



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

Institutional Online Discourse A Critical Enquiry into the Websites' Communication of the Social Services Providers of Brussels

LUCAS PERAIS

Master In Communication Thesis

Report No: 2013:042

ISSN: 1651-4769

Acknowledgements

I thank Jens Allwood for being my supervisor in this adventure and having, subtly but surely, given me some advice and confidence. I would like to thank Corinne Gobin for giving me precious advices about methodology and lexicography as well as some literature. I found other precious advices and support in the comforting words of M., T., H., S. and in the dialogue within my community and friends: A., C., C., R., S and many more...

Summary

Institutional discourse has been studied at length and in depth, be it political, partisan discourse or administrative productions. Website studies have been growing in importance in the literature, including critical ones. However, the study of institutional discourse has rather rarely been done with web-based data, and has