: =>se eu vender [o meu terreno] não nega,< [é nosso, é dos FILHOS],
 101 Jane: [eu vou (ve-)] [a minha idéia,]
 (.)
 → 102 Rafael: é dos filhos, não. ↑é teu, [tu vai vender] o teu terreno como,=

Rafael uses different language resources to contrast the idea that Jane refers to the “terreno” as hers instead of referring to it as belonging to the whole family. He gives prominence to this idea in turn 100, by accelerating his speech when he repeats *her* prior

talk and by decelerating talk and stressing and escalating the volume of key words when he presents his correction of the trouble source:

DS 6
 → 100 Rafael: =>se eu vender [o meu terreno] não nega,< [é nosso, é dos FILHOS],

Still, it is noticeable that in building a case against Jane, Rafael does not seem to orient to her ongoing actions. In other words, it is as if he was more engaged in building the case against her than in discussing a problem they have recognized. In turn 101, Jane tries to account for her assertions, but Rafael does not let her take the floor. The emphasis and the escalation of volume, in turn 100, may also be recognized as a strategy he uses not to lose the floor:

DS 6
 → 100 Rafael: =>se eu vender [o meu terreno] não nega,< [é nosso, é dos FILHOS],
 → 101 Jane: [eu vou (ve-)] [a minha idéia,]
 (.)
 102 Rafael: é dos filhos, não ↑é teu, [tu vai vender] o teu terreno como,=

Some turns after the previous passage, Rafael says the following to the social worker:

DS 6
 108 Jane: [(>eu não tenho papel.<)]
 → 109 Rafael: [ô, doutora,] ela não >acabou de dizer,<=
 110 SW¹: =pois é, mas dona::,

When Rafael addresses the social worker, it seems that an activity that was submerged comes to the surface of talk. In implying that Jane is being contradictory (line 109), Rafael makes SW¹ side with him, by explicitly assessing the dispute. During the dispute, Jane and Rafael offered the social worker “alternative and competing descriptions” of events (Drew, 1992, p. 472), actions that typify the performance of attorneys and witnesses in cross-examination trials. The assessment of the social

³⁵ See Goodwin (1990) for a discussion on the difference of using partial repetitions in disputes, and in disagreeing with prior speaker’s self-deprecation (Pomerantz, 1984b), as well as in other-initiated repair (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977).

worker, which was thus conditionally relevant, positions her as a judge—the one who gives the verdict. Rafael’s utterance in the last segment suggests that he might have recognized the *hidden activity*—the cross-examination—and that he may have designed his previous actions taking this into account. In saying “ô, doutora, ela não >acabou de dizer,<” (hey, doctor, hasn’t she just said) he elicits a response from a judge and not a mediator.

In her response to Rafael’s action (turn 109), SW¹ latches his turn to assess the dispute (turn 110). By latching his turn, SW¹ demonstrates that as the couple disputes, she is observant. One might be intrigued by the fact that even though she has the authority to, the mediator does not block the dispute in the segments discussed above (what she sometimes does after allowing the couple to dispute a little). One explanation for this may be the fact that open conflict is not totally avoided in CSs. As a matter of fact, in the interviews made during fieldwork, the social workers referred to what I am calling direct disputes as the best moments for observing couples “being themselves” in counseling interaction. Therefore, allowing couples to organize themselves as direct disputants is a resource the social workers use to have some access to the *person behind the mask*. Finally, it is worth noticing that direct disputes only emerge when disputants demonstrate eagerness to prove to be the victim. At moments like this, it becomes more difficult for the social worker to choose a side.

I have thus discussed another participant framework of problem talk: the direct dispute. This framework includes two overlapping types of organizations—the *direct dispute* and the *cross-examination* frameworks. The configuration of status and roles are represented below:

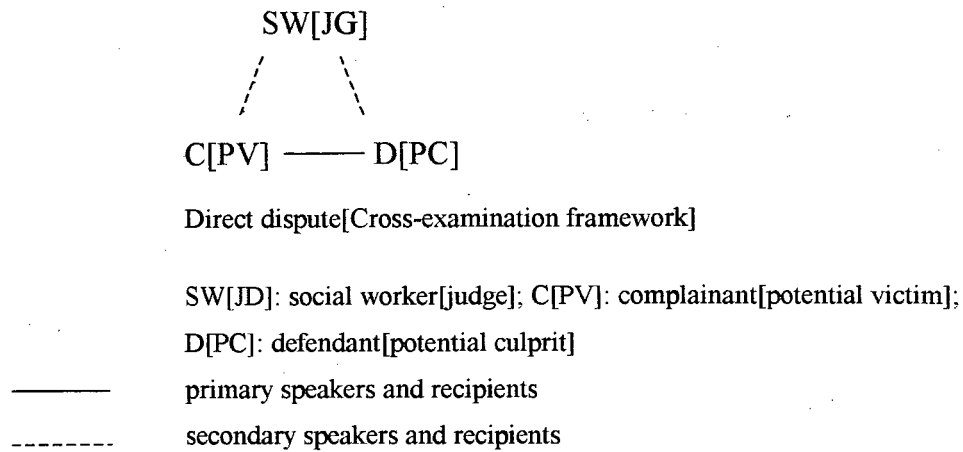


Figure 4 – Participant framework in direct dispute

As I have tried to demonstrate along the description of the participant frameworks in problem talk, defining the problem and establishing the victim are goals that coincide. The analysis of the participant frameworks of problem talk revealed that this speech activity unfolds in two participant frameworks—mediated and direct disputes. In addition, it reveals that problem talk is overlapped by a hidden speech activity: cross-examination. Therefore, while the husband and the wife complain and account for their complaints, the social worker assesses their performances and chooses one of the sides. This way, a diagnosis is achieved and the spouse who can accountably claim to be the victim is identified.

In the next section, I discuss the two other major speech activities of the event: advice and agreement talk. I then show how a consensus as regards the accomplishments of problem talk is indispensable for these two activities to be pursued. This is due to the fact that in problem talk the participants show extra (and meta) work to define the situation (Goffman, 1959, 1967), that is, to establish what roles and status relationships will be enacted in the unfolding interaction.

4.1.3. Advice talk: In search of solutions

Participants only engage in advice talk after they have established what the problem is and who the culprit and victim are likely to be. Advice talk begins when the social worker turns herself to whom she deems to be the blameworthy-party to give advice and to propose solutions for the marital conflict. The next excerpt begins with the SW¹ giving her verdict to a dispute between Jane and Rafael on the “terreno” the couple owns:

- DS 6
 → 133 SW¹: =pois é, mas o terreno, e e, nessa parte ele tem razão, a senhora pensa bem, Dona Jane, vocês são casados com comunhão de bem. (.) se não existe má fé de nenhuma das partes, o PORQUÊ de não passar o terreno >que a senhora comprou da sua irmã< pro seu nome,=
 134 Jane: =porque [eu não posso,]
 135 SW¹: [dá licença.] a senhora vende (.) o terreno lá, pede pra sua irm- a sua mãe vender, vocês vendem, fazem junto uma ↑casa,=

In turn 133, the social worker moves from the role of judge (“pois é, mas o terreno, e e, nessa parte ele tem razão,”) to the role of counselor (“a senhora pensa bem, Dona Jane, vocês são casados com comunhão de bem. (.) se não existe má fé de nenhuma das partes,”). Contrary to what usually happens in problem talk, here Jane tries to take the turn (line 134) and the counselor does not allow her to do so (line 135). This shows that, in advice talk, the counselor becomes the primary speaker. In addition, even though the social worker does not explicitly state who she has elected as the victim, it can be noticed that Jane is the one being advised and thus projected as culprit in the ongoing talk, whereas Rafael plays the role of the victim. In turns 134 and 136, however, Jane expresses her opposition to the proposed solutions the counselor presents, and thus, her rejection of the culprit role:

- DS 6
 → 134 Jane: =porque [eu não posso,]
 135 SW¹: [dá licença.] a senhora vende (.) o terreno lá, pede pra sua irm- a sua mãe vender, vocês vendem, fazem junto uma ↑casa,=
 → 136 Jane: =e ele quer?=-

When Jane asks “e ele quer?” (line 136), she implies that the husband would not accept the proposal made by the counselor. The counselor reacts to Jane’s assertion by siding with the husband and accounting for the proposal made:

- DS 6
- 136 Jane: =e ele quer?=
 137 SW¹: =porque-
 (.)
- 138 SW¹: se [o terreno] tiver no nome [d- da] senhora [ou] de vocês,=
 139 Rafael: [mas eu num] [é] [é]
 140 Rafael: =>agora não vou botar meu dinheiro< [(é se)]
 → 141 SW¹: [porque] na verdade, se vocês continuar
juntos, >amanhã depois vocês morrem< o- a casa fica pros ↑filhos.=
 142 Rafael: =não vai ficar [pra irmã dela]
 → 143 SW¹: [é natural] que fique (.) é natural que fique pros seus filhos, que são
 seus herdeiros (.) e amanhã depois se vocês se separar, o certo (.) a metade é de cada
um, isso aí é ↑justo. a senhora não pode querer ↑só pra senhora,

What is interesting to note in the passage above is that in playing the role of the counselor, SW¹ also plays the spokesperson. Note the way her speech and Rafael’s synchronize—his talk shadows hers. Even though they do not use the same words, they seem to be orienting to the same idea. As the following excerpts show, the accounts the counselor gives to Jane—the elected culprit—recalls complaints made by Rafael—the elected victim—before. In the last segment, the counselor advises Jane to register the ground plot under their names. Some minutes before this, Rafael and Jane have disputed over the same issue, and Rafael has complained about the fact that it was registered under one of Jane’s sisters:

- DS 6
- 124 Rafael: >EU VOU BOTAR O MEU DINHEIRO EM CIMA [DO] TERRENO [DA]=
 125 Jane: [tu] [tu]
 → 126 Rafael: =IRMÃ DELA?<=
 127 Jane: =tu não vai botar nada=

Continuing in advice talk, the counselor tries to reach an agreement, putting new proposals forward, but these are never settled. Jane opposes all proposals. It is likely that, by accepting them, Jane would become the culprit. The lack of consensus regarding *whose behavior is to be changed* leads the social worker to make her

diagnosis explicit. Making diagnosis explicit is thus a resource the social worker uses to provide some consensus with regard the definition of the situation:

- DS 7
- SW¹: o que é que tá estragado, é falta de confiança, vocês são um casal e um tá desconfiando do outro, um puxa pra um lado [o outro puxa pro outro enquan]to=
[eu eu eu não desconfio, tia]
- Rafael:
SW¹: =pai e mãe, >só um pouquinho seu Rafael< en- en- enquanto pai e mãe não se unir os filhos vão ficar divididos (.) aí os filhos vão, vão pender logicamente pra aquele que se mostra mais >↑vítima,< (.) não é,
(.)
SW¹: de repente [pode] até que ele não seja a vítima mas ele, (.) no momento, (.)=
Jane: [claro]
SW¹: =o homem que (.) a a senhora pensa bem,
((pause))
SW¹: a gente que vê de longe. (.) eu não ↑sei a [realidade] de vocês, (.) né? (.) não posso=
Jane: [°é, eu sei°]
→ SW¹: =julgar, (.) mas assim, o perfil que vocês me trazem, a a a >o coisa<. ele sai às 4 da manhã e chega às 7 da noite, quer dizer, ele batalha.
(.)
→ SW¹: ele não é um vadio, não é uma pessoa tal, (.) chega em casa, não tem comida feita, não sei por que motivos também, >não estou entrando [nisso,]<
Jane: [mas,]
(.)
Jane: =mas [tem] comida.
SW¹: [É,]
(.)
→ Jane: [(mas tem comida)]
SW¹: [>mas eu não estou] entrando nessa questão<, agora, quem escuta de fora, (.) >vai entender que ele é a ↑vítima<
((pause))
SW¹: >tá entendendo,<

Still Jane does not accept the role and by the end of the session, after another proposal of the social worker, the participants' disagreement is highlighted:

- DS 8
- 1 SW¹: ... agora não adianta dona Jane, se a senhora não mostrar, não der o primeiro passo, as coisas não vão entrar, eu tô, tô sendo clara e honesta com a senhora
(.)
- 2 Jane: [eu concordo]
- 3 SW¹: [não vejo]
(.)
- 4 SW¹: não vejo de que outra forma mudar isso, aí (.) só tem uma solução pra vocês
(.)
- 5 SW¹: aí então [vamos entrar] com uma- é.=
- 6 Jane: [separação]
- 7 Jane: =separação
(.)
- 8 Jane: pra ↑nós uma separação.=
- 9 SW¹: não. eu acho que a solução pri[meira] não é a separação, só se a senhora=
10 Jane: [não]
- 11 SW¹: =realmente não quer que ele herde ↑nada, os filhos, aí sim.=

As can be seen, contrary to problem talk, during advice talk, the social worker is the primary speaker, whereas the primary recipient is the diagnosed culprit-party, who is then also advisee. The social worker plays the role of counselor and spokesperson, as she speaks for the victim, using her/his complaints previously made as the grounds for advice. The other participant is the victim and secondary recipient.

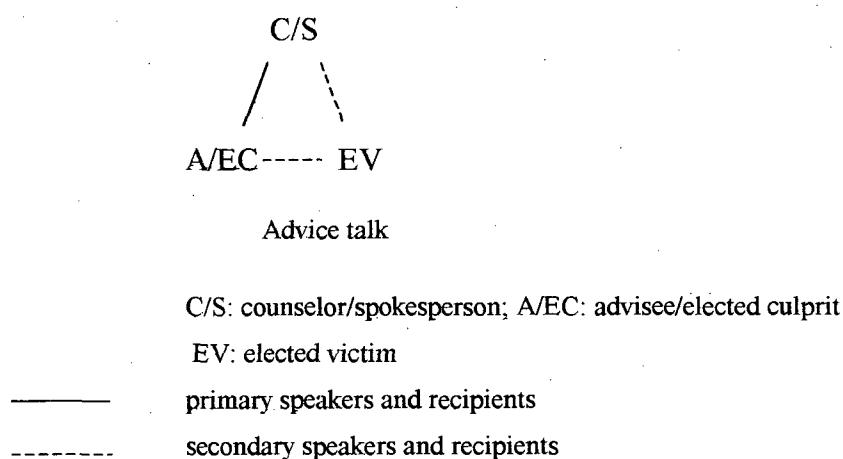


Figure 5 – Participant framework in advice talk

4.1.4. Agreement talk: Reaching the end

Agreement is reached by the end of the session, after proposals have been discussed and advice displayed. In this activity, the participants establish the necessary steps to be taken to promote some change in the marital conflict. The next excerpt, from Laura and Marco's session, is an example of how this takes place:

DS 14
SW²: então a gente vai fazer assim, seu Marco,=
Marco: =^otá,^o=
SW²: =se o senhor voltar a incomodar a dona Laura vai vim aqui=
Marco: =^otá [eu sei] ^o
SW²: [vai av]isar a gente (.) a gente vai encaminhar ela pro advogado (.) o juiz vai
lhe tirar de dentro de casa (.) o senhor não vai ter garantia nenhuma.=
Marco: =^oé^o=
SW²: =tá? (.) o senhor não vai mais poder voltar pra casa (.) se voltar pra casa vai ser
preso.=
Marco: =(^o ^o)=
SW²: =não pode mais entrar em casa.=
Marco: =^oé eu sei disso^o=
SW²: =tá?=

Marco: =°tá certo°=
 SW²: =o senhor pode achar que nós tamos falando (.) de brincadeira [mas é verdade]
 Marco: [não eu sei que é] eu
 sei que é (.) [a senhora não tá falando de brincadeira,]
 SW²: [nós estamos fazendo,]
 (.)
 Marco: ()=
 SW²: =tá,
 (.)
 SW²: a gente não quer o mau de vocês nós estamos aqui justamente pra ajudá-los, né (.)
 então isso que a gente tá fazendo é pro senhor botar a mão na consciência [e ver o]=
 Marco: [tá bom]
 SW²: =que realmente tá fazendo.
 (.)
 Marco: pode deixar.=

After the participants reach a final agreement, it is made official in a document called *folha de rosto do serviço social*, which contains the agreed steps to be taken as well as observations regarding what happened in the session (a copy in appendix B5). As in advice talk, during agreement talk the primary recipient is the elected culprit. The social worker is the primary speaker and occupies again her official role as a police officer. The participant framework of agreement talk is illustrated below:

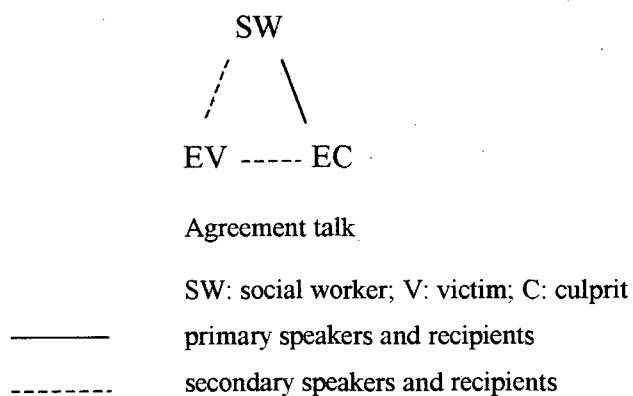


Figure 6 – Participant framework in agreement talk

Following, I present a drawing to help us visualize the major speech activities of the event as well as the main tasks participants accomplish in each of them:

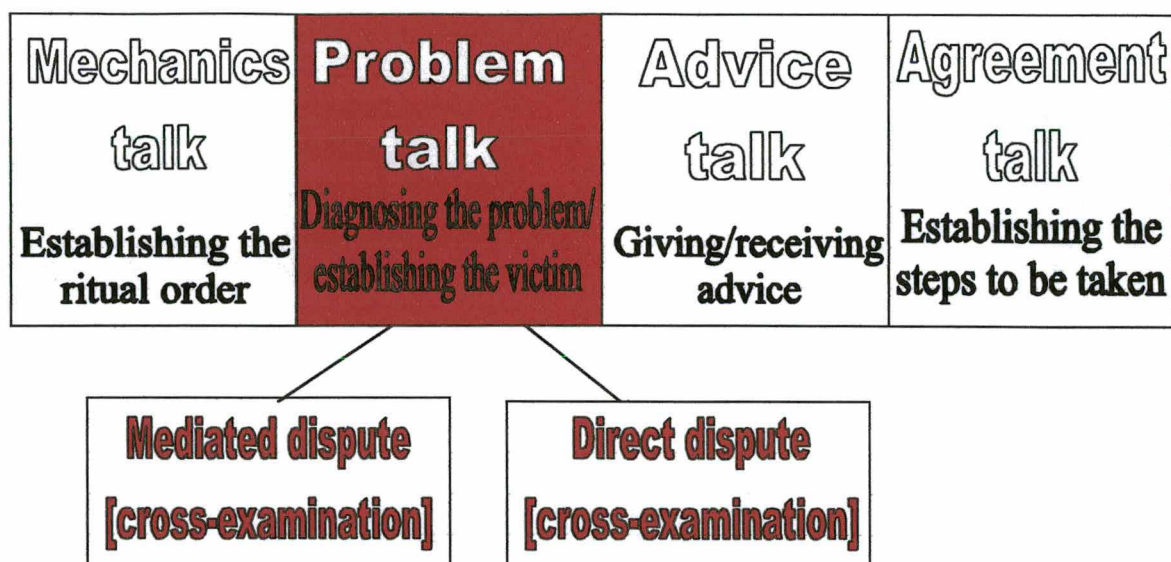


Figure 7 – Graph of speech activities and tasks

In practice, the boundaries that separate mechanics, problem, advice and agreement talk are permeable and participants may act more than once in a scene, as interaction unfolds. If, for instance, the advisee does not accept guilt or opposes the diagnosis, it is likely that problem talk will be performed again and participants may come up with a new diagnosis and a new definition of the situation. As we have seen, the centrality of problem talk in the event is due to its status as the act in which diagnosis is reached and the victim identified—two accomplishments which are necessary for advice talk and agreement talk to be performed. Vuchinich (1990) points out that conflict in ordinary talk may end up without consensus on the disagreement. In his words: “[p]articipants can tacitly agree to disagree and move on to other speech activities” (p. 119). This is not true for CSs, however. If there is no consensus as to *who the victim is*, and *what the problem is*, participants are not likely to tune into other speech activities.³⁶

³⁶ This is exemplified in section 4.1.3, in which I show the effort of the social worker to position the Jane, the wife, as culprit and to engage in advice and agreement talk. That interaction ends up in verbal disagreement.

Having described the four major speech activities of the event, I turn now to a brief discussion on a discrepant session.

4.2. Exploring the discrepant

Among the four CSs I observed and selected for this study, there is one—Lia and Jonas’—which develops in unique ways. Since the beginning of the session, things do not happen as usual:

DS 1

- 1 SW¹: ((reading of the police report))
((pause))
- 2 SW¹: isso (.) aconteceu (.) em de↑zembro,
((pause))
- 3 Lia: foi a época que a gente estava,
(.)
- 4 Lia: [brigados]
- 5 SW¹: [separados]
- 6 Jonas: [conflito] interno é,=

Mechanics talk, which is usually present in the beginning of sessions, is absent here. It is probably due to the fact that instead of confirming the police report, Lia repairs it. In turn 3, she refers to the couple’s marital conflict, described in the police report SW¹ reads, as something that belongs to the past: “foi a época” (it was the time when).

Besides the absence of mechanics talk—which they never engage in throughout the session—the other activities are not carried out in a typical way. Lia and Jonas do not take pre-allocated turns, nor do they enter into a dispute. However, they do pursue their institutional tasks, by engaging in problem talk, advice talk and agreement talk. The following data excerpt comes after SW¹ response to Lia’s questioning about the function of CSs. In turn 8, Lia begins doing problem talk:

DS 2

- 8 Lia: ↑é porque: o nosso problema maior é con- nós temos conflito, é muito conflito, sabe (.) é, () a menina né, ela tem::, problemas::, que. antes (dele passar) ele foi um pai muito agressivo né, >° batia muito °< ela ficou muito,=

- 9 SW¹: =traumatizada=
 10 Lia: =é. então TODO TODO o motivo do que acontece o que acontece ↑((É o pai,
 [É o pai, É o pai,] É o pai)), ↓ então ficou aquela COÍsa assim, né,=
 11 Jonas: [↑(>É o pai, É o pai, É o pai<))↓]
 12 SW¹: =arram,

Lia is extremely cautious in revealing what she considers to be the reason for their conflict. The language resources (vowel allongation, lowered volume and fast talk) she uses to introduce the problem de-emphasize the accusatory tone that could frame interaction as dispute. Besides, Jonas does not oppose Lia's assertion. On the contrary, he overlaps her turn, stressing her words (turn 11). Lia and Jonas are thus not projected as disputants, nor is the social worker projected as mediator. This participant framework is not exclusive of problem talk in this session. The other speech activities are also organized in different ways if compared to the typical sessions I described earlier. What makes them different is the fact that there is no search for the victim, and thus, during advice and agreement talk, no participant enacts this role.

This discrepant case thus demonstrates two important aspects of counseling interaction. First, that disputing, complaining and searching for the victim are activities that are linked to each other. Second, that the search for the victim is not an imminent task of counseling sessions. As a matter of fact, it is when the husband and the wife complain about each other that dispute ensues and that the establishment of the victim—the winner of the dispute—becomes the main task in the agenda.

According to the social workers' view, the main point in their agenda is the diagnosis of the problem, that is, the identification of the source of the couple's trouble ("objeto do problema," as they refer to it), and the objective of CSs is to change people's conduct ("mudar comportamentos"). It is not surprising that mediators orient to the search for the one *whose behavior is there to be changed*, as conduct is itself framed

as the problem. In this regard, the social workers showed contradictory viewpoints during fieldwork. If I asked them explicitly if they had any concern with finding out the victim and the culprit, they denied. Marta, the more experienced social worker, for example, mentioned the issue of the *exchange of roles* to me several times, by telling me that there were sessions in which the husband became the victim, and the wife, the culprit of the story. They said to be aware that this could happen, but not deliberately as a result of their agenda.

An issue that still deserves discussion is the reason that leads couples into dispute within problem talk. Vuchinich (1990) points out that during verbal dispute there is a lack of consensus on some feature of the world. Concerning problem talk in the interactions studied here, it seems that wife and husband lack consensus on the reasons for the marital conflict. As complaints are made, it becomes evident that such reasons are related to one of the parties' misconduct (offending someone, drinking too much) or personal characteristic (being irresponsible, selfish). During problem talk, wife and husband oppose each other, expressing their disagreement about *who the perpetrator of the marital conflict is*. Complaining is a way of putting the other on the spot, as the defendant, which is the part to be played before being the culprit, as one gains the latter position only by virtue of having previously occupied the former. Complaining is also a way of projecting one's own identity as victim.

This chapter described the major accomplishments of the participants of counseling sessions. The description revealed that participants' actions are institutionally shaped, as they generally go through the four major speech activities identified. However, pre-existing orders are challenged by interactants' actions, since the actual accomplishments are locally achieved. This happens, for example, when the

wife, the *a priori* victim, becomes the culprit for the marital problems, an interactional movement which reveals identity “as a local phenomenon that is displayed and constituted in situated institutional activities” (Aronsson, 1998, p. 81).

Finally, by analyzing the participant frameworks typical and atypical in the CSs I observed, I could construct a better understanding of what goes on in this setting. This achievement was extremely relevant for me to approximate an emic view of these encounters as well as to carry out the analysis of face-work in disputes for the victim-role to be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

MAKING A GOOD SHOWING OF ONE'S OWN SELF:

AN ANALYSIS OF FACE-WORK IN DISPUTES FOR THE VICTIM-ROLE

"The very existence of conflict and schism in social life depends on the possibility of there being alternative and competing accounts of the same social event (...we tend, in the stories we tell, to be the heroes of our tales, at least in so far as any grievance is ours and the fault the other's)".
(Drew, 1998, p. 322)

In the previous chapter, I examined the major constituents of counseling interaction as well as the participant frameworks that characterize each of them. As I have pointed out, participants of the event demonstrate concern with defining the problem and establishing who the victim is. It is exactly during the activity I have named problem talk that they achieve such goals. Problem talk generally unfolds in two participant frameworks: the *mediated* and the *direct dispute*, whose key interactional actions are complaints.

In this chapter, I initially discuss the face-relationships the participants establish as they engage in mediated dispute and in the other participant framework which overlaps with it—cross-examination. I do this by contrasting the findings of previous studies on the relation between mediation and face (Garcia, 1991; Volkema, 1988) to what I see as regards this relation in the setting I studied. This analysis reveals that even though mediation protects participants from face-loss, it does not preclude face-threats. Besides, it shows that complaints are used by co-disputants as threats to the other's face and as a face-enhancing action towards one's own face—a type of usage that Goffman (1967) calls the *aggressive use of face-work*. I then move on to apply Gumperz's (1982)

notion of contextualization cues to describe the linguistic features of the aggressive use of face-work, that is, to provide a closer examination of face-work in complaining.

5.1. Face-work in disputes in counseling interaction

What called my attention the most when I first observed a counseling session (CS) for couples was the aggressive way husband and wife acted toward each other. It is true that not all the sessions that compose my data display the same degree of aggravation. As I showed in chapter 4, there is even one (discussed in section 4.2) in which the participants do not engage in dispute. However, it is observable that in all the sessions in which there is dispute, opposing parties build up their self-image by threatening the other's face. It is generally in this way that self esteem is maintained and/or enhanced in counseling interaction disputes.

As I became acquainted with the literature on mediation (Garcia, 1991; Volkema, 1988), I found that there are different findings as regards the relation between this type of interactional organization and face. In his analysis of mediation processes, Volkema demonstrates how difficult it is for disputants to *negotiate* their social images and at the same time reach agreement on the matters being disputed. As he puts it "in times of conflict, individuals often are more concerned with self-preservation than they are with the need of opponents, particularly if...others are watching" (p. 5). Therefore, they are likely to become self-righteous and to "produce incompatible images and patterns of behavior that lead inevitably to entrapment or embarrassment" (p. 8, 9). In order to provide for resolution to be achieved, mediators need to play the role of *face manager*, helping disputants to avoid the "right-or-wrong mentality" (p. 8) and thus to settle on acceptable public images.

Garcia (1991), however, shows that in the mediation hearings she studies, the interactional organization makes it possible for the participants to manage accusations and denials while saving face. First, because accusations and denials are not adjacent pairs. Second, because they are addressed to the mediators rather than to co-disputants. Besides, denials are delayed and thus can be selectively responded to. Furthermore, denials and accusations are likely to be mitigated rather than aggravated.

First handlings of my data suggested that despite the mediation procedures, the co-disputants' faces were threatened. Having the two cited studies in mind, I decided then to investigate how face-work was carried out in mediated disputes and in its overlapping activity—cross-examination. The aims of the following analysis are thus twofold: first, to describe the face-relationships provided by the mediation organization in CSs; second, to examine the linguistic features participants use to save/threat face.

5.1.1. The aggressive use of face-work in mediated disputes

In the CSs I studied, keeping face gets even more complicated than in the setting studied by Volkema, where *negotiating* face is something interactants do as they negotiate dispute issues. In counseling interaction disputes, the participants end up orienting to the “right-or-wrong mentality” Volkema mentions, which is typical of legal procedures. Having to account for their own and an intimate's conduct to a third person, disputants are likely to praise the self to the detriment of the other.

As regards Garcia's findings, what I have noticed in my data, is that even though sharing some of the features of the mediations studied by her, the mediation procedures in CSs do not avoid disputants to cross-complain, that is, to complain about each other. On the contrary, as I have showed in the previous chapter, complaints function as interactional resources for mediators to assess whose conduct is perpetrating the

couple's marital conflict. As for the disputants, complaining is a way of portraying the other's conduct as wrong and thus of fighting to keep one's face. As I will show in the analysis of the next data segments, disputants use complaints as face-threats, but also as face-keeping devices. Regarding the use of threats to enhance face, Goffman (1967) calls it the *aggressive* use of face-work (see section 2.2.1. of this thesis), which, as he says, is very risky to participants' faces.

Below, I proceed to the description of four segments taken from mediated disputes/cross-examination. Examples 1 and 2 are from Jane and Rafael's session, and examples 3 and 4 are from Laura and Marco's.

Example 1: "I'm an honest person...they call me bitch"

The following segment begins with the mediator asking Jane details regarding a previous complaint made by the wife herself. Jane has complained to the mediator about being accused by her husband and children of having a love affair. This is the issue SW¹ introduces in turn 2 and which causes Jane's face to be threatened, as her next face-keeping actions demonstrate:

- DS 4
- 2 SW¹: ↑tá dona Jane, e de dois anos pra cá que foi levantado de novo a história de a↑mante, e se- não sabe nada assim, eles apontam, alguém, ou só:., acusam alguém?=
 → 3 Jane: =não.=
 4 SW¹: =houve alguma,=
 5 Jane: =e [e]
 6 SW¹: [fo]foca, alguma coisa?=
 → 7 Jane: =eu não sei se eles explicaram, eu sou mulher que eu trabalho,=
 8 SW¹: =am,=
 → 9 Jane: =tenho. tenho formação, trabalho, eu trabalho em casa de família, tem vários, (.) PODE perguntar à à vizinhança lá, que eu acho que nin↑guém pode me levantar isso, (.) que eu sou (.) eu sou, ↑uma mulher eu acho que ele não merece TANTO a minha honesti↑dade.
 (.)
 → 10 Jane: ele não merece a a a honestidade minha não. pelo homem que ele é, eu acho que ele não não merece a minha honestidade. aí ne ne nesse meio tempo aí, (.) quando ele ganhou os doze mil real ele começou:., só a andar:, que aí o médico suspendeu do serviço e ele ficou com medo de trabalhar, daquele restante do dinheiro que sobrou (do) ↑carro, (.) el- ele pegou o dinheiro e guardou lá na vizinha. (.) >não deixou

dentro de ↑casa porque eu era ladrona, < (.) ele me ass-. me ae:: >me acusa de tudo
 quanto é ↑coisa, < (.) >eu sou ladrona, sou tudo pra ele. <=
 11 SW!: =um: =

Instead of providing a direct answer to the mediator's question, by telling her details about the love affair issue, Jane contrasts the kind of person she is to the kind of person her husband is. The question done by the mediator threatens Jane's face and thus provides for the conditional relevance (Levinson, 1983) of the emergence of a face-enhancing context, which Jane orients to as she asserts to be a person who works (lines 7 and 9), who is honest (lines 9 and 10) and who is the victim of constant accusations at home (line 10). In uttering the word "acusa" (accuses), in turn 10 (after searching for a word), Jane seems to be signalling back to the issue of the love affair the mediator has brought up in turn 2 ("acusam alguém?"). However, we lack evidence for this claim, as Jane does not refer to this explicitly, nor does the mediator recall the issue again. By explicitly formulating her conduct as righteous and her husband's as wrong, Jane is likely to be contributing for her husband's face to be threatened and therefore also for her own face to be threatened as well. The following segment comes after the previous one and shows Rafael, Jane's husband, making an interference in her pre-allocated turn to signal his opposition to what she is saying about their daughter. This may be taken as a signal that his face is being threatened by Jane's complaints:

DS 4
 12 Jane: ...que ela não é:, não é:, não é uma boa filha não.
 (.)
 → 13 Rafael: ts::[:] ((nods negatively))
 → 14 Jane: [e]la, ela, nun nun, aí (.) ele faz as coisas, aí um dia eu fui tomar café começava a comer as coisas, >ele começou a arregalar os olhos pra mim.<

By nodding negatively, Rafael may be suggesting that what Jane is saying is not true. This makes her reframe the subject she is talking about. She was talking about her daughter's appraisals of self ("não é uma boa filha não") and then she begins talking about a specific event in which the husband did not allow her to eat. In the continuation

of this sequence, she tells the mediator a narrative in which this time the daughter did not let her eat. This is transcribed in the next excerpt. What is noticeable here is Jane's use of direct speech and the way she contextualizes this:

DS 4

16 Jane: ...aí até que um dia ela veio fazer essa ↑jan↓ta, (.) eu disse assim ↑((é então nós hoje nós vamos ter uma, uma, nós vamos ter uma:::))↓ ((pause)) ↑((nós vamos ter então a:: jantinha,))↓ ↑((↑é tu não és nem louca, tu não és nem doída tu, tu comer, que eu já te falei que tu não vais comer,))↓ eu digo ↑((eu vou co↑mer)) (.) aí eu bati pé. (.) eu digo ↑((eu vou comer,))↓ ↑((ah mas tu não é, tu não é nem nem louca, guria))↓ (.) tá (.) aí, >arrumou a mesa, não botou meu prato passei-lhe a mão, sentei na mesa,< ((pause)) passei-lhe a mão, (.) botei o prato, (.) puxei o arroz >ela tinha feito arroz< (.) arroz, macarrão, maionese, galinha e farofa, aí a farofa ela tava, tava, tava terminando de fazer, NUNca cozinhou no dia que foi cozinhar inven-invocou que eu não ia eu digo ↑((eu vou co↑mer))↓ (.) ↑((pode dar o que ↑der, mas que eu vou comer eu vou,))↓ onde é que se viu, (.) e eele apóia muito estas tolices dos filhos (.) (porque) ele não toma uma autoridade dentro de casa (.) ele bota os filhos tudo contra mim, (.) aí, passei lhe a mão, botei o prato...

In her narrative, Jane includes her own as well as her daughter's past words, that is, she takes prior utterances "situated in a particular context and unearths [them] and gives [them] a life again in the new soil of the reporting context" (Buttny, 1998, p. 56). Jane's last utterances represented in the segment above seem to signal to her recipient *how to hear* what she is saying. She blames her husband for instigating their children against her ("ele bota os filhos tudo contra mim"). However, the way the mediator interferes in a later moment suggests that she orients more to direct speech than to the contextual statements:

DS 4

16 Jane: ...aonde é que se viu uma filha fazer ↑um, um dia uma janta e não (e INVOCAR) que eu não ia co↑mer, mas isso ele já vem falando ((*crackles fingers as she speaks the following three words*)) há muitos tempo que eu não ia mais comer dentro de casa, ia passar-lhe a mão (em-) (.) a mão com a o prato ia, ia, >ia jogar nela,< aí ele correu lá do quarto e:: e >agarrou< ↑((↑não (.)>vocês não tão vendo que não se fala com é< com essa sem vergonha, com essa vagabunda, (.)>que isso aí não sei o que, isso aí não sei,< (.) >isso aí nem nem é mulher pra tá mais dentro aqui, dentro de casa,< (.) >se (tu) bobear eu (tento por) ela na rua.<))↓ eu digo ↑((meu filho, (.) não é bem a↓ssim, (.) não é bem assim (.) eu sou mulher, eu tenho vinte e 24 anos de PAPEL assinado contigo, não é bem assim como tu tá falando não.))↓ >porque eu toda a vida falei com ↑ele com calma< (.) >porque os papel que ele anda fazendo, eu era pra ser mulher pra, pra tratar no pau e rachar na cabeça de um [(<)] [tá. (.) dona Jane,]

→ 17 SW¹: eu já entendi a sua parte, dona Ja (.) dona Jane ↑todos os outros filhos tratam a senhora assim?=
18 Jane: =todo ele (.) ele manda. >↑esse pequenininho chama eu de ↑vaca, de ↑égua, de ↑puta, de galinha, de tudo quanto é coisa,<

The mediator's utterance, in turn 17, reveals that Jane's narrative has aroused her interest in knowing more about the way Jane and their children treat each other. The use of the word "assim" (this way) to refer to the way Jane's daughter treats her functions as a face-saving strategy—indirectness—which recalls the moral load of the issue in a way similar to what Linell and Bredmar (1996) describe in their analysis of face-work in talks between midwives and expectant mothers (summarized in section 2.2.2.). In turn 18, Jane makes explicit what was mitigated in the mediator's speech and aggravates threats against her husband's face. She does this by uttering words she says her youngest son uses to refer to her—foul language words—and she explicitly blames her husband for making the children treat her the way they do. Jane thus demonstrates engagement in constructing a reprehensible image for her husband. However, the image projected for any participant is a construct of all the parties present, and thus any projection which comes out of a description of one interactant may be challenged by another. No actor has the entire control of their own selves (Goffman, 1959). As Schiffrin (1988) puts it,

whatever it is that one attempts to mean through one's individual efforts at expression cannot alone create a self; those expressive meanings have to be understood and acted upon by the one to whom they are directed. (p. 266)

Example 2: "I'm the one who cleans the house"

During Rafael's pre-allocated turn, the mediator brings back the discussion about the conflict between Jane and their children. In blaming Jane herself for the way the children treat her, Rafael contributes for his own face to be kept, and hers, thus, to be threatened:

DS 5
 → 18 Rafael: =tá, então tudo isso tá revoltando os guris (.) os guris querem ir pra escola, não tem uma roupa pa↑ssada, uma roupa la↑vada. (.) o banheiro tá- chama os guris aqui, quem limpa o banheiro e faz faxina no banheiro >sou eu de noite quando chego do serviço,< (.) a pia dessa altura de >roupa< de louça, E ELA >vai pro carismático todo dia de ↑noite.<

- (.)
- 19 SW¹: vai pra onde?=
 20 Rafael: =carismática, pra igreja, [>não] não sei o quê que ela faz na igreja, tanto na=
 21 SW¹: [↑ã:]
 22 Rafael: = igreja que. <o- ela a vida que ela passa deus eu acho que >não tá abençoando lá de cima tanto assim também<
- (.)
- 23 Rafael: e eu fico. venho do serviço às 7 horas, vou pra pia lavar louça, vou limpar banheiro, e vou fazer a limpeza da minha ↑casa? (.) e ela faz o que? e ela quer ser santa ain[da?]
- 24 SW¹: [e is]so veio há dois ↑anos, [esse desentendi-]=
 25 Rafael: [é já uns 3] anos pra cá que ela não fez mais na[da]
 26 SW¹: [e:]=
 27 SW¹: =não mas eu digo assim, e antes o relacionamento dela com os filhos, antes desses 2 anos, com os seus filhos, era bom?

In this segment, Rafael depicts himself as the one who works a lot and also takes care of the house. Just like Jane does in the first excerpt of example 1, above, here, Rafael contrasts his and her conduct. The contrast is signalled as he utters “E ELA” (turn 18) and “e ela” (turn 23). Jane is here being projected as the mother who does not get along with their children because she does not take care of them the way she should. In turn 23, Rafael demonstrates his opposition to Jane’s claims of good character: “e ela quer ser santa ainda?” (and she still thinks she deserves to be considered righteous?). A cultural and moral assumption which is not explicitly mentioned but which is made relevant in the above passage concerns how a mother should behave. The way Rafael puts it, he is a person that not only performs his duties but also performs Jane’s. The mediator’s utterance in turn 27 shows that she corroborates his implied assertions, as she refers to Jane’s relationship with her children as being in trouble nowadays: “antes o relacionamento dela com os filhos...era bom?” (and was her relationship with her children good before this?).

Example 3: “He is a drunkard”

In a passage taken from Laura’s turn, the mediator tries to elicit information about Marco’s drinking habits. The mediator shows orientation towards saving the husband’s

face. In line 81, the paralinguistic cues (vowel elongation) signal the sensitivity of the issue of drinking, which is not directly referred to by SW². It is only in line 86 that the mediator introduces the key term, which is again preceded by vowel elongation. This time the husband latches on to the mediator's utterance to deny this:

- DS 12
- 80 Laura: tudo (que) é palavrão ele dizia (.) [é um boca suja]
- 81 SW²: [e:: ele nunca fez ã::], nunca fez um tratamento
dona Laura, pra=
- 82 Laura: =mas [ele não] ↑be↓be todo dia. (.) sem bebida ele é mal criado mesmo=
- 83 SW²: [()]
- 84 SW²: =sim=
- 85 Laura: =não é ↑ só com a bebida.
((pause))
- 86 SW²: mas ele chega a ser::: alcoo↑lista, assim?=
→ 87 Marco: =não, [tsi, tsi]=

Even though the mediator shows sensibility towards Marco's face, Laura does not. The wife even aggravates the threat by saying that the husband's reprehensible conduct is not caused only by drinking: "sem bebida ele é malcriado mesmo" (he is aggressive even when he does not drink). Still, note that Marco's denial (turn 87) comes after the utterance that characterizes him as a potential drunkard (turns 86). This happens again in the continuation of the sequence:

- DS 12
- 88 SW²: [ele bebe com frequência]=
- 89 Laura: =ele diz que [tá bêbado (quando)] quer, mas sempre ele tá >bêbado<. sábado=
- 90 SW²: [fica bêbado,]
- 91 Laura: ainda [ele] chegou bêbado=
- 92 Marco: [tsi]
- 93 SW²: =a[rram]

Marco's urgency in denying that he is a drunkard suggests that being projected in this social identity is face-threatening.

Example 4: "Something pulls me"

Below, I present a segment from the beginning of Marco's pre-allocated turn. He opens the turn apologizing for the complaints Laura has made against him:

- DS 13
- 6 Marco: eu não vou fazer mais, acabou-se. (.) já (.) não. eu estou disposto,
[pode (pode)] (na) minha palavra
- 7 (Laura): [então tá]
(pause)
- 8 Marco: () não vou fazer mais, não vou beber mais, (.) vou, vou até, vou até sair dali,
(.) EU vou sair, vou até () vou pra casa do filho dela, do meu filho, vou
pra lá, pronto. acabou-se (.) não vou, não vou incomodar mais,
(.)
- 9 Marco: pode crer que eu não vou fazer isso mais,

Through apologizing, Marco admits the previous accusations and thus projects himself as the culprit. His next actions, however, seem to orient to lessening the face-threat caused by the acceptance of the culprit-role:

- DS 13
- 10 Marco: o o a gente- a gente te- a- a gente não é (isso) a gente às vezes tem- o- a gen- eu
tenho até ↑medo senhora. (.) hoj-, essa noite eu nem ↑dormi.
(.)
- 11 Marco: eu tenho:, eu sou assim sabe eu, (.) eu sou um cara que eu:: sou analfabeto, não sei
ler, não sei nada (.) mas eu sou, eu gosto de fazer as minhas brincadeiras,
(.)
- 12 Marco: eu ↑gosto de fa↑zer as brincadeiras. eu toco gaita, brinco (.) mas eu não, não sou de
briga. mas tem hora que o cara, não sei, (.) eu chego em casa é aquela, parece que
tem uma coisa que me. é senhora, parece que tem uma coisa que me PUxa.
(.)
- 13 Marco: e eu não sou ↑disso.
(.)
- 14 Marco: eu não sou disso. =

Even though he accepts guilt, Marco acts in a way to preserve his self, by accounting for his past actions. He does this through praising his social image, by referring to wrongdoings as actions which are out of his control. It is not that he is aggressive by choice. As he puts it “parece que tem uma coisa que me PUxa” (it seems that there is something that pulls me). This is an example of the “he/she/it made me do it” kind of excuse (Buttny, 1993, p. 2).³⁷

Regarding the face-relationships established among the mediator and the disputants, mediation in CSs provides for an organization in which the negotiation of

disputants' selves is explicitly in the focus of attention. I did not find in the data any moment within mediated disputes in which the mediator's appraisals of self are explicitly called into question. As examples 1 (SW¹ and Jane) and 3 (SW² and Laura, about Marco) above have shown, the mediator uses language resources to mitigate the potential threat that might be provoked towards primary or secondary recipients' faces by the topics being talked about. Therefore, the mediator cannot avoid talking about the social conduct of the parties present. The recipient whose conduct is being checked is likely to react in ways which demonstrate her/his objection to or acceptance of the image being projected for her/him, and thus her/his objection to or acceptance of the faces being constructed for her/him. This suggests that being depicted in certain ways may or may not enhance face. Generally, being accused of having a lover, of being a drunkard, of being an aggressive husband, or a mother that does not take care of the children—thus a defendant and potential culprit for the problems—threatens face in this setting. Contrarily, accusing the other and being depicted by one's own in a righteous image—a complainant and potential victim—is face enhancing. Finally, no moment of face-loss was identified during mediated disputes.

In the following subsection, I describe the typical language resources the participants of CSs use to aggravate face-threats in mediated disputes.

5.1.1.1. Aggravating face-threats

In this section I apply Gumperz's (1982) notion of contextualization cues to the identification of the language resources disputants make use of to aggravate face-threats in mediated disputes. Contextualization cues are defined by this author as "any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions" (p.

³⁷ This does not, in any way, exclude the possibility of Marco being honest. He might be, but still he is constructing an excuse.

131). Thus contextualization cues function as framing devices, helping interactants and analysts alike to understand the interactional ongoing process of meaning construction. In my data, I found 6 features which signal the directness and aggressiveness in the use of complaints as face-work.

Unhesitating introduction

Disputants usually introduce complaints without delays, that is, with no signal of hesitation, like long pauses or vowel elongation. On the contrary, complaints usually latch on to the mediator's eliciting utterances, as the next example illustrates:

- DS 12*
- 49 SW²: pode falar=
 → 50 Laura: =e ele fica muito agressivo quando ele bebe. e malc-. e sem bebida ele é malcriado também (.) sabe,=
 51 SW²: =arram=
 → 52 Laura: =ele tem uma boca muito ↑suja. (.) e tudo quanto é palavrão ele diz. (.) el- não pode

Unhesitating introduction is also signalled by fast talk:

- DS 4*
- 18 Jane: =todo ele (.) ele manda. >↑esse pequeninho chama eu de ↑vaca, de ↑égua, de ↑puta, de galinha, de tudo quanto é coisa,<
 ((pause))

The following excerpt from Paulo's turn is a counter-example of unhesitating introduction. It shows that not going strictly to the point when complaining is not the preferred action in this setting. The mediator has already exposed her view regarding the marital conflict and elected Soraia, Paulo's wife, as the victim. Paulo, however introduces a counter-complaint in an attempt to keep his face by promoting a redefinition of the situation:

- DS 11*
- 2 Paulo: eu não quero isso mas tem a tem tem alguns pontos também eRRAdos né,
 ((pause))
 3 Paulo: também,
 ((pause))
 4 Soraia: ↑fala.
 ((pause))

- 5 Paulo: tem muitas coisas erradas também né (.) que eu que eu acho também né mas (.) às vezes eu também não posso falar né,
(.)
- 6 SW²: o que que o senhor acha,=
- 7 Paulo: =↑ não, (porque) às vezes certas coisas eu também não posso falar né, então eu às vezes fico quieto né,=
- 8 SW²: =↑ como que o senhor não pode falar, não- não entendi o que o senhor quer [dizer]
- 9 Paulo: [tem]
muitas tem muitas coisas erradas (.) também.
((pause))
- 10 Soraia: fala,
((pause))
- 11 SW²: o que, coisa do lado ↑ dela, e ↑ rrada,
((pause))
- 12 Paulo: é muitas coisas [que::]
13 SW²: [então] (vamos lá) [agora é a oportunidade pra vocês conversarem,]
14 Soraia: [(↑ fala é (.) o negócio errado) ()]
- 15 SW²: (.)
o que que tem errado,
(.)
- 16 SW²: agora vocês tão aqui [pra conver↑sar] pra se enten↑der,
17 Soraia: [()]
- 18 Paulo: (.)
é que eu levo (.) quer dizer
((pause))
- 19 Paulo: quer dizer EU que levo (.) como diz o outro (.) eu levo tudo porque né, eu sou homem isso e aquilo né, (.) [mas]
- 20 Soraia: [()]
- 21 Paulo: =e- eu ↑ acho que tem (.) tem muitas coisas erradas também que tem que corrigir. ela também tem que se corrigir, né,=

The way Paulo introduces the complaint is quite atypical in CSs. Contrary to what usually happens, he delays the introduction of what exactly he will complain about. This leads the mediator to explicitly ask him to elaborate on what he thinks Soraia has to change:

- DS 11*
- 22 SW²: =o [QUE] por exemplo (.) [não] muitas coisas (.) DIZ o que que é.
23 Paulo: [e::] [é::]
((pause))
- 24 SW²: o que que ela tem [que corrigir]
25 Paulo: [por exemplo,]
((pause))
- 26 Paulo: por exemplo, certas coisas de de de::
((pause))
- 27 Paulo: de religião,
(.)
- 28 SW²: um

As the continuation of the segment shows, Paulo still does not elaborate on Soraia's wrongdoing, which leads the mediator to explicitly orient to it again:

- DS 11
- 29 Paulo: uma coisa que:: eu eu já já já () (época) de religião eu me separei do meu do meu primeiro casamento eu me separei por causa de religião,
(.)
- 30 SW²: um,
(.)
- 31 SW²: por causa de que, o que que a sua mulher fazia,
(.)
- 32 Paulo: ↑ não é que, só queria saber de religião.
(.)
- 33 SW²: e ela, o que [que] ela faz,
34 Paulo: [e::]

Unlimited depth of penetration

Linell and Bredmar (1996) show that when a sensitive topic is approached slowly, gradually, that is, with signals of hesitation, the degree of penetration in the topic is also often limited, and interactants soon start retreating. In the case of the data under analysis here, what happens is quite the opposite. Disputants do not hesitate in approaching delicate topics (the mediator does), nor is the degree of penetration limited. On the contrary, disputants give detailings about the matters they talk about. There is an example of this, in an exchange among Rafael, SW¹ and Jane (who is not a current speaker at the moment). Note how Rafael gives details of the topic being discussed:

- DS 5
- 114 Rafael: =eu tenho um terreno nas Potecas que eu comprei, da mãe dela, pergunta se eu não comprei (.) ba↑rato mas eu pa↑guei.=
- 115 SW¹: =um,
(.)
- 116 Rafael: foi feito um: lá um acordo (.) quando fizeram (.) ó, quer ver,
(.)
- 117 SW¹: um,=
- 118 Rafael: =fizemos assim 10 filhos (.) tinha 250 metros de terreno (.) então foi tocado 20 metros e 50 pra cada um (.) PRA CADA UM pagar um- um- uma- uma proporção pra velha fazer (.) fazer uma poupança. que ela não queria vender pra um estranho (.) todo mundo topou, só (t-) UM OU DOIS PAGOU e o resto não pagaram, mas eu paguei, (.) aquele pouco, mas eu pa↑guei. (.) já (descob-) já tou desco↑brindo, (.) >que ela botou no nome da irmã pra pagar imposto e tudo pra (me comer até) o terreno<=

In the next segment, now it is Jane who gives details about a scene of violence that happened at home:

DS 4

34 Jane: =eu não terminei ainda (.) aí eu passei lhe a mão ele pegou, na-naquele meio tempo que eu consegui ele veio em cima de mim. (.) aí ele me deu um soco, me deu um soco. aí eu peguei dei lhe um empurrão assim contra ele con- ((*indicates location with gestures*)) a mesa é aquí, a geladeira aquí, tem um (fogãozinho aquí), eu peguei dei lhe um empurrão, ele foi ali, no coisa ali, (.) assim atrás da mesa, eu >queria< (.) dar uma chapada nele naquela hora, aí ele (.) ↑((se os gurizão todos querem

Cry

The literature on face-work has referred to laughter and jokes (Aronsson & Rundström, 1989; Beck & Ragan, 1992) as strategies which serve to alleviate face-threats. In my data, I found occurrences in which a *crying tone* is used to aggravate the impropriety of conduct. Let us look at Laura's use of this strategy:

DS 12

- 69 Laura: as minhas filhas 12 anos, 11 anos, começaram a trabalhar no fogão dos ↑outros,
((pause))
→ 70 Laura: ((*all utterance in crying tone*)) pra sustentar a casa porque ele trabalhava [uma se↑mana não trabalhava mais] (.) ficava na preguiça.=
71 Marco: [°ã (), que tá chorando,°]
72 Marco: =(por) [que tá chorando mulher?]
73 Laura: [a (vida inteira) pra ele] arrumar [ou]tro serviço a gente tinha que bri↑gar=
74 Marco: [o:::]
75 Laura: =com ele, senão a gente passava miSÉria.

Notice that the way Laura utters her words provokes Marco's immediate reaction. The overlaps seem to signal his objection to the way she is putting things. Besides, the overlaps occur exactly after Laura's crying utterance.

Repetition of the key idea

Generally there is some core information which guides the complaining activity and which the complainant utters in very similar wordings now and then in her/his turn. The arrowed lines in the three next excerpts exemplify this:

- DS 12
8 Laura: ah ele bebe, que ele é mal- muito mal criado, tudo quan[to] é nome ele diz (.) ele=
9 Marco: [não,]

Moments later:

DS 12

- 52 Laura: =ele tem uma boca muito ↑suja. (.) e tudo quanto é palavrão ele diz. (.) el- não pode ir uma, uma ami- a minha irmã vai lá (.) foi lá Natal (.) dar um parabéns pra mim dar um abraço de:, de Natal, as mi- as minhas sobrinhas, (.) ele ↑bebe ele bota eles a correr, (.) meu filho de Blumenau chegou, a minha nora chegou a sair (.) cho↑rando. ((pause))

Moments later:

DS 12

- 80 Laura: tudo (que) é palavrão ele dizia (.) [é um boca suja]

Repetitions seem to highlight the core of the complaint narratives. In the sequences that follow the two last excerpts above, the mediator reveals her interest on the subject of *drinking* which might have been influenced by Laura's emphasis on the issue. Let us take a look at the way this happens:

DS 12

- 52 Laura: =ele tem uma boca muito ↑suja. (.) e tudo quanto é palavrão ele diz. (.) el- não pode ir uma, uma ami- a minha irmã vai lá (.) foi lá Natal (.) dar um parabéns pra mim dar um abraço de:, de Natal, as mi- as minhas sobrinhas, (.) ele ↑bebe ele bota eles a correr, (.) meu filho de Blumenau chegou, a minha nora chegou a sair (.) cho↑rando. ((pause))
- 53 Laura: por causa dele, que ele entrou bêbado, ele agora a gente mora (parede e meia) com o vizinho né [()] =
- 54 (SW²): [ah é]
- 55 Laura: =minha prima (.) eles se desentenderam ele e o homem né, (.) e agora por causa disso ele bebe ele cham- só chama o homem de vagabundo, (.) fica falando do homem na vizinhaça, =
- 56 SW²: =e faz tempo (.) faz::: bastante tempo, que ele bebe?

Moments later:

DS 12

- 80 Laura: tudo (que) é palavrão ele dizia (.) [é um boca suja]
- 81 SW²: [e:: ele nunca fez ã::], nunca fez um tratamento dona Laura, pra=

Strong expressions

Foul language is usually used by the current speaker to animate the defendant's past words. In the following example, Jane animates Rafael using offensive words to

refer to her. The change in footing (Goffman, 1981) is marked by the change in the tone of voice:

DS 4
 → 16 Jane: ↑((↑ não (.)>vocês não tão vendo que não se fala com é< com essa sem vergonha, com essa vagabunda, (.)>que isso aí não sei o que, isso aí não sei,< (.)>isso aí nem nem é mulher pra tá mais dentro aqui, dentro de casa,< (.)>se (tu) bobear eu (tento por) ela na rua.<))↓

In the next excerpt, Laura uses foul language when telling the mediator about an event in which her husband misbehaved. This is also an example of the attribution of offensive wordings to the defendant:

DS 12
 89 Laura: =ele diz que [tá bêbado (quando)] quer, mas sempre ele tá >bêbado<. sábado=
 90 SW²: [fica bêbado,]
 91 Laura: ainda [ele] chegou bêbado=
 92 Marco: [tsi]
 93 SW²: =a[rram]
 → 94 Laura: [ain]da chegou bêbado eu tinha fechado a porta da: (.) sala né, (.) que o: rapaz tava dormindo no sofá, ele chegou bêbado, o filhinho do lado tava na frente ↑deles eles tinham chegado da procissão tavam conver↑sando. (.) ele abriu a porta sentou no paredão da porta, (.) aí como chamou a guria de (.)↑((essa guria aí é uma ↑puta))↓ ele assim, (.)
 95 Marco: ↑ã! ↑ã! não falei [nada!]
 96 Laura: [diss]esse,=

In this last segment, the husband reacts to the words Laura *puts in his mouth*, showing that being depicted as a person who uses foul language in a situation as the one Laura describes might be face-threatening.

Flow of speech

Rather than being monotonous, the flow of speech of disputants' complaints is marked by constant shifts in intonation, in volume and in speed. These resources seem to function in a way to highlight information that strengthens the reprehensibility of the conduct being described. This is illustrated in the two excerpts below:

DS 12

52. Laura: =ele tem uma boca muito ↑suja. (.) e tudo quanto é palavrão ele diz. (.) el- não pode ir uma, uma ami- a minha irmã vai lá (.) foi lá Natal (.) dar um parabéns pra mim dar um abraço de:, de Natal, as mi- as minhas sobrinhas, (.) ele ↑bebe ele bota eles a correr, (.) meu filho de Blumenau chegou, a minha nora chegou a sair (.) cho↑rando. ((pause))

DS 12

73 Laura: [a (vida inteira) pra ele] arrumar [ou]tro serviço a gente tinha que bri↑gar=
74 Marco: [o:::]
75 Laura: =com ele, senão a gente passava miSÉria.

The description of the features of the aggressive use of face-work showed that the more aggravated the complaints the more they are appropriate as regards the interactional order of mediated disputes in counseling interaction. Complaints in CSs seem to privilege the use of *extreme case formulations* (Pomerantz, 1986), as participants use language resources to aggravate the reprehensibility of conduct. Like in the complaint sequences studied by Drew (1998), the complainants in the counseling interactions studied often use to *extremely formulate a case* by portraying the other's misconduct as being deliberate.

Drew's (1998) study shows how people are selective in accounting for their own and others' conduct in telephone conversations. Whereas in accounting for themselves people assume a defensive position, that is, they mitigate what could possibly be considered a fault on their part, when accounting for others' behavior in activities such as making complaints, participants overtly formulate the transgression. Drew (1998) suggests that complaining about transgressions of behavior to a third party, that is, to a person that is not the complainable, is related to moral work, which

consists of activities such as describing another's conduct as manifestly having been at fault, condemning that person for his or her behavior, expressing indignation about their behavior or treatment, and seeking the recipient's support for and affiliation with that sense of indignation with the "wrongness" of the other's conduct. (p. 312)

Drew argues that conduct in itself is neither reprehensible nor praiseworthy. Rather, it is the language resources we use to describe it that creates it in one fashion or another and thus makes of morality an implicit or explicit concern of participants. In counseling interaction, not only do the participants complain about the other to a third party, but the other is also present, witnessing her/his own self to be scrutinized and evaluated. Face-work in counseling session is thus a kind of moral work.

The present chapter attempted to demonstrate that the face relationships participants establish among themselves in the mediated disputes/cross-examination studied are quite diverse. Whereas the mediator's face is never explicitly at risk, the co-disputants' faces constantly are. Besides, whereas the mediator uses strategies of indirectness to mitigate face-threats, co-disputants use strategies to aggravate threats, which are introduced through complaints. Complaints thus serve as both a face-threatening and a face-keeping device—an aggressive use of face-work. In addition, threats to face seem to be related to elements of identity which relate to one's own self. For example, being a person who is projected as being generally righteous, a potential victim, and a complainant in the ongoing talk is face-enhancing. The opposite identity relation—being portrayed as a transgressive person, a potential culprit, a defendant in the immediate talk is face-threatening. In addition, the mediation organization of the CSs under study does provide for ongoing speakers to feel secure and attached to their current face claims. Finally, in complaining, the participants corroborate the rules of conduct of counseling interaction, that is, they follow the institutionalized etiquette conducting themselves in appropriate ways. However, in aggravating complaints, they make of face-work a kind of moral work (Drew, 1998).

In the next chapter, I conclude the present thesis. First, I present a summary of what I have done from chapter 2 up to chapter 5. After this, I make some remarks about my findings. I then move on to make some considerations as regards the methods of research I have used to deal with my data. As a closing point, I discuss the limitations and implications of the present study, making suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 6

FINAL REMARKS

“All people define situations as real; but when powerful people define situations as real, then they are real for everybody involved in their consequences”. (Mehan, 1990, p. 160)

6.1. Summary

This thesis investigated naturally occurring counseling interactions in which, as I have showed, a couple with marital problems and a social worker meet to evaluate social conduct and to establish ways to solve the couple's conflict.

Initially, I outlined the basic assumptions of the interactional sociolinguistic approach to the study of talk which grounds this study. These assumptions concern the co-constructive and situated nature regarding the use of language in social interaction. Next, I presented the features of institutional forms of talk as described by Drew and Heritage (1992). After this, I discussed Goffman's conceptualization of face and face-work, showing how the study of these phenomena is related to the study of morality and discourse (Bergmann, 1998; Linell & Bredmar, 1996).

Then I moved on to the description of the setting in which I carried out fieldwork, following a microethnographic standpoint (Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Erickson, 1992). Firstly, I gave a brief historical account of the Women's Police Station (WPS). I then described the steps a couple follows before engaging in the social encounters I studied. I also gave a description of the task agenda of the counseling for couples at the WPS in Florianópolis. After introducing the participants, I proceeded to give an account of the way I negotiated entry in the field, collected data and limited my scope of analysis and made adjustments to the data.

I then moved on to the description of the four major speech activities (Gumperz, 1982) of the event: mechanics talk, problem talk, advice talk and agreement talk. The theoretical tool I used to segment the activities was Goodwin's (1990) notion of participant framework. Through the description of the social organization of talk, I could recognize the main achievements of the participants in each of the activities. During mechanics talk, the interactional order of the unfolding dispute is established. In problem talk, the participants diagnose the problem as well as establish who the victim is. Advice talk is the activity in which the culprit party is advised to change conduct and in which proposals for change are discussed. In agreement talk, the agreed proposal is formalized both verbally and in an official police document. As the achievements of problem talk proved to be central to the accomplishments of the subsequent activities, I discussed this activity in a more detailed way. I thus found out that this activity is usually characterized by two participant frameworks: mediated dispute and direct dispute. In addition, both participant frameworks point to a hidden speech activity: cross-examination. By analyzing a discrepant case, I showed then that husband and wife only align as disputants when there is lack of consensus regarding the identification of the problem and the establishment of the victim. In CSs, disputes—which are triggered by complaints—are thus the means for participants to establish an interactional “operational consensus” (Goffman, 1959, p. 10), that is, a common definition of the roles interactants are playing and the rights they have within the unfolding interaction. Finally, I showed that the findings of the present study corroborate a view of identity in interaction as a local achievement (Aronsson, 1998), showing that, as they pursue institutional goals, the participants of the counseling sessions studied may subvert given positions through talk.

The subsequent step in this study was to describe the way the participants carried out face-work in mediated dispute/cross-examination. Taking into account previous

studies on the relation between mediation and face, I discussed the face-relationships the mediation procedures provide for participants of counseling interaction. I found out that, even though these procedures prevent participants from losing face, they do not protect them from face-threats. As I identified complaints as actions used by co-disputants to threaten the other's and to enhance one's own face, I provided a closer examination of complaints as an aggressive use of face-work. For this, I applied Gumperz's (1982) notion of contextualization cues. I then found out that aggravating face-threats is the preferred conduct in the ritual code of mediated disputes/cross-examination. However, aggravation of threats brings into scene a moral dimension of language use—face-work becomes moral work (Drew, 1998). In the counseling sessions I studied, the nearer a disputant is to projections of a righteous and victimized self, the more her/his face is enhanced. Interestingly, the more a disputant's face is enhanced, the nearer s/he is to a righteous and victimized self.

6.2. Remarks on findings

This study emphasized the centrality of identity constructs for the activities of the participants of counseling interaction. As I showed, at the very moment they engage in talk, the couple and the social worker usually start a process of defining whose claims for the victim-role will be honored and who will be the culprit. This way, the wife and the husband initiate a combat of selves, in which they dispute for the victim position. The social worker takes on the roles of mediator and judge, as she has to decide who the *real* victim is. In searching for the victim and in claiming for this role, the participants do not acknowledge that identity is co-constructed in situ—the victim and the culprit are locally defined. As Goffman (1959) says

a status, a position, a social place is not a material thing, to be possessed and then displayed; it is a pattern of appropriate conduct, coherent, embellished, and well articulated. Performed with ease or clumsiness, awareness or not, guile or good faith, it is none the less something that must be enacted and portrayed, something that must be realized. (p. 75)

Therefore, the first requirement for a person to project him/herself as a victim is having the social competence to perform this social identity. In counseling interaction, the stance (Ochs, 1993) of victimization seems to be linked to the act of complaining. Any social actor can thus claim to be the victim; however, some are more socially skilled to win a battle of complaints than others.

6.3. Research methods: The ethics of my work

Throughout my research production, what worried me the most was the fact that I was researching real people in the world. If, on the one hand, this was the main reason that raised my interest in this study—understanding how people *inter-act* and co-construct doings—on the other hand, this became an issue for me: in portraying people's actions, I did not want to cause any harm to their image. I soon found out that following microethnographic research methods (Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Erickson, 1992) was a way of overcoming this issue in coherent and responsible ways. Thus, from approaching the field to the written report, my choices (of theoretical apparatus, of methodological procedures) were guided by an attempt to paint a reliable picture of the scene I dealt with so closely.

But how do we define among many choices the ones that would lead us to such a reliable picture? What is being reliable? Is it being objective? No, in no way am I saying that my choices did not have the interference of my own point of view. As Buttny (1993) points out in his critique to CA's objectivity,

in doing social research constructions are unavoidable because the selection of terms with which to identify, observe and describe phenomena are already theoretical commitments. We cannot describe human action and interaction in a theory-neutral way. (p. 47)

Thus, the interpretation I constructed for the scenes I observed is only one interpretation among possible others. In spite of this, it is grounded on an attempt to approximate an emic perspective, that is, an insider's point of view.³⁸ Therefore, it is not that I interpreted interaction following *intuition*. On the contrary, articulating what participants were doing together was a task accomplished through careful examination of recordings and fieldnotes. However, even though I aimed at understanding participants' point of view, I did not neglect the fact that as the analyst, I would never be the other. This is the big issue microethnographic oriented descriptions of interaction own to anthropological studies: the impossibility of being a hundred percent emic and the quasi-imminence of facing the phantom of ethnocentrism.³⁹

6.4. Limitations and implications of this thesis

The greatest limitations of the present study are related to the methodological procedures. First of all, as I used audio-record instead of video-recordings, I did not have access to the nonverbal behavior of the participants, which is a fundamental aspect of interaction. Besides, I would have profited from interviewing the couples, because this would provide me with valuable information that could help me in the construction of an emic perspective.

³⁸ In Pike's (1971, p. 37, cited in Duranti, 1997, p. 172) words: "the etic viewpoint studies behavior from outside of a particular system, and as an essential initial approach to an alien system. The emic viewpoint results from studying behavior as from inside the system".

³⁹ Cavalcanti (1991), for instance, discusses the issue of ethnocentrism in Guarani and non-Guarani interaction in Brazil.

Despite these and other limitations that may possibly be recognized, I believe this work has its strengths. One of them, is the construction of counseling sessions for couples at the Women's Police Station as an object of study for the research in talk-in-interaction. An interesting point to be investigated is how face-work is done and face-relationships established in the other speech activities of the event. It would also be interesting to study in more detail the features of direct disputes in counseling interaction. This can certainly shed some light on the debate about institutional and ordinary features of talk.

From an interdisciplinary standpoint, I expect that this thesis can contribute to fields interested in issues of marital violence. Counseling sessions for couples are an extension of the scenes of violence which, unfortunately, constantly occur in Brazilian families (Camargo, 1991; Gregori, 1992; Izumino, 1998; Thomas, 1994). These social encounters may thus be considered an instance in the *marital war* which is part of what anthropological oriented studies (Grossi, 1998, p. 304) have called the *violence cycle*. The present work is revealing as regards the victimization process which is constitutive of the violence cycle. By showing that women are not the only ones to construct themselves as victims in the discourse of violence—men are likely to do the same—I provide some evidence that victimization is not a gendered pattern of behavior, as previous studies in social sciences (Gregori, 1992) have suggested.

Finally, if the key to misunderstandings between men and women is conflict, as Cameron (1998) says, I argue that the key to solve misunderstandings is avoiding conflict. As I have shown through a detailed analysis of talk, complaints are the kind of verbal activity which strengthens opposition between people. Thus, breaking such interactional patterns of communication, one might contribute for dialogue to begin replacing violence. We have to acknowledge, however, that acts of violence may be

understood as ways to communicate (Grossi, 1998), and people may get into complaints, because, after all, this is a way to relate, and conflict is definitely not easy to avoid.

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APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTIONS (DATA SEGMENTS 1-14)

COUPLE I: Lia & Jonas, Marta as social worker, February, 19, 1998, 22 minutes

DATA SEGMENT 1

- 1 SW¹: ((reading of the record))
((pause))
- 2 SW¹: isso (.) aconteceu (.) em de↑zembro,
((pause))
- 3 Lia: foi a época que a gente estava,
(.)
- 4 Lia: [brigados]
- 5 SW¹: [separados]
- 6 Jonas: [conflito] interno é,=
7 SW¹: =é. e vocês já reataram,=
8 Jonas: =[já.]
9 Lia: =[já.]
((pause))
- 10 SW¹: e como [é que]
11 Lia: [a gente se] separou, (.) judicialmente (.) legalmente
(.)
- 12 SW¹: [ã,]
- 13 Lia: [a] gente tá separado.
((pause))
- 14 SW¹: legalmente,=
15 Lia: =é. e agora (estamos)=
16 Jonas: =vivendo [juntos]
17 SW¹: [es]tão amazeados [agora]
18 Lia: [a gente] tá tentando (.) é (.) tá
tentando [vê se::]=
- 19 Jonas: [tá tentando reconciliação]
- 20 Lia: =dá [pra reconciliação]
- 21 SW¹: [é::]

DATA SEGMENT 2

- 1 Lia: pois é, mas que tipo de: ajuda vocês oferecem,=
2 SW¹: =orientação, (.) pro casal né, a gente- como- (.) vocês vieram hoje. a gente vai discutir o objeto problema de vocês, saber o que é que tá incomo↑dando, pra poder buscar a solução junto, apontar. não dizer o que vocês devem fazer, mas m-clarear pra vocês, o que que tá incomodando,=
=((trimm))=
- 3 SW¹: =o mais profundo, o objeto, PRINcipal do problema. porque o resto=
=[são conseqüências,]
[[((trimm))]]
(.)
- 4 SW¹: né, (.) então a gente vai clarear e mostrar uma solução,=
=((trimm))=
- 5 SW¹: =como vi- viver sem violência (.) dá pra viver sem violência,=
=((trimm))=
- 6 SW¹: =conversando,
(.)
- 7 SW¹: tá difícil agora (só um instante) dá licença,
((SW¹ answers the phone; after this Lia takes the turn))

- 8 Lia: ↑é porque: o nosso problema maior é con- nós temos conflito, é muito conflito, sabe
(.) é, () a menina né, ela tem::, problemas::, que. antes (dele passar) ele foi
um pai muito agressivo né, >° batia muito °< ela ficou muito,=
9 SW¹: =traumatizada=
10 Lia: =é. então TODO TODO o motivo do que acontece o que acontece ↑((É o pai,
[É o pai, É o pai,] É o pai)), ↓ então ficou aquela COISA assim, né,=
11 Jonas: [↑((>É o pai, É o pai, É o pai<))↓]
12 SW¹: =arram,
(.)
13 SW¹: [mas::,]
14 Lia: [>então ficou uma] reVOLTA muito grande<=
15 SW¹: =uma rejeição,=
16 Lia: =é. agora ela tá melhor sabe, mas mesmo assim às vezes ela, ↑((eu odeio o pai, eu
odeio)), ↓ mas no fundo ela não o↑deia
(.)
17 Jonas: ela gosta.=
18 SW¹: =no fundo [ela]=
19 Lia: [ela]
20 SW¹: =quer [né,]=
21 Lia: [ela quer,] ela [quer,]
22 SW¹: [↑é lógico que quer,<] mas isso vocês tem que fazer uma
terapia de família,
(.)
23 Lia: por iss[o]
24 SW¹: [o] senhor e ↑ela precisam [fazer, pra ter] uma reaproximação=
25 Lia: [↑por isso que eu queria sab-<]
26 Lia: =e aonde que faz isso,
(.)
27 Lia: ↑como a gente faz isso,
... ((For 54 seconds, they talk about the location of places specialized in family
therapy; SW¹ is making a phone call when Jonas says the following))
28 Jonas: é, o maior problema nosso é assim conflito muitas vezes com, com a filha, ela é
meio difícil
(.)
29 Jonas: né,=
30 Lia: =urrrum

COUPLE II: Jane & Rafael, Marta as social worker, March, 12, 1998, 1hour: 10

minutes

DATA SEGMENT 3

- 1 Jane: =aí ele não quer saber de () com a minha família, não quer saber da minha
mãe ele só (.) e ele só chega dentro de ↑casa, eu e ele mesmo estamos agora ↑numa
situação (.) que ele só chega dentro de casa que é só (.) ↑((↑vaca ↑puta ↑égua))↓ e:
(de) (.) e mau tratamento na frente dos filhos, DIZ PROS MEUS FILHOS QUE EU
NÃO SOU MÃE DOS MEUS FILHOS E EU SOU (.) então, o negócio tá pesado.=
2 SW¹: =tá. ô dona:: Jane, deixa eu entender uma coisa (.) a senhora diz que ele a ((*begins
reading*)) ameaça botar a senhora pra fora de casa e alega que tem um amante
((*stops reading*)) e isso vem ocorrendo de quanto tempo pra cá que, >porque a
senhora disse que< houve uma ↑fase (.) em que os filhos dele levantaram a hipótese
d- da senhora ter um amante. aí depois os filhos saíram e se afastaram [(acabou)]
[foi aí que]=
3 Jane:
4 Jane: =melhorou
(.)
5 SW¹: [melhorou]
6 Jane: [deu algum] melhoramento

- (.)
 7 SW¹: e agora (.) a coisa começou agora com seus filhos, seus filhos que tão negando?=
 8 Jane: =a mesma, é a mesma coisa, [aí]
 9 SW¹: [POR]QUE isso surgiu?=
 10 Jane: =nesse meio tempo [agora] faz uns 2 anos dia 26 de janeiro fez 2 anos que ele teve=
 11 SW¹: [isso que eu,]
 12 Jane: =derrame...

DATA SEGMENT 4

- 1 Jane: ...eu até falei pra ele ↑((o, Rafael (en↑quanto) tu vais comprar um ↑carro que nós temos um (.) pra que dois carro, (.) por que que tu num (.) por que que tu ↑num re↑formas a casa,))↓ (.) ↑((>eu num vou fazer casa pra ti e pros teu macho< (.) >pra ti pros teu macho e pra tua família<))↓ então a cisma ↑dele é meu macho e minha família (.) então (.) eu não sei >o que é que eu vou fazer mais do lado desse HOMEM.<
 (.)
 2 SW¹: ↑tá dona Jane, e de dois anos pra cá que foi levantado de novo a história de a↑mante, e se- não sabe nada assim, eles apontam, alguém, ou só::, acusam alguém?=
 3 Jane: =não.=
 4 SW¹: =houve alguma,=
 5 Jane: =e [e]
 6 SW¹: [fo]foca, alguma coisa?=
 7 Jane: =eu não sei se eles explicaram, eu sou mulher que eu trabalho,=
 8 SW¹: =am,=
 9 Jane: =tenho. tenho formação, trabalho, eu trabalho em casa de família, tem vários, (.) PODE perguntar à a vizinhança lá, que eu acho que nin↑guém pode me levantar isso, (.) que eu sou (.) eu sou, ↑uma mulher eu acho que ele não merece TANTO a minha honesti↑dade.
 (.)
 10 Jane: ele não merece a a a honestidade minha não. pelo homem que ele é, eu acho que ele não não merece a minha honestidade. aí ne ne nesse meio tempo aí, (.) quando ele ganhou os doze mil real ele começou::, só a andar::, que aí o médico suspendeu do serviço e ele ficou com medo de trabalhar, daquele restante do dinheiro que sobrou (do) ↑carro, (.) el- ele pegou o dinheiro e guardou lá na vizinha. (.) >não deixou dentro de ↑casa porque eu era ladrona,< (.) ele me ass-. me ae:: >me acusa de tudo quanto é ↑coisa,< (.) >eu sou ladrona, sou tudo pra ele.<=
 11 SW¹: =um:=
 12 Jane: =(pois é) (.) >porque eu sou ↑mu↓lher< (.) >pode perguntar pra ele qual foi o dia que eu fui lá na loja fazer uma compra, que os móveis de dentro de casa que eu tenho< (.) é tudo comprado com o meu dinheiro, (.) TUDO (.)>ele me acusa de ladrona, é::: é que eu tenho ↑macho, é::: a minha mãe é a mesma coisa, (que a minha família tudo)< é ho- horroroso (.) aí (.) nesse vai e vem, (nesse) vai vai e vem, (.) ele (.) ele pegou o dinheiro guardou na vizinha, >aquilo ali pra mim foi uma cacetada olha,< (.) >a gente é< Vive vinte e quatro anos, com ↑quatro filhos, criei ↑três dele, um homem desconfi↑ar, da própria mulher? o que que é ↑isso, (.) eu na hora eu fiquei brava, tá. aí passou-se, (.) aí naquele mei-meio tempo (.) () de pouco tempo ele começou, (.) >eu acho que acaba- acabou o dinheiro porque ele não tava trabalhando,< ele teve bas↑tante tempo parado. (.) aí:, ele (.) lá fez (.) botou os filhos contra mim e é e é e essa guria ela nunca nunca ajudou dentro de casa, eu tava uns três ou quatro anos trabalhando e ela nun- nunca ajudou em casa (.) ela nunca foi de me dar um presente, que ela não é:, não é:, não é uma boa filha não.
 (.)
 13 Rafael: ts::[:] ((nods negatively))
 14 Jane: [e]la, ela, nun nun, aí (.) ele faz as coisas, aí um dia eu fui tomar café começava a comer as coisas, >ele começou a arregalar os olhos pra mim.<
 (.)

- 15 Jane: >não queria que eu comesse dentro de casa,< eu digo ↑((>o que que tá acontecendo aqui dentro de casa, ainda MAIS ESSA ainda por pra cima de mim?<))↓
(.)
- 16 Jane: ↑((>apesar de que eu tenho toda essa fama, ainda eu não posso comer dentro da minha casa?<))↓ (.) ↑((↑é))↓ (.) que ele diz que a, que a casa não é ↑minha (.) ↑((↑é porque não sa- tais sabendo que tais comendo a, a comida da tua filha,))↓ eu (disse) ↑((eu não quero saber se a tua filha tá ↑dando, (.) o direito de botar comida dentro de casa és TU. se ela tá dando, ela não tá fazendo mais do que obrigação botar a comida pra ↑mim.(.) ela não tá só dando pra mim, ↑e eu nun- eu nunca pedi ela também (.) eu também trabalho.))↓ aí tá, aí () (.) >começaram a ne↑gar< (.) um dia ela foi inventar de fazer janta, mas ela, mas ela (tem um lance) (.) que ela é uma menina que ela nunca ajudou dentro de casa, no serviço de casa, ela nunca lavou uma roupa, nunca passou, nun- nunca limpou uma casa, ela nun- nunca fez ↑nada. (.) ela só cuidava da roupa dela, (.) com certa idade eu deixei ela tomar conta da roupa dela. aí até que um dia ela veio fazer essa ↑jan↓ta, (.) eu disse assim ↑((é então nós hoje nós vamos ter uma, uma, nós vamos ter uma:::))↓ ((pause)) ↑((nós vamos ter então a:: jantinha.))↓ ↑((↑é tu não és nem louca, tu não és nem doída tu, tu comer, que eu já te falei que tu não vais comer,))↓ eu digo ↑((eu vou co↑mer)) (.) aí eu batí pé. (.) eu digo ↑((eu vou comer.))↓ ↑((ah mas tu não é, tu não é nem nem louca, guria))↓ (.) tá (.) aí, >arrumou a mesa, não botou meu prato passei-lhe a mão, sentei na mesa,< ((pause)) passei-lhe a mão, (.) botei o prato, (.) puxei o arroz >ela tinha feito arroz< (.) arroz, macarrão, maionese, galinha e farofa, aí a farofa ela tava, tava, tava terminando de fazer, NUNca cozinhou no dia que foi cozinhar inven- invocou que eu não ia eu digo ↑((eu vou co↑mer))↓ (.) ↑((pode dar o que ↑der, mas que eu vou comer eu vou,))↓ onde é que se viu, (.) e eele apóia muito estas tolices dos filhos (.) (porque) ele não toma uma autoridade dentro de casa (.) ele bota os filhos tudo contra mim, (.) aí, passei lhe a mão, botei o prato aí ela assim ó ↑((eu já te falei que tu não ↑comes.))↓ eu digo ↑((mas eu vou comer, eu te falei que eu vou comer, eu sou teimosa, tu és teimosa eu também sou.))↓ botei a comida, ela ((pause)) deu um empurrãozinho no prato (.) fiquei quieta comigo, ↑((vai dar))↓ (.) ela pegou e deu o se↑gundo (.) empurrãozinho no prato ((beats the desk as she speaks the following two words))↑((↑é hoje))↓ eu tem certas horas que eu não sei aonde é que eu tenho meu sangue (.) eu acho que eu tenho sangue de barata, (.) aí, deu o terceiro coisa, chegou no canto da mesa, um pouco virou assim, com o empurrão que ela deu, (.) aí eu puxei o prato e botei pra ((beats the desk as she speaks the following word)) cá. (.) ela disse ↑((>eu já falei pra ti que tu não vai comer<))↓ eu digo ↑((mas eu vou comer.))↓ aí quando eu passei lhe a mão pra ((beats the desk as she utters the next word)) comer, ela pegou e botou as ((beats the desk as she utters the next word)) mão dentro da minha ((beats the desk as she utters the next word)) comida, ela assim ↑((agora tu podes comer, que eu já limpei as minha mão dentro da tua comida agora ((beats the desk as she utters the next word)) tu podes comer))↓ eu digo ↑((podes comer, agora vem cá, ()))↓ ele tava lá no quarto, (.) passei-lhe a mão no PRATO DEle, (.) botei embaixo do meu, e alevantei (oo) (é aqui ó) ↑((porque eu tô aturando demais con↑tigo,))↓ naquela hora eu, EU dei uma de, de, de agressiva (.) eu digo ↑((tu ques é aqui ó))↓ (.) aonde é que se viu uma filha fazer ↑um, um dia uma janta e não (e INVOCAR) que eu não ia co↑mer, mas isso ele já vem falando ((crackles fingers as she speaks the following three words)) há muitos tempo que eu não ia mais comer dentro de casa, ia passar-lhe a mão (em-) (.) a mão com a o prato ia, ia, >ia jogar nela,< aí ele correu lá do quarto e:: e >agarrou< ↑((↑não (.)>vocês não tão vendo que não se fala com é< com essa sem vergonha, com essa vagabunda, (.)>que isso aí não sei o que, isso aí não sei,< (.) >isso aí nem nem é mulher pra tá mais dentro aqui, dentro de casa,< (.) >se (tu) bobear eu (tento por) ela na rua.<))↓ eu digo ↑((meu filho, (.) não é bem a↓ssim, (.) não é bem assim (.) eu sou mulher, eu tenho vinte e 24 anos de PAPEL assinado contigo, não é bem assim como tu tá falando não.))↓ >porque eu toda a vida falei com ↑ele com calma< (.) >porque os papel que ele anda fazendo, eu era pra ser mulher pra, pra tratar no pau e rachar na cabeça de um [(<)]

- 17 SW¹: [tá. (.) dona Jane,] eu já entendi a sua parte, dona Ja (.) dona Jane ↑ todos os outros filhos tratam a senhora assim? =
- 18 Jane: = todo ele (.) ele manda. > ↑ esse pequenininho chama eu de ↑ vaca, de ↑ égua, de ↑ puta, de galinha, de tudo quanto é coisa, < ((pause))
- 19 Jane: ↑ um dia de manhã (.) levantou (descobri) esse de 16 anos aqui, o de 14 anos o coitado ele foi lá na escola buscar. (.) levantaram de manhã eu não sei o, se eles tiveram um papo que eu (.) ele só fala com os filhos só pelas minhas costas (.) pela minha frente ele não fala ↑ nada com os filhos. (.) eu ↑ quando quero falar eu falo na frente de todo ↑ ele (.) eu sou, eu sou sincera (.) > levantaram de manhã, eu botei a chaleira, < o:: que eu não uso, bota na chaleira eu boto num bulinho e faço café cabeludo, que é o pó dentro do cois- eu acendi o fogo, esse de 16 anos passou lá ↑ zup desli↓ gou. ↑ cinco vezes. ((pause)) eu digo, ↑ ((> mas será que hoje eu não vou tomar café? <)) ↓ os dois. ↑ ((eu já te falei que hoje tu não vais tomar café.)) ↓ a a guria fez isso foi (.) 4 (.) 3 ou 4 de setembro, > agora em setembro vai fazer um ano que ela fez isso < aí, eu não sei se isso foi (.) a guria fez primeiro ou eles, (.) eu acho que a guria fez primeiro e eles fizeram depois com o café, ↑ porque UM atíça o outro entende? (.) e faz. aí eles levantaram, eles desligou a água cinco vezes. aí quando foi na quinta vez, eu o peguei (eu) tornei a ligar o fogo de novo eu disse ↑ ((o café eu vou tomar, (.) agora se vocês não quiserem tomar é problema de vocês agora, EU VOU TOMAR O MEU CAFÉ)) ↓ (.) eu fiz igual a gu ↑ ria (.) insisti. (.) fui lá acender ele assim ↑ ((tu pode to ↑ mar, (.) mas tu vai tomar (.) tu vai tomar (.) ca- água pura, que café tu não vais tomar)) ↓ eles passaram a mão na lata do pó (.) eu fui lá > tinha outro meio quilo dentro do armário <, peguei e fiz o café, eles passaram a mão na, no açucareiro (.) ↑ ((vais tomar café a a azedo)) ↓ eu digo ↑ ((nã::o, ↑ eu vou tomar o meu café como eu tenho costume)) ↓ aí eu passei lhe a mão no saco de açúcar, botei. (.) aí foram no saco de pão que eles vivem há há tempo negando, porque (.) esse aqui era muito franco, era dinheiro na mão, era era era tudo, ele começou a negar pão, ele começou a negar comida, ele começou a fazer a cabeça dos filhos, os filhos fizeram a a a mesma coisa. e eu tô insistindo dentro de casa, que eu acho que eu, EU tenho autoridade dentro de casa, pra eu (insistir), aí (.) daqui dali, (.) chegamos até na hora da mesa. (.) aí chegou de noite eu fritei um: baita prato de:: (.) (fritei) de banana, ((pause)) aquele de 16 gosta, aquele de 16 ali ele gosta muito de banana frita. é o único que come banana frita. aí o de 14 anos assim ↑ ((o o o Jo-João, es ↑ cuta, já que tu tais- já que ela não vai comer frutas tu passas a mão nesse prato de ba ↑ nana, e tu jogas fora.)) ↓ (.) eu digo ↑ ((↑ ah tu podes até jogar o prato de banana que eu não como, eu não como banana, não faz mal. (.) só que tu bota a banana fora depois tu vai comer pão seco.)) ↓ ↑ ((↑ ah mas tu não vai nem comer banana, nem café, nem pão, tu não vais, daqui pra frente tu não vais mais comer, eu quero ver se tu vais comer.)) ↓ ↑ ((eu VOU mostrar pra vocês como eu vou comer.)) ↓ =
- 20 SW¹: = (° °) =
- 21 Jane: = aí, passei lhe a mão (.) fui na geladeira botar a mortadela, suspendaram a o prato da mortadela e o queijo () aí eu tinha daquele queijinho branquinho (.) coalhada que eles tratam né, (.) aí ele assim: ↑ ((já que tu jogasse a banana, tu joga o prato de queijo fora tam ↑ bém)) ↓ eu digo ↑ ((nã se ↑ nhor. ((pause)) > a banana até tu pode jogar que eu não como < agora o prato de queijo aqui tu não va ↑ is jogar FOra não)) ↓ eu disse. (.) aí quando e ↓ le passou lhe a mão, () ele puxou num-numa ponta, e eu puxei noutra, ele puxou numa ponta, eu puxei noutra, e eu consegui pu ↑ xar, ele queria jogar fora eu passei lhe a mão (dele no queijo) e taquei lhe na cara. ((pause)) aí nós pegamos no pau. (.) aí eu [(o)]
- 22 SW¹: [me]u deus, que horror.
(.)
- 23 Jane: ho[RROR,]
- 24 SW¹: [que situa]ção [que tá,]
- 25 Jane: [é hoRROR] (.) aí eu passei lhe a mão, (conseguiu), sentei, aí nesse meio tempo [e ↓ le,]

- 26 Rafael: [>a senhora] pegue sua mão no telefone, liga pra delegacia de Barreiros, que a família dela é toda assim, tia.< TEM UMA LISTA, TODOS (.) tem QUATRO já separados=
- 27 Jane: =não te confunde [com os] outros=
- 28 Rafael: [para]
- 29 Rafael: =deixa eu falar [deixa eu falar]
- 30 Jane: [não te confun]de
(.)
- 31 Jane: >eu ai- eu ainda não terminei<=
- 32 SW¹: =então então deixa só ela terminar o se[nhor] vai falar=
- 33 Jane: [eu]
- 34 Jane: =eu não terminei ainda (.) aí eu passei lhe a mão ele pegou, na-naquele meio tempo que eu consegui ele veio em cima de mim. (.) aí ele me deu um soco, me deu um soco. aí eu peguei dei lhe um empurrão assim contra ele con- ((*indicates location with gestures*)) a mesa é aqui, a geladeira aqui, tem um (fogãozinho aqui), eu peguei dei lhe um empurrão, ele foi ali, no coisa ali, (.) assim atrás da mesa, eu >queria< (.) dar uma chapada nele naquela hora, aí ele (.) ↑((se os gurizão todos querem grandão,)) ↓ aí quando, eu fui pra dá uma nele, aí ele pegou e deu lhe uma, deu lhe uma, deu lhe uma pezada na na minha barriga, aí quando ele saiu dali (.) ele não, ele desde aquele dia (tem) apontado mais o que eu vou comer e o que eu não vou comer, só forma ninguém mais reagiu (.) eu digo, ↑((aonde é que se viu, eu dentro da minha casa, EU não poder comer, EU não poder tomar o meu café,)) ↓ ((*trêmula voice as she speaks the following four words*)) ↑((VOU, VOU, VOU, VOU comer)) ↓ (.) aí ele (.) falou, chegou daquele ali e (tomou) (.) aí (.) ele começou com ↑((°não°)) ↓ este daqui tudo tudo quer dar ordem como se eu seje (.) uma menina, uma empregada (.) eles que-, eles querem dar ordem pra mim
(.)
- 35 SW¹: [olha eu já.]
- 36 Jane: [(a partir de hoje,)]
(.)
- 37 Jane: ↑((de a partir de hoje em diante eu não, (.) eu não faço mais serviço pra vocês (.) eu não vou lavar mais pra vocês e não vou mais (pra) cozinhar,)) ↓ que esse aqui toda vida ele dizia (.) ↑((se tu não quisesse fazer não tem problema, a minha filha faz, pela minha filha eu faço ↑qualquer coisa)) ↓ (.) então ele me, me ↑carcareia, (.) e deu todo o apoio pra filha (.) e a filha tá (.) ↑tá ao lado dele fazendo a mesma coisa.
(.)
- 38 SW¹: então tá (.) dona Jane já entendi a- o ↑clima da sua família (.) agora a senhora só escuta e ele fala (.) >depois a senhora fala de novo se precisar<=
- 39 Jane: =arram=
- 40 SW¹: =o que que [tá- (.) PORQUE,]
- 41 Rafael: [pergunta pra ela. ↑quantas] horas eu trabalho,
((pause))
- 42 Jane: tu?=
43 Rafael: =é=
44 Jane: =>agora tu tais traba[lhan]do bas[tan]te<
45 Rafael: [ah,] [ah,]
(.)
- 46 Rafael: agora não, eu estou trabalhando=
47 Jane: =>tais trabalhando,<=
48 Rafael: =↑quanto?=
49 Jane: =trabalhas das 4 horas às 7 da noite=
50 Rafael: =o mais cedo, o mais tarde que eu levanto, [>4 horas da manhã às 7 da noite<]
51 Jane: [4 horas da manhã]
(.)
- 52 Rafael: eu não tenho tempo de cuidar de casa
(.)
- 53 Rafael: sabe o quê que ela faz?
(.)

- 54 Rafael: ela não limpa ↑um banheiro (.) ela não lava ↑uma roupa dos filhos (.) ela não faz ↑um café pros filhos (.) ela não faz ↑uma janta pra mim, (.)
- 55 SW¹: [o] que que levou a isso? [seu:]
- 56 Rafael: [(é)] [o que] que levou a isso,=
- 57 SW¹: =da () antes dessas [discussão, o que que. levou↓]
- 58 Rafael: [eu vou dizer pra senhora a famí]lia dela é toda estourada assim, (.) eles não querem que fale, se a gente falar é ban↑dido é: (.) mas pode ligar pro delegado de Barreiros, (ou) do Estreito, >não sei de onde é< (.) pode ir lá que tem uma papelança cheia de questão deles toda a vida. (.) não acaba nunca a família. (.) tudo é: é tem 3 ou 4 separados, tem um filho agora esfaqueou o pai todo (.) são tudo maluco assim, pode botar a internar que é tudo doido. (.)
- 59 Rafael: pode [(fazer.)]
- 60 SW¹: [tá,] mas o porquê, dessa questão assim d- de alegar que ela tem amante,=
- 61 Rafael: =não, [()]
- 62 SW¹: [isso tem fundamento,] (.)
- 63 Rafael: tem fundamento sabe o que que acon[tece,] é que ↑quando a senhora procura ela,=
- 64 SW¹: [um,]
- 65 Rafael: = que eu chego em casa pra procurar ela, ela tá no Paraná (.) tá em Porto Alegre, (.) a gente não sabe onde é que anda=
- 66 SW¹: =mas o senhor não soube ↑nada, assim, (.) [de de de ho-]
- 67 Rafael: [não, (isso a-)] o que e- o que ela faz, é papel de gente que vi- que não é ↑certa. (.)
- 68 SW¹: [ela sai,] mas o senhor nunca VIU ela com homem, nunca soube dela com homem,=
- 69 Rafael: [()]
- 70 SW¹: = dessa coisa não. [concretamente,] >CONCRE]TA[MENTE<] rea- não,=
- 71 Rafael: [bom, o- o-] [o que ela diz,]
- 72 SW¹: = o que o senhor imagina que ela faça, (.) a- a- isso eu não: [vou entrar nesse mérito]
- 73 Rafael: [o que eu imagino] é que ela me chama de corno o que que a senhora quer que eu diga?=
74 SW¹: =não, eu quero saber, não, não é nesse te- nisso que eu quero entrar, >eu quero assim< concretamente. tem alguma história de- de ela ter enganado o senhor? alguma coisa [conCRETA,]
- 75 Rafael: [é é o] que ela fala [pros]
- 76 SW¹: [EXIS]TE UMA PESSOA REAL que o senhor soube, que [realmente, (seu fulano),]
- 77 Rafael: [que os guris contavam,] (que) os guris nunca diziam quem é. também eu nunca tentei descobrir, ((claps)) se era ou se não era=
- 78 SW¹: =ah tá.=
- 79 Rafael: =né=
- 80 SW¹: =então, o senhor nunca soube [de na]da,=
- 81 Rafael: [não]
- 82 Rafael: =só tem uma coisa, ela, ela, o que que a senhora acha, (.) quando eu ti-eu, eu não tinha conta no banco, o dinheiro, ela contou do dinheiro, que eu, num, num acredito mais nela, num acredito, (.) ela tinha conta no banco, EU não tinha. aí eu deposei, eu queria eu, tinha que reformar o fuquinha eu disse pra ela ó, ↑((eu não tenho o dinheiro ↑todo, vou botar na tua ↑conta, quando tiver a conta eu vou indo arrumar o fuque.))↓ (.) aí eu comecei. ((pause)) QUANDO deu a conta, eu peguei o fuque, eu acho que eu fiz o negócio com ela não precisa eu perguntar ↑((ó. eu já tenho dinheiro pra botar o carro na oficina))↓ (.) se eu botei dinheiro ali praquilo ela sabia. (.) quando o carro tava pronto, ↑((me dá o dinheiro))↓ ↑((tchutchu))↓ (.) 40.000 cruzeiros na época ATE HOJE eu não sei o que é que ela fez. (.) a briga dos MEUS FILHOS com ELA, os OUTROS, que ela mesma tá contando que eles adoravam ela davam pre↑sente, um irmão dela que é s:acana veio de São Paulo, >deixou a família toda lá,< se meteu dentro da nossa casa, ela tirava comida dos ↑filhos, pregou o

- quarto >(pode ver lá) nosso quarto (tá) todo pregado de tábuas.< (.) a comida toda dentro do quarto não dava comida pros filhos
(.)
- 83 SW¹: [pros] seus filhos,=
84 Rafael: [e:]
85 Rafael: =pros meus filhos, () os vizinhos que davam co↑mida, (.) senhora quer eu trago vizinho, testemunha, que a, teve uma senhora lá que sustentou meus filhos por ↑quase um ano. (.)ela pegava tudo, dava comida pra mãe, () pros filhos, pros meus guris não,
(.)
- 86 SW¹: e o senhor via isso?=
87 Rafael: =cansei de ver, chegava em casa o que, ↑((não eles- eles fazem bagunça, eles tão roubando))↓ e EU na época achava que ↑era, que a gente não parava em ↑casa, ↑((eles tiram dali.))↓ no fim agora, quando os meus guris saíram, que saíram pra rua, (.) que ela pode provar que eu tenho um filho hoje que tem mini-mercado, tem tudo não agradece NEM ELA (nem a mim) >que eles não pediram nem um tostão nosso< (.) saíram com uma mão na frente uma atrás (.) pra dar umas trouxas velhas fui eu que tirei de dentro de casa e dei (.) que era do casamento primeiro da mãe dele, não era ↑dela, ela me critica até ↑hoje (.) tá, não faz comida pros filhos, não lava roupa pros filhos >o que que a senhora quer que eu faça,<
(.)

DATA SEGMENT 5 (This comes right after the previous segment. I separated this to facilitate my handling of the data)

- 1 SW¹: e essa (.) esse desentendimento com- a agora com os seus filhos, com esses [4 AGORA come]çou de quando, seu::=
2 Rafael: [eles se revoltam]
3 Rafael: =>agora tá fazendo uns 2 anos que eles se revoltam, que ela não< faz comida, não faz nada, passa tá aqui ó, a senhora, ela falou do carro, agora, o carro ↑tá no meu nome (.) é meu e ↑dela,
(.)
- 4 SW¹: o desentendimento come[çou] porque ela não fazia as coisas [pros ↑filhos?]
5 Rafael: [ó] [não faz nada.]=
=dentro de casa.
(.)
- 6 SW¹: foi [dona:,]
7 Rafael: [tá aqui ó] ((shows a paper to the mediator))
(.)
- 8 Rafael: telefone que ela comprou (.) no nome da irmã (.) pros filhos não ser herdeiros (.) a senhora quer que os filhos seja o que, (.) gente boa >dentro de casa,< (.) TEM um lote na Palhoça que eu:- trago a- o papel que eu tenho em casa já em mão, (.) esse aqui eu peguei hoje, tenho um papel em mão, que ela comprou um lote, NO NOME DA IRMÃ pros filhos não herdar >quer dizer< se acontecer dela morrer, quem é que vai herdar, é os- os meus filhos, ou é a irmã dela,=
(.)
- 9 SW¹: a irmã dela,=
10 Jane: =()
(.)
- 11 Jane: po- po[sso falar,]
12 Rafael: [não, pára.]
(.)
- 13 Rafael: [deixa,] deixa eu [falar,]=
14 Jane: [↑°não,°] [(°então fala°)]=
15 SW¹: =(°é::°)=
16 Rafael: =deixa eu falar,=
17 SW¹: =fala, seu::=
18 Rafael: =tá, então tudo isso tá revoltando os guris (.) os guris querem ir pra escola, não tem uma roupa pa↑ssada, uma roupa la↑vada. (.) o banheiro tá- chama os guris aqui, quem limpa o banheiro e faz faxina no banheiro >sou eu de noite quando chego do

- serviço,<(.) a pia dessa altura de >roupa< de louça, E ELA >vai pro carismático todo dia de ↑noite.<
(.)
- 19 SW¹: vai pra onde?=
20 Rafael: =carismática, pra igreja, [>não] não sei o quê que ela faz na igreja, tanto na=
21 SW¹: [↑ã:]
22 Rafael: = igreja que.< o- ela a vida que ela passa deus eu acho que >não tá abençoando lá de cima tanto assim também<
(.)
- 23 Rafael: e eu fico. venho do serviço às 7 horas, vou pra pia lavar louça, vou limpar banheiro, e vou fazer a limpeza da minha ↑casa? (.) e ela faz o que? e ela quer ser santa ain[da?]
24 SW¹: [e is]so veio há dois ↑anos, [esse desentendi-]=
25 Rafael: [é já uns 3] anos pra cá que ela não fez mais na[da]
26 SW¹: [e:]=
27 SW¹: =não mas eu digo assim, e antes o relacionamento dela com os filhos, antes desses 2 anos, com os seus filhos, era bom?
(.)
- 28 Rafael: QUANDo os outros saíram de casa, que eu comecei a apoiar a mãe dela e os irmãos dela em de casa de novo, virou mil maravilha,
(.)
- 29 Rafael: agora nesses dias eu saí ela não fez comida ↑nem pra mim nem pro meu gu↑ri.
(.)
- 30 Rafael: eu fui comprar- eu fui comprar ↑pão quando voltei tava a sobrinha- a sobrinha dela. (.) sentada lá na mesa, rodeada, que graças a deus, lá em casa comida sempre teve (.) de tudo que era de bom pra sobrinha, aí eu cheguei,
(pause))
- 31 Rafael: então dói na gente, faz favor, dói. (.) eu não vou, eu não sou um cativo pra trabalhar, eu e a minha filha >sustentando< a casa (.) ela pega o dinheiro dela e só viaja mais a mãe (.) >só paga viagem pra mãe< (.) deu televisão pra mãe deu tudo (.) iss- agora (> no centro ninguém <) (.) saiu numa sex[ta,]
32 SW¹: [ela] tem dinheiro?=
(.)
- 33 Rafael: [ela tra↑ba]lha nega,
34 Jane: [(eu não.)]
(.)
- 35 Rafael: ela ganha mais do que eu.
(pause))
- 36 SW¹: ah, ela é faxi- (°ela é°)=
37 Rafael: =ela, ela é [faxineira,]
38 Jane: [não é não eu,] eu tra-tra-eu trabalho em ca->em casa de família,< não é tanto assim, não. só porque EU não boto o meu dinheiro fora n[ão].
39 Rafael: [((laughs))]=
40 Rafael: =mas [se não gasta um tostão!]
41 Jane: [eu emprego eu sei] eu sei empregar [meu dinheiro]
42 Rafael: [não gasta um tostão com] pão,=
43 Rafael: =é obri[gada] a [guardar] di↑nheiro,=
44 Jane: [é:] [↑claro]
(.)
- 45 Jane: não (.) [o]
46 Rafael: [ag]ora tá aqui ó=
47 SW¹: =°só um pouquinho dona Jane,°
48 Rafael: =ó ((shows paper to the mediator))
(.)
- 49 Rafael: eu pago o INPS meu, e tu sabe disso, que eu pago (.) EU pago luz (.) EU pago a comida (.) EU pago a manutenção de dois carros (.) eu e a guria (.) e tu só come bonitinho,=
50 Jane: =(ah::)=
51 Rafael: =e dás o dinheiro pra mãe, viajar, porque, o dinheiro é teu,
(.)

- 52 Rafael: >e o nosso não<
(.)
- 53 Rafael: >aí tu quer que nós te damos a comida bonitinha na boca,< ↑ não é assim ne↑ga,
(.)
- 54 Rafael: vai ajuntar o teu montinho (ó), a (.) eu vou dar cinco ou dez por semana pra ajudar,
(.)
- 55 Rafael: tu faz isso? não né,
((pause))
- 56 Rafael: não?=
57 Jane: =calma, tu pode falar tudo que tu tiver [pra falar.]
58 Rafael: [não, mas] >não tô falando tudo?<=
59 Jane: =fala=
60 Rafael: =eu tô perguntando se não é,
(.)
- 61 Rafael: eu não tô mentindo, eu não vim (.) >eu não sou guri pequeno pra perder meu dia de serviço, pra me tirar do serviço pra,< pra (.) uma PALHAÇADA dessa que tu tais fazendo. eu nunca=
62 Jane: =e eu,=
63 Rafael: =ó, meu pai, [meu pai faleceu com 83 anos,] meu pai faleceu com 83 anos ↑nunca=
64 Jane: [eu não tô perdendo tempo,]
65 Rafael: =foi numa delegacia, eu tô com 56 nunca vim. (.) a primeira vez que eu vim, por causa de ti.=
66 Jane: =()
(.)
- 67 Jane: tu devia se- seguir o exemplo do teu pai!=
68 Rafael: =((long breath))
(.)
- 69 Rafael: [>meu pai não tinha uma mulh- igual- uma mãe,<]
70 Jane: [devia seguir o exemplo do teu pai ah] pois é=
(.)
- 71 Rafael: igual a ti guria,=
(.)
- 72 Jane: o, o caso é o seguinte, sobre o telefone,=
73 SW¹: =ã,=
74 Jane: =sobre o telefone, sobre o lote que ele tá falando, eu toda vida disse ↑((Rafael vamos fazer uma economia, que a gente tá morando aqui, [a] manhã depois o cara=
[°ã, °]
75 Rafael: [°ã, °]
76 Jane: =bota a gente pra [rua,] a gente não sabe pra onde é que vai (.) AÍ, (.) nesse=
77 Rafael: [°ã, °]
78 Jane: =vai e ↑vem eu comprei o lote porque pra gente pra comprar uma-uma- uma coisa não tem que ter um::: um rendimento, pra comprar alguma coisa, a não ser que compre com dinheiro, eu não tinha dinheiro. (.) ele diz que eu dei uma televisão pra minha mãe, eu quando (.) quando a televisão, a únic- a únic- única televisão que tá lá dentro de casa estragada foi quando ele deu tele- e- a- a televisão que ele botou uma televisão a cores >nós tinha u-u-uma preto e branco,< ele comprou uma (.) televisão (.) a ↑cores, (.) quando o guri dele começou a aprontar na época,=
79 Rafael: =↑não nega, é que a nossa tinha quebrado querida,=
80 Jane: =(não)=
81 Rafael: =>não inventa coisa né,<=
82 Jane: =num mente.=
83 Rafael: =tu não mente né, ô ô ela vai no Koerich que ela nem nome no Koerich não tinha (.) eu compro desde de idade de 17 anos no Koerich (.) aí ela não tinha nome, (.) ↑((↑ah Rafael, eu queria comprar,))↓ (.) fui lá (.) assinei de avalista pra ela comprar TUDO que ela compra agora as notas, pode olhar, móveis é no nome dela, tudo tá (.) pode ir ↑lá tá tudo ((beats one hand on the other three times, as he says the following three words)) guardado pra me comer ↑tudo até meus olhos da ca↑beça (.) ela já falou.=
84 Jane: =eu não tenho e- e- essa idéia não senhor=
85 Rafael: =não [tens?]
86 Jane: [>É MAIS] FÁCIL TU COMER O MEU<=

- 87 Rafael: =não [tens?]
 88 SW¹: [tá.] tá, tá [agora-]
 89 Jane: [>é mais] fácil tu comer o meu.<=
 90 SW¹: =fala dona Jane, o que que tá havendo assim, esses desentendimentos, é porque a senhora não faz as coisas pra ele?=
 91 Jane: =não sei porque antes também já tinha.
 (.)
 92 SW¹: [ã,]
 93 Jane: [eu] deixei de fazer a ele, porque ele (vive) sempre me agredindo, e sempre me [chamando] eu de ↑vaca, de égua, [de galinha, de bruxa,]=
 94 Rafael: [°tchutchu°] [(°não, não é assim, nega°)]
 95 Jane: =de- de- de [tudo quanto] é coisa até,=
 96 Rafael: [>não é assim não,<]
 97 Rafael: =tu [mesmo num disseste agora que melhorou,]
 98 Jane: [que ele- (.) me- me abusa]
 (.)
 99 Jane: ele ele ele diz ele diz ele diz pros filhos ↑((vocês tem mais é que (na) cara dela bo- (.) bota esta vagabunda pra rua))↓ (.) en↑tão desde aquele ↑dia, desde três de setembro, que o guri levantou de manhã (.) que não deixou eu tomar café eu digo ↑((a partir de hoje em diante (.) eu não lavo, não cozinho, não arrumo mais a casa, (.) a não ser [(())]))↓
 100 SW¹: [VOCÊS DORMEM em] quarto separado, [seu:]
 101 Jane: [↑não,]=
 102 Rafael: =dormimos [na mesma cama]
 103 Jane: [junto mas:] nin↑guém (.) se mexe um com outro.
 (.)
 104 SW¹: meu ↑deus [que situação.]=
 105 Jane: [já há muito tempo.]=
 106 Rafael: =eu tenho um colchão que eu comprei porque eu sou- eu tenho:: problema de:: circulação. também. (.) comprei um colchão- japonês que hoje eu não sei nem quanto é que custa, mas deve custar uns 3 mil reais mais ou menos (.) PRA ELA me ajudar de mim, () pra ajudar de mim ela tirou (.) aquele colchão que era pra circulação, botou um de esponja em cima e escondeu o de baixo. (.) tá lá pode ir lá ver, >↑A MINHA CASA É IGUAL A UM ENGENHO< (.) PODE IR LÁ VER< (.) >TÁ DE BANDEIROLA TÁ DE SUJEIRA EM CIMA QUE É A MAIOR VERGONHA< (.) >a minha vizinha tia dela< NEM O FOGÃO ELA LIMPA.=
 107 Jane: =a [minha casa é uma] vergonha, porque [é] uma casa de pedreiro, eu acho que
 108 Rafael: [>o pequenininho é que limpa<] [°↑ã°]
 109 Jane: =nem (as-) [nem as pessoas da favela ()]
 110 Rafael: [tia tia então, eu vou dizer pra senhora, o terreno] não é nosso, ela sabe disso. (.) eu vou in- investir pra botar terreno numa casa que não é minha?=
 111 Jane: =e por que que tu n:- não investe fora?=
 112 Rafael: =mas! oh,! >se eu não tenho condição de comprar um terreno nega,!<=
 113 Jane: =↑como meu filho,=
 114 Rafael: =eu tenho um terreno nas Potecas que eu comprei, da mãe dela, pergunta se eu não comprei (.) ba↑rato mas eu pa↑guei.=
 115 SW¹: =um,
 (.)
 116 Rafael: foi feito um: lá um acordo (.) quando fizeram (.) ó, quer ver,
 (.)
 117 SW¹: um,=
 118 Rafael: =fizemos assim 10 filhos (.) tinha 250 metros de terreno (.) então foi tocado 20 metros e 50 pra cada um (.) PRA CADA UM pagar um- um- um- uma- uma proporção pra velha fazer (.) fazer uma poupança. que ela não queria vender pra um estranho (.) todo mundo topou, só (t-) UM OU DOIS PAGOU e o resto não pagaram, mas eu paguei, (.) aquele pouco, mas eu pa↑guei. (.) já (descob-) já tou desco↑brindo, (.) >que ela botou no nome da irmã pra pagar imposto e tudo pra (me comer até) o terreno<=
 119 Jane: =>ele não paga imposto, [ele] não tem escritura, [ele não paga luz,]=

- 120 Rafael: [ó] [>mas eu não po-<]
 121 Jane: =ele não paga [nada,] e ele diz que o terreno é ↑dele<=
 122 Rafael: [shi!]
 123 Rafael: =ô nega,
 (.)
 124 Rafael: [o terren-]
 125 Jane: [>ele não] tem papel não tem nada.<=
 126 Rafael: =a velha não me passou a escritura! como é que eu vou pagar imposto,=
 127 Jane: [()]
 128 SW¹: [é por]que tem que desmem↑brar
 (.)
 129 Rafael: [é.]
 130 SW¹: [é] obrigado [a desmembrar] pra poder=
 131 Jane: [(pois é)]
 132 SW¹: =[pagar imposto]
 133 Rafael: [>↑não, e ela quer que eu pague] o imposto de [que?<]
 134 SW¹: [senão] ele vai pagar o: imposto do terreno todo.=
 135 Rafael: =é
 (.)4
 136 SW¹: [nisso] ele tem razão.=
 137 Rafael: [↑ó]
 138 Rafael: =↑ó

DATA SEGMENT 6 (This is the talk that follows the interaction presented in the last segment. I lost the talk between them--few seconds--as I changed the side of the tape during data collection.)

- 1 Jane: ele não concorda nada com a minha [família] ele não quer saber da [minha família.]
 2 Rafael: [escuta] [ei, es↑cuta]
 (.)
 3 Jane: =[ele não quer saber.]
 4 Rafael: =[primeiros 4] meses (.) primeiro 4 meses foi () terreno dividido em: em nome () eu trago teu pai aqui teu pai pra provar que prova na sua-frente de vocês (.) que eu paguei (.) E ELE que dividiu o terreno (.) e quem pagou os >4 meses sozinho do terreno inteiro fui eu< (.) os pri[meiros] 4 meses (.) eu VOU=
 5 SW¹: [°urru]m°]
 6 Rafael: =provar [pra ti que eu dei o dinheiro]
 7 SW¹: [sim, o senhor pagou o terreno] todo?=
 8 Rafael: =ã?=
 9 SW¹: =o senhor já pagou o terreno todo,=
 10 Rafael: =já paguei e paguei ã, eu paguei a vista senhora ATÉ ↑HOJE.
 (.)
 11 Rafael: =[e eles não dão escritura.]
 12 SW¹: =[e:::] e lá, o senhor não tem condições de fazer uma casa lá, não quer,=
 13 Rafael: =tem casa em cima >eles querem tomar tudo.<
 (.)
 14 Jane: não, mas não é o:: o caso de tomar não.=
 15 Rafael: =(↑tá) sim. já: >disseste até que a tua mãe vai vender pra vocês fazer casa<
 (.)
 16 Jane: ele
 (.)
 17 Rafael: como é que não,=
 18 Jane: =ele anda (.) ele [an]da falando pros filhos, já há muito tempo,
 19 Rafael: [ã,]
 (.)
 20 Rafael: [um,]
 21 Jane: [ele] só (.) porque agora eu comprei esse telefone, que [foi] e- esse telefone=
 22 Rafael: [°um,°]

- 23 Jane: =agora em agosto vai fazer um ano que tá instalado.=
- 24 Rafael: =^oum^o=
- 25 Jane: =a minha irmã que, que:: (.) que tinha:, ela se inscreveu pro telefone, >que ela tem um e se inscreveu pra depois negociar, mas quando chegou o telefone ela não tinha o dinheiro pra pagar< (.) >e ela pegou e me perguntou se eu quisesse< (.) então com essa num vai e vem, com essa nossa briga, >eu não vou comprar o telefone e vou botar pro meu ↑nome.< (.) porque nós tamos a fim de uma hora se sepaRAR, eu não vou dar telefone pra ele, que ele NUNca me ofereceu nada pra mim. eu tenho dentro de casa, eu tenho eu tenho cama de solteiro que eu comprei, é colchão é meu, cama de casal é meu, guarda-roupa é meu, armário de cozinha é meu, fogão é meu, pia é meu, tudo os móveis, (.) e- ele fala que eu dei uma televisão pra minha mãe, quando eu comprei a televisão pra pra [pra ↑ele, eu dei uma] de [vinte polegadas]=
[como é que pode né,] [ô, Jane, como é-]
- 26 Rafael: [como é que pode né,] [ô, Jane, como é-]
- 27 Jane: =pra ele,=
- 28 SW¹: =tá, deixa eu perguntar uma coisa, vocês são casados comunhão univer[sal de]=
- 29 Jane: [somos]
- 30 Rafael: [sim]
- 31 SW¹: =bens,=
- 32 Jane: =[legal]mente.=
- 33 Rafael: =[sim]
- 34 SW¹: =então tudo o que vocês [tem é meio a:]=
[tiver (.) é meu e dele]
- 35 Jane: [tiver (.) é meu e dele]
- 36 SW¹: =me[io]
- 37 Rafael: [é mei]o a [↑meio,]
- 38 Jane: [é] [é isso aí]
- (.)
- 39 (Jane) [°é meio°]
- 40 SW¹: [não tem] ↑nada que eu comprei ou o fulano comprou=
- 41 Jane: =é.=
- 42 SW¹: =então vocês tão brigando por uma::=
- 43 Jane: =uma coi[sa, ()]
- 44 SW¹: [UMA COISA PERDIDA,]
- 45 Rafael: [não mas eu não tô eu não] tô brigando, (.) >eu tô brigando por [isso]=
[né,]
- 46 SW¹: [né,]
- 47 Rafael: =aqui tia, ó< ((*handling a paper*))
(.)
- 48 Rafael: =eu tô brigando com isso a↑qui, >que isso aqui não é meu<
(.)
- 49 SW¹: =[quê que é isso,]
- 50 Rafael: =[que não tá no nom-] não tá no meu nome ↑dela é meu?
((pause))
- 51 Rafael: isso aqui?
(.)
- 52 Rafael: é é nosso?
((pause))
- 53 SW¹: isso aí não é se-=
- 54 Rafael: =>então<=
- 55 SW¹: =de vocês=
- 56 Rafael: =>então<
(.)
- 57 Rafael: >mas ela comprou e pagou<=
- 58 Jane: =pois é
(.)
- 59 Rafael: ↑ó, >pois é< o: terreno que tu compraste na Pa↑lhoça de quem é?
(.)
- 60 Rafael: [é meu?]
- 61 Jane: [(sim)]
(.)
- 62 Jane: escuta (.) eu eu já não entrei em contato contigo (.) ↑((ô Rafael, vamos vender o terreno da cidade))↓ que agora eu estou comprando um lotezinho >()

- MAIS () eu não quero que ele é muito encrenqueiro com a minha família< (.) >eu tenho medo de ele ir pra lá e fazer confusão vai dar até morte e desgraça lá com a minha [famí]lia que ele é [muito] encrenqueiro<=
- 63 Rafael: [ó]
- 64 SW¹: [tá.]
- 65 SW¹: =o quê que vocês querem fazer um a- um acordo ↑como, o seu:::
(.)
- 66 Jane: >eu quero [mas] ele não quer<
- 67 SW¹: [voc-]
(.)
- 68 Jane: =[ele não] acei[ta nada de mim]
- 69 SW¹: =[o quê] [o quê que a senhora] quer,
(.)
- 70 SW¹: o quê que a senhora quer,=
- 71 Jane: =eu tô batalhando (.) há muito tempo que eu quero uma casa (.) e [ele] não quer=
72 Rafael: [°ó°]
- 73 Jane: =oferecer uma casa (.) nem ele nem essa filha de: de 23 [anos], ↑ela não quer.
74 Rafael: [°ó°]
(.)
- 75 Rafael: °ó°
(.)
- 76 Jane: a idéia dele é a idéia do da filha, e eles não querem, (.) eles não querem adquirir na[da (.)]
77 SW¹: [como] é que o senhor acha que pode ser feita essa ↑[casa,]=
78 Rafael: [(não.)] (.) o que eu QUERO
(.)
- 79 SW¹: um,
- 80 Rafael: o que eu quero é o terreno, que eu já disse pra ela, que se eles vender, se ela ou a mãe dela, >só quem pode vender é a mãe dela<
(.)
- 81 SW¹: um
(.)
- 82 Rafael: >se ela vender eu faço uma besteira< (.) já disse (.) [que] pode botar=
83 (Jane): [(°é, °)]
- 84 Rafael: = aí no pa[pe]l que [eu vou provar isso]
- 85 SW¹: [tá.] [>não não não não () <]
(.)
- 86 SW¹: eu quero saber o:: que o senhor quer,
(.)
- 87 SW¹: =[(° °)]
- 88 Rafael: =[o quê] eu quero que o terreno seja ↑nosso (.) eu paguei.
((pause))
- 89 SW¹: um,=
(.)
- 90 Rafael: tá,
(.)
- 91 Rafael: agora eu não VOU vender, >pra mãe dela vender e ela passar a mão no dinheiro e eu fi↑car sem nada,< (.) se ela botar a mão no dinheiro ↑eu não tenho=
92 Rafael: =seguran[ça de ↑nada.]
- 93 Jane: [se eu vender o] terreno >eu quero fazer a mi[nha] casa lá=
94 Rafael: [ó]
- 95 Jane: =em Forqui[lha,]<
96 Rafael: [ó]
(.)
- 97 Rafael: =[se eu vender, o meu terreno,]
- 98 Jane: =[porque TU não vai fazer],
(.)
- 99 Jane: tu não vai fazer=
100 Rafael: =>se eu vender [o meu terreno] não nega,< [é nosso, é dos FILHOS],
101 Jane: [eu vou (ve-)] [a minha idéia,]

- (.)
- 102 Rafael: é dos filhos, não ↑é teu, [tu vai vender] o teu terreno como,=
 103 Jane: [meu filho,]
 104 Jane: = meu filho, (.) >aquele terreno nem eu assino nem, < nem tu assina, é a minha mãe que assina >[(
 105 Rafael: [↑rã]
 (.)
- 106 Rafael: mas tu não [(tá, >acabou de diz-<)]
 107 Jane: [eu não tenho papel]
 (.)
- 108 Jane: [(>eu não tenho papel.<)]
 109 Rafael: [ô, doutora,] ela não >acabou de dizer,<=
 110 SW¹: =pois é, mas dona::,
 (.)
- 111 SW¹: mas a [senhora] sa[be que.]
 112 Jane: [mas eu] [mas eu] quero uma casinha e [ele] não quer fazer pra mim de=
 113 Rafael: [°ó°]
 114 Jane: =jei[to] nenhum (.) eu tô a fim de vender aquele terreno pra cons[truir] no lote.=
 115 Rafael: [°ó°] [°um°]
 116 Rafael: =°um°=
 117 Jane: =°e ele não quer aceitar de jeito ne[nhum.°]
 118 Rafael: [EU] VOU VENDER O MEU TERRENO PRA CONSTRUIR NUM LOTE QUE É DA IRMÃ DELA?
 (.)
- 119 SW¹: onde é, onde é que a senhora quer construir,=
 120 Jane: =[(
 121 Rafael: =[NA NO TERRENO DA PALHOÇA] QUE É DA IRMÃ DELA (.)=
 122 Rafael: =>QUE ELA [COMPROU] NO NOME DA IRMÃ<
 123 SW¹: [(da s-)]
 (.)
- 124 Rafael: >EU VOU BOTAR O MEU DINHEIRO EM CIMA [DO] TERRENO [DA]=
 125 Jane: [tu] [tu]
 126 Rafael: =IRMÃ DELA?<=
 127 Jane: =tu não vai botar nada=
 128 Rafael: =>mas como não vou botar?<=
 129 Jane: =porque se tu quiser fazer uma casa (.) eu compro o material que eu já te falei pra ti eu tenho condições de comprar o meu material [to::da] semana todo mês=
 130 Rafael: [uf:::]
- 131 Jane: [(
 132 Rafael: [tu é uma ignorância mesmo]
 133 SW¹: =pois é, mas o terreno, e e, nessa parte ele tem razão, a senhora pensa bem, Dona Jane, vocês são casados com comunhão de bem. (.) se não existe má fé de nenhuma das partes, o PORQUÊ de não passar o terreno >que a senhora comprou da sua irmã< pro seu nome,=
 134 Jane: =porque [eu não posso,]
 135 SW¹: [dá licença.] a senhora vende (.) o terreno lá, pede pra sua irm- a sua mãe vender, vocês vendem, fazem junto uma ↑casa,=
 136 Jane: =e ele quer?=
 137 SW¹: =porque-
 (.)
- 138 SW¹: se [o terreno] tiver no nome [d- da] senhora [ou] de vocês,=
 139 Rafael: [mas eu num] [é] [é]
 140 Rafael: =>agora não vou botar meu dinheiro< [(é se)]
 141 SW¹: [porque] na verdade, se vocês continuar juntos, >amanhã depois vocês morrem< o- a casa fica pros ↑filhos.=
 142 Rafael: =não vai ficar [pra irmã dela]
 143 SW¹: [é natural] que fique (.) é natural que fique pros seus filhos, que são seus herdeiros (.) e amanhã depois se vocês se separar, o certo (.) a metade é de cada um, isso aí é ↑justo. a senhora não pode querer ↑só pra senhora,
 (.)

- 144 SW¹: se a senhora quer justiça, justiça é isso (.) ele tem que contribuir com a parte dele, a senhora com a sua, vocês tão vinte e poucos anos casados, >o que vocês adquirir< (.) o.: se for pelo justo é metade de cada ↑um. (.) então, um tá querendo tapear o outro.

DATA SEGMENT 7

- SW¹: o que é que tá estragado, é falta de confiança, vocês são um casal e um tá desconfiando do outro, um puxa pra um lado [o outro puxa pro outro enquan]to=
 Rafael: [eu eu eu não desconfio, tia]
 SW¹: =pai e mãe, >só um pouquinho seu Rafael< en- en- enquanto pai e mãe não se unir os filhos vão ficar divididos (.) aí os filhos vão, vão pender logicamente pra aquele que se mostra mais >↑vítima,< (.) não é, (.)
 SW¹: de repente [pode] até que ele não seja a vítima mas ele, (.) no momento, (.)=
 Jane: [claro]
 SW¹: =o homem que (.) a a senhora pensa bem, ((pause))
 SW¹: a gente que vê de longe. (.) eu não ↑sei a [realidade] de vocês, (.) né? (.) não posso=
 Jane: [°é, eu sei°]
 SW¹: =julgar, (.) mas assim, o perfil que vocês me trazem, a a >o coisa<. ele sai às 4 da manhã e chega às 7 da noite, quer dizer, ele batalha. (.)
 SW¹: ele não é um vadio, não é uma pessoa tal, (.) chega em casa, não tem comida feita, não sei por que motivos também, >não estou entrando [nisso,]<
 Jane: [mas,]
 (.)
 Jane: =mas [tem] comida.
 SW¹: [É,]
 (.)
 Jane: [(mas tem comida)]
 SW¹: [>mas eu não estou] entrando nessa questão<, agora, quem escuta de fora, (.) >vai entender que ele é a ↑vítima<
 ((pause))
 SW¹: >tá entendendo,<

DATA SEGMENT 8

- 1 SW¹: ... agora não adianta dona Jane, se a senhora não mostrar, não der o primeiro passo, as coisas não vão entrar, eu tô, tô sendo clara e honesta com a senhora (.)
 2 Jane: [eu concordo]
 3 SW¹: [não vejo] (.)
 4 SW¹: não vejo de que outra forma mudar isso, aí (.) só tem uma solução pra vocês (.)
 5 SW¹: aí então [vamos entrar] com uma- é.=
 6 Jane: [separação]
 7 Jane: =separação (.)
 8 Jane: pra ↑nós uma separação.=
 9 SW¹: não. eu acho que a solução pri[meira] não é a separação, só se a senhora=
 10 Jane: [não]
 11 SW¹: =realmente não quer que ele herde ↑nada, os filhos, aí sim.=

COUPLE III: Soraia & Paulo, Sueli as social worker most of the time, March, 13, 1998.

40 minutes

DATA SEGMENT 9

- 1 SW²: e a senhora acredita nessas histórias que [contam,]
 2 Soraia: [olha,]
 (.)
 3 Soraia: [eu antes] não [acredita[va]]
 4 Paulo: [(mas é é-)] [↑e[ssa]]
 5 SW²: [dei]xa [deixa] ela falar (primeiro tá,)
 6 Paulo: [(tá certo)]
 (.)
 7 Soraia: eu antes não acreditava (.) confiava muito nele=
 8 SW²: =arram=
 9 Soraia: =mas depois que ele começou a sair muito em baile que até parente meu assim que não tem nada a ver assim (.) que é chegado assim e disseram pra ↑mim, (.) e aí eu fiquei assim () ↑((sei lá () a vida de vocês gosto muito do negão não tenho nada a dizer do negão, mas o negão ele te traí mesmo.))↓
 (.)
 10 Soraia: () todos- (.) e todas as pessoas que falam desse lu ↑gar () tudo igual (.) o lugar que ele ↑vai.
 (.)
 11 Soraia: nunca é do lado de cá, (.) é sempre pro lado da::
 (.)
 12 Soraia: do Kobrasol. (.) são esses lugares que justamente: um fala o outro fala igual.
 (.)
 13 Soraia: >eu não-< eu não confiava ()isso aí. já tô casada com ele há dezesseis anos pra dezessete. (.) eu não con- não ligava pro pessoal mas agora é TANTa, é tanta intriga é tanta coisa (.) né, e depois dessa agressão que ele bebe (.) que ele tentou me matar, Aí (.) né aí fiCOU (.) ficou diFÍCIL né,=
 14 SW²: =urrum=
 15 Soraia: =ficou uma coisa difícil eu disse pra ele ou a gente vive legal (.) né, (.) ou então pára de uma vez.

DATA SEGMENT 10

- 1 SW²: é:: é seu Paulo assim ó, ela mostrou que (.) ela gosta do senhor né, eu acho assim ó (.) [por] mais que a gente não acredite em intrigas=
 2 Paulo: [um,]
 3 SW²: = alheias [né,] mas eu acho que o senhor tá dando motivo pra ser fala[do né,]
 4 Paulo: [um,] [ã:]

DATA SEGMENT 11

- 1 SW²: o que vai acontecer é que um dia, (.) ela vai, vai desistir. ela vai deixar do senhor, ela vai can ↑sar. e é isso que o senhor quer,
 ((pause))
 2 Paulo: eu não quero isso mas tem a tem tem alguns pontos também eRRAdos né,
 ((pause))
 3 Paulo: também,
 ((pause))
 4 Soraia: ↑fala.
 ((pause))
 5 Paulo: tem muitas coisas erradas também né (.) que eu que eu acho também né mas (.) às vezes eu também não posso falar né,
 (.)

- 6 SW²: o que que o senhor acha,=
 7 Paulo: =↑não, (porque) às vezes certas coisas eu também não posso falar né, então eu às vezes fico quieto né,=
 8 SW²: =↑como que o senhor não pode falar, não- não entendi o que o senhor quer [dizer]
 9 Paulo: [tem]
 muitas tem muitas coisas erradas (.) também.
 ((pause))
 10 Soraia: fala,
 ((pause))
 11 SW²: o que, coisa do lado ↑dela, e↑rrada,
 ((pause))
 12 Paulo: é muitas coisas [que::]
 13 SW²: [então] (vamos lá) [agora é a oportunidade pra vocês conversarem,]
 14 Soraia: [(↑fala é (.) o negócio errado) ()]
 (.)
 15 SW²: o que que tem errado,
 (.)
 16 SW²: agora vocês tão aqui [pra conver↑sar] pra se enten↑der,
 17 Soraia: [()]
 (.)
 18 Paulo: é que eu levo (.) quer dizer
 ((pause))
 19 Paulo: quer dizer EU que levo (.) como diz o outro (.) eu levo tudo porque né, eu sou homem isso e aquilo né, (.) [mas]
 20 Soraia: [()]
 21 Paulo: =e- eu ↑acho que tem (.) tem muitas coisas erradas também que tem que corrigir. ela também tem que se corrigir, né,=
 22 SW²: =o [QUE] por exemplo (.) [não] muitas coisas (.) DIZ o que que é.
 23 Paulo: [e::] [é::]
 ((pause))
 24 SW²: o que que ela tem [que corrigir]
 25 Paulo: [por exemplo,]
 ((pause))
 26 Paulo: por exemplo, certas coisas de de de:::
 ((pause))
 27 Paulo: de religião,
 (.)
 28 SW²: um
 (.)
 29 Paulo: uma coisa que::: eu eu já já já () (época) de religião eu me separei do meu do meu primeiro casamento eu me separei por causa de religião,
 (.)
 30 SW²: um,
 (.)
 31 SW²: por causa de que, o que que a sua mulher fazia,
 (.)
 32 Paulo: ↑não é que, só queria saber de religião.
 (.)
 33 SW²: e ela, o que [que] ela faz,
 34 Paulo: [e::]
 35 Paulo: não. ela às vezes não é que aquela coisa é que::: às vezes as pessoas dizem ↑não, vai em tal lugar, ou vão (.) não dá certo. entendeu, (.) eu a eu eu agora tenho () eu não quero mais saber de desse negócio de religião, ou eu sigo a minha ou >coisa< porque (.) a gente tenta de um lado né, mas não::: a gente não con↑segue:::
 ((pause))
 36 Paulo: não consegue aquilo que a gente objetiva. (.) na no- no lugar (né),

COUPLE IV: Laura & Marco, Sueli as social worker, March, 30, 1998, 15 minutes

DATA SEGMENT 12

- 1 SW²: eu vou ler a intimaçã- [a::]=
 2 Marco: [tá, tá]
 3 SW¹: =reclamação=
 4 SW²: =o boletim de ocorrência=
 5 Marco: =tá=
 6 SW²: =que: a dona::, Laura (.) registrou contra o senhor, tá, (.) eu pediria que cada um falasse na sua vez, primeiro quando eu acabar de ler eu vou passar a palavra pra dona Laura né, depois o senhor, pra gente conseguir conversar com calma, (.) tá, ((she begins reading)) compareceu nesta delegacia de polícia, a vítima, nos comunicando que é casada com o indiciado há 37 anos, (.) com quem possui 4 filhos, (.) que o mesmo sempre incomodou a vítima, (.) os filhos, e os vizinhos, (.) que ultimamente está ficando pior, principalmente, quando ingere bebidas alcoólicas, (.) que na data desta ocorrência o mesmo perturbou (.) e agrediu moralmente a todos (.) é o relato.
 ((pause))
 7 SW²: o quê que tá acontecendo, dona Laura,
 ((pause))
 8 Laura: ah ele bebe, que ele é mal- muito mal criado, tudo quan[to] é nome ele diz (.) ele=
 9 Marco: [não,]
 10 Laura: =me ofende a mim [()]
 11 Marco: [↑não, não] ([)]
 12 SW²: [não. (.) o se]nhor,=
 13 Marco: =eu sei eu sei=
 14 SW²: =o senhor espera ela, (.) [falar primei]ro [tá,]
 15 Marco: [()] [()]
 16 Laura: ele chega ele vai pra estra:da (.) ele vai pra estrada ele chama a minha filha de sapatão, meu filho de ladrao (isso é alto) da vizinha.
 (.)
 17 Marco: (a: mas ↑ele falo-) (.) não, >psxiu<
 (.)
 18 SW²: =NÃO. primeiro [o senhor esPEra ela fa]LAR.=
 19 Marco: [não tô falando não,]
 20 Marco: =ladrao não tô falando ↑isso aí. (.) [eu não fa↑lei] isso.=
 21 Laura: [ele:::]
 22 Laura: =e ele é mal cri↑ado. >tudo quanto é palavrão ele diz< (dentro) dessa boca aí quando ele tá bêbado.
 (.)
 23 SW²: =e os seus filhos são ca↑sados (.) não,=
 24 Laura: =são.=
 25 SW²: =são,
 ((pause))
 26 Laura: ele agora (.) brigou (.) com o vizinho (.) do lado,=
 27 Marco: =bri[go] não, que ele]=
 28 Laura: [se desentendeu]
 29 Marco: =() [()]
 30 SW¹: [Ô SEU, SEU,] como é seu nome, seu [MARCO, o senhor] dá licença,=
 31 SW²: [SEU Marco]
 32 Marco: =↑Marco.
 (.)
 33 SW¹: a o senhor- faz o seguinte, eu sei que o senhor quer fa↑LAR, a- se o senhor quer falar antes DEla, até a gente ↑troca.=
 34 Marco: =tá cer[to.]
 35 SW¹: >[ma]s aí depois o senhor não vai poder falar ma[is< o bom,] até o mais=
 36 Marco: [tá, tá (.) tá certo.]

- 37 SW¹: =inteligente seria (.) que o senhor deixasse ela falar TUDO (.) aí o senhor guarda TUDO na cabeça o que o senhor acha que tá E↑RRADO. que não é assim, [depois o senhor FALA.]
- 38 SW²: [depois o senhor fala.]
- 39 SW¹: =porque se o senhor falar ↑ANTES. ninguém vai lhe ouvir DE↑POIS.=
- 40 Marco: =tá bom.
(.)
- 41 SW¹: =tá? a escolha é sua. =
- 42 SW²: =não inte[↑rrumpa]
- 43 SW¹: >[por isso] que a gente [tá dan]do=
- 44 Marco: [(°tá bom°)]
- 45 SW¹: =[chan]ce< dela falar antes (.) e o senhor, >daí ↑fala depois dela é me↑Ihor.< =
- 46 SW²: [tá,]
- 47 Marco: =(°sei (.) [sei°])
- 48 SW¹: [ago]ra, se o senhor interromper, (.) nós vamos trocar.
((pause))
- 49 SW²: pode falar=
- 50 Laura: =e ele fica muito agressivo quando ele bebe. e malc-. e sem bebida ele é malcriado também (.) sabe, =
- 51 SW²: =arram=
- 52 Laura: =ele tem uma boca muito ↑suja. (.) e tudo quanto é palavra ele diz. (.) el- não pode ir uma, uma ami- a minha irmã vai lá (.) foi lá Natal (.) dar um parabéns pra mim dar um abraço de:, de Natal, as mi- as minhas sobrinhas, (.) ele ↑bebe ele bota eles a correr, (.) meu filho de Blumenau chegou, a minha nora chegou a sair (.) cho↑rando.
((pause))
- 53 Laura: por causa dele, que ele entrou bêbado. ele agora a gente mora (parede e meia) com o vizinho né [()] =
- 54 (SW²): [ah é]
- 55 Laura: =minha prima (.) eles se desentenderam ele e o homem né, (.) e agora por causa disso ele bebe ele cham- só chama o homem de vagabundo, (.) fica falando do homem na vizinhança, =
- 56 SW²: =e faz tempo (.) faz::: bastante tempo, que ele bebe?
(.)
- 57 SW²: não, =
- 58 Laura: =↑a:! toda vida.
(.)
- 59 SW²: sempre bebeu, [DESDE QUE A SENHORA (.) casou,]
- 60 Laura: [todo o lugar (.) que a gente mora,] arram. todo lugar que a gente mora a gente sai corrido (.) porque ele dá em brigar com a vizinhança, =
- 61 SW²: =u[rrum]
- 62 Laura: [pesso]a manda até a gente sair da ca- das casa agora, (.) eu moro nessa casa que é da minha prima, ele já tá só brigando com o rapaz, =
- 63 SW²: =sei=
- 64 Laura: =a minha prima já disse que vai vender, aquilo ali, a gente vai ter que sair, =
- 65 SW²: =urum=
- 66 Laura: =não sei se é ver↑dade, ou é por causa ↑dele,
(.)
- 67 SW²: sim,
(.)
- 68 Laura: ele toda a ↑vida foi um ↑homem, que (.) desde novo ele nunca quis trabalhar. (.) ele trabalhava de pintor, trabalhava uma semana ficava 1 mês parado,
(.)
- 69 Laura: as minhas filhas 12 anos, 11 anos, começaram a trabalhar no fogão dos ↑outros,
((pause))
- 70 Laura: ((*all utterance in crying tone*)) pra sustentar a casa porque ele trabalhava [uma se↑mana não trabalhava mais] (.) ficava na preguiça. =
- 71 Marco: [°ã (), que tá chorando,°]
- 72 Marco: =(por) [que tá chorando mulher?]
- 73 Laura: [a (vida inteira) pra ele] arrumar [ou]tro serviço a gente tinha que bri↑gar=
- 74 Marco: [o:::]

- 75 Laura: =com ele, senão a gente passava miSÉria.
(.)
- 76 Laura: as minhas filhas (.) eu tenho uma filha agora em ↑casa, (.) ela é quem, bem dizer que sustenta a casa. porque ele ganha 160 reais, eu ganho 120.=
- 77 SW²: =urrrum
((pause))
- 78 Laura: ela trabalha na Zepta. (.) então ela a↑gora que tirou o 2º grau, porque (ela) elas ↑nunca que puderam estudar (.) porque uma com 11, uma com 12 começaram a trabalhar no fogão dos outros pra sustentar, porque ele trabalhava uma se↑mana ficava o resto do mês ↑todo parado.
((pause))
- 79 Laura: só queria tá em ↑casa (.) sentado, andando, bebendo por aí, passava a mão no pan↑dei:ro, (.) ia fazer farra nos ↑bar, chegava bêbado ainda incomodando a gente.
((pause))
- 80 Laura: tudo (que) é palavrão ele dizia (.) [é um boca suja]
- 81 SW²: [e:: ele nunca fez â::], nunca fez um tratamento dona
Laura, pra=
82 Laura: =mas [ele não] ↑be↓be todo dia. (.) sem bebida ele é mal criado mesmo=
83 SW²: [()]
84 SW²: =sim=
85 Laura: =não é ↑ só com a bebida.
((pause))
- 86 SW²: mas ele chega a ser::: alcoo↑lista, assim?=
87 Marco: =não, [tsi, tsi]=
88 SW²: [ele bebe com frequência]=
89 Laura: =ele diz que [tá bêbado (quando)] quer, mas sempre ele tá >bêbado<. sábado=
90 SW²: [fica bêbado,]
91 Laura: ainda [ele] chegou bêbado=
92 Marco: [tsi]
93 SW²: =a[rram]
94 Laura: [ain]da chegou bêbado eu tinha fechado a porta da: (.) sala né, (.) que o: rapaz tava dormindo no sofá, ele chegou bêbado, o filhinho do lado tava na frente ↑deles eles tinham chegado da procissão tavam conver↑sando. (.) ele abriu a porta sentou no paredão da porta, (.) aí como chamou a guria de (.)↑((essa guria aí é uma ↑puta))↓ ele assim,
(.)
- 95 Marco: ↑ã! ↑ã! não falei [nada!]
96 Laura: [diss]esse,=

DATA SEGMENT 13

- 1 Laura: nã-, não dá de agüentar um homem desse, eu queria até que ele saísse de casa porque não dá mais pra viver com ele=
2 Marco: =a senhora dá licença?=(*looking at SW²*)
3 SW²: =tá, (.) [pode falar] agora=
4 Marco: [dá licença,]
5 Marco: =agora dá licença
((pause))
6 Marco: eu não vou fazer mais, acabou-se. (.) já (.) não. eu estou disposto, [pode (pode)] (na) minha palavra
7 (Laura): [então tá]
((pause))
8 Marco: () não vou fazer mais, não vou beber mais, (.) vou, vou até, vou até sair dali, (.) EU vou sair, vou até () vou pra casa do filho dela, do meu filho, vou pra lá, pronto. acabou-se (.) não vou, não vou incomodar mais,
(.)
9 Marco: pode crer que eu não vou fazer isso mais,
(.)

- 10 Marco: o o a gente- a gente te- a- a gente não é (isso) a gente às vezes tem- o- a gen- eu tenho até ↑medo senhora. (.) hoj-, essa noite eu nem ↑dormi.
(.)
- 11 Marco: eu tenho:, eu sou assim sabe eu, (.) eu sou um cara que eu:: sou analfabeto, não sei ler, não sei nada (.) mas eu sou, eu gosto de fazer as minhas brincadeiras,
(.)
- 12 Marco: eu ↑gosto de fa↑zer as brincadeiras. eu toco gaita, brinco (.) mas eu não, não sou de briga. mas tem hora que o cara, não sei, (.) eu chego em casa é aquela, parece que tem uma coisa que me, é senhora, parece que tem uma coisa que me PUxa.
(.)
- 13 Marco: e eu não sou ↑disso.
(.)
- 14 Marco: eu não sou disso.=
15 SW²: =tá seu Marco (.) ó, brincadeira é uma coisa,=
16 Marco: =é. [eu] sei que é.=
17 SW²: [né,]
18 SW²: =ofensa é outra=
19 Marco: =eu sei que [é, mas eu]
20 SW²: [né, é como] a dona Laura fala,=
21 Marco: =é. eu sei [que é.]
22 SW²: [o senhor] fica ofendendo os vizinhos,=
23 Marco: =(°não [isso°])
24 SW²: [fica] chamando palavrão dentro de casa,=
25 Marco: =não, eu sei [isso- isso-]
26 SW²: [ofende os filhos]
(.)
- 27 SW²: isso [não ↑é brincadeira,]
28 Marco: [eu sei eu sei] eu sei (.) isso aí:, i- pra mim acabou-se. não faço mais. pode crer, ela pode, ela pode dizer (.) que eu não vou fazer mais.
((pause))
- 29 Marco: nem ↑quero mas nem saber de bebida. (.) °acabou-se° (.) pra mim acabou-se.
((pause))
- 30 Marco: pra mim acabou-se.
((pause))
- 31 Marco: [()]
32 SW²: [tá] seu Marco (.) o que a::: dona Laura falou, que o senhor bebe sempre e costuma [chegar bêbado em casa (.) tá,]
33 Marco: [não- não- não-] eu não bebo sempre senhora. eu não bebo sempre. ela tá (.) ela ela ela isso ela tá dizendo que é- (.) eu não bebo sempre. ↑LÁ UMA VEZ OU OUTRA QUE EU BEbo. (.) eu não sou (.) eu não (.) sou eu não sou vici↑ado. quando eu vou fazer as minhas brincadeiras, aí quando a gente toma uma coisinha,
((pause))
- 34 Marco: sabe, (.) mas eu não brigo com ninguém [não ()]
35 SW²: [O QUE] QUE é o LÁ uma vez ou outra
pro senhor,=
36 Marco: =a: lá uma vez ou outra é quando eu vou fazer uma brincadeira, (.) que eu gosto de tocar uma gai↑tinha, tocar um pandei↑rinho, (.) vou fazer minhas brincadeiras e aí que eu ↑tomo umas coisinhas (.) pra, pra gente se alegrar né, (.) mas não (.) mas eu chego em casa parece que tem uma coisa que me que, que me, não sei, e por aí eu não brigo com nin↑guém senhora. não FAço nada com ninguém. nun-nunca ninguém brigou comigo, eu vou fazer 70 anos agora.=
37 SW²: =então é mentira o que ela di[sse, que o senhor brigou com o vizinho, ali,]
38 Marco: [não (.) não (.) (la é,) não. xiu]
(.)
- 39 Marco: a um (.) lá umas coisas que ela fa- falou é verdade.
((pause))
- 40 Marco: lá umas coisas é verdade.
(.)
- 41 SW²: o quê que é verdade?=
42 Marco: =é um (.) o que ela falou (.) algumas coisas ali é verdade. [()]

- 43 SW²: [não A GENTE] TEM
QUE CONVERSAR DI↑REITO [POR QUE] SENÃO NÃO VAI DAR DE=
- 44 Marco: [é eu]
- 45 SW²: =CONVERSAR COM O SENHOR,=
- 46 Marco: =é eu sei=
- 47 SW²: =o que que é VERDADE o que que é [MEN↑TIRA,]
- 48 Marco: [↑é eu só] eu só falei assim que é:: tem tem
hora que ela diz que é: (.) que é certo. eu (.) também não sei con- não sei falar muito
sabe senhora,
(pause))
- 49 Marco: também não sei falar muito.
(long silence, during which he breaths aloud)
- SW¹: seu Marco (.) então o senhor (.) reconhece que pelo menos em parte ela [tá certa,]
- Marco: eu sei que (é assim) [não, eu sei,]

DATA SEGMENT 14

- SW²: então a gente vai fazer assim, seu Marco,=
- Marco: =°tá, °=
- SW²: =se o senhor voltar a incomodar a dona Laura vai vim aqui=
- Marco: =°tá [eu sei] °
- SW²: [vai avi]sar a gente (.) a gente vai encaminhar ela pro advogado (.) o juiz vai
lhe tirar de dentro de casa (.) o senhor não vai ter garantia nenhuma. =
- Marco: =°é°=
- SW²: =tá? (.) o senhor não vai mais poder voltar pra casa (.) se voltar pra casa vai ser
preso. =
- Marco: =(° °) =
- SW²: =não pode mais entrar em casa. =
- Marco: =°é eu sei disso°=
- SW²: =tá? =
- Marco: =°tá certo°=
- SW²: =o senhor pode achar que nós tamos falando (.) de brincadeira [mas é verdade]
- Marco: [não eu sei que é] eu
sei que é (.) [a senhora não tá falando de brincadeira,]
- SW²: [nós estamos fazendo,]
(.)
- Marco: () =
- SW²: =tá,
(.)
- SW²: a gente não quer o mau de vocês nós estamos aqui justamente pra ajudá-los, né (.)
então isso que a gente tá fazendo é pro senhor botar a mão na consciência [e ver o]=
[tá bom]
- Marco: =que realmente tá fazendo.
(.)
- Marco: pode deixar. =
- SW²: =tá? =
- Marco: =>não tem perigo<
(.)
- Marco: tem perigo não que eu[:]
- SW²: [fi]camos entendidos assim. =
- Marco: =graças a deus (.) é verdade
(pause))
- Marco: pode deixar que (↑ não.)
(.)
- SW²: a senhora procura: (.) realmente [tá dona Laura] [se ele] voltar a incomodar=
Marco: [não tem nada não] [tá, tá,]
- Laura: =↑tá:: procuro sim. =
- SW²: =tá, =

SW¹: ENTÃO TÁ
(.)
(): [obrigado]
SW¹: [vão em paz]

APPENDIX B

B1: POLICE REPORT

B2: WRIT

B3: INTERVIEW AGENDA

B4: AUTHORIZATION TO RECORD

B5: AGREEMENT DOCUMENT

B1

POLICE REPORT

ESTADO DE SANTA CATARINA
SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DA SEGURANÇA PÚBLICA

BOLETIM DE OCORRÊNCIA

FATO COMUNICADO	OC Nº	Nº
	DATA	HORA

LOCAL

DATA E HORA DA COMUNICAÇÃO

COMUNICANTE

NOME

ENDEREÇO

FONE

PROFISSÃO

LOCAL/TRABALHO

DOC./IDENTIDADE

Nº

UF

VITIMA TESTEMUNHA ACUSADO CONDUTOR NÃO PARTICIPOU

<input type="checkbox"/> VIT.	NOME	DOC.
	FILIAÇÃO	Nº
<input type="checkbox"/> TEST.	PAI	NAC.
	MÃE	NAT.
<input type="checkbox"/> IND.	ENDEREÇO	DATA NASC.
	RES.	IDADE APARENTE
	PROF.	SEXO <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
	<input type="checkbox"/> CASADO <input type="checkbox"/> SOLTEIRO <input type="checkbox"/> VIÚVO <input type="checkbox"/> DESQUITADO <input type="checkbox"/> DIVORCIADO	COR
<input type="checkbox"/> VIT.	NOME	DOC.
	FILIAÇÃO	Nº
<input type="checkbox"/> TEST.	PAI	NAC.
	MÃE	NAT.
<input type="checkbox"/> IND.	ENDEREÇO	DATA NASC.
	RES.	IDADE APARENTE
	PROF.	SEXO <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
	<input type="checkbox"/> CASADO <input type="checkbox"/> SOLTEIRO <input type="checkbox"/> VIÚVO <input type="checkbox"/> DESQUITADO <input type="checkbox"/> DIVORCIADO	COR
<input type="checkbox"/> VIT.	NOME	DOC.
	FILIAÇÃO	Nº
<input type="checkbox"/> TEST.	PAI	NAC.
	MÃE	NAT.
<input type="checkbox"/> IND.	ENDEREÇO	DATA NASC.
	RES.	IDADE APARENTE
	PROF.	SEXO <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
	<input type="checkbox"/> CASADO <input type="checkbox"/> SOLTEIRO <input type="checkbox"/> VIÚVO <input type="checkbox"/> DESQUITADO <input type="checkbox"/> DIVORCIADO	COR

HISTÓRICO

EXAMES REQUISITADOS

PROVIDÊNCIAS

ATENDIDO POR

AUTORIDADE

B2

Writ

INTIMAÇÃO Nº

DO
PARA
A fim de prestar declarações, intimo V. S ^a . a comparecer a esta Delegacia de Polícia, no dia à(s) hora(s).
LOCAL E DATA
ASSINATURA

RECIBO

Declaro ter recebido a Intimação Nº à(s) hora(s) do dia
NOME
ASSINATURA

B3

INTERVIEW AGENDA

1. Qual o objetivo dos atendimentos? De modo se tenta resolver o problema do casal?
2. Na sua opinião, o que leva os casais a buscarem esse tipo de atendimento/apoio?
3. Como você descreveria o atendimento? Poderia dividi-lo em partes?
4. Noto que os atendimentos costumam ser finalizados com um conselho/uma orientação. Existe algum fator que determina o modo como o conselho é dado?
5. De que maneira os casais agem ao/para exporem seus problemas? Existe alguma estratégia interacional que parece freqüente?
6. O que você faz em uma situação delicada, em que você tem que dizer coisas que não são fáceis de serem ouvidas? Como você procura se expressar? (fala sem rodeios, tenta dissimular?)
7. Como você descreveria o papel da assistente social nessa interação?

B4

Authorization to record

Florianópolis, 14 de julho de 1998.

Autorizo a pesquisadora Clara Dornelles, mestranda em Letras da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC), sob orientação da Profa. Dra. Viviane M. Heberle, a utilizar os dados que **observou** (notas de campo) e **coletou** (gravações em áudio) durante o mês de março de 1998, junto à equipe de apoio da 6ª Delegacia de Proteção à Mulher e ao Menor de Florianópolis, em atendimentos a casais com problemas de violência no âmbito conjugal, dos quais participei como assistente social. **Sou testemunha** de que antes das gravações os participantes eram notificados a respeito da pesquisa, sendo que a conversa só era gravada com seu consentimento. Entendo que os dados coletados serão utilizados estritamente para fins de pesquisa acadêmica e que a pesquisadora fará esforços a fim de assegurar a confidencialidade dos dados e proteger a identidade dos participantes.

Agreement document

ESTADO DE SANTA CATARINA
SECRETARIA DA SEGURANÇA PÚBLICA
DELEGACIA GERAL DA POLÍCIA CIVIL
6º DELEGACIA GERAL DE POLÍCIA DA CAPITAL

BO N.º:

ATENDIMENTO DO SERVIÇO SOCIAL

I - IDENTIFICAÇÃO:

NOME: Rita

DATA: 11/10/1971 HORÁRIO: 10:30h LOCAL: 6º D.P.

ENDEREÇO: Monte Cristo

PROFISSÃO: do lar IDADE: /

INDICIADO: João

ENDEREÇO: Monte Cristo

PROFISSÃO: pedreiro IDADE: /

GRAU DE PARENTESCO: mãe ANOS: 23

N.º DE FILHOS: 3

II - QUEIXA: Ameaça e Perturbação

III - HISTÓRICO: O. Albertina registrou contra o Sr. Orni, porque ele é alcoolista e chega em casa quebrando tudo e ameaçando matá-la finto com os filhos. O. Albertina coloca no B.O. que estava registrando só porque queria ser ajudada e ajudar o marido a sair do álcool.

IV - PROVIDÊNCIAS: Marta fala p/ João que ele precisa se conscientizar que é doente e só assim poderá se tratar. Marta disse que ele precisa ficar de vontade p/ se curar e tem que admitir que tem direito e pode ser feliz. falou que ele não lê no livro porque tem consciência que não possui mais auto controle sobre a bebida. Marta encaminhava - o p/ O.A.A. e ele se que vai se ajudar porque quer recuperar o amor da família

V - OBSERVAÇÃO: Durante o atendimento Sr. João disse que a mulher não dorme mais com ele e que ele é desprezado pelos filhos. O Sr. João disse que bebê há anos mais é só um "traquinho" por dia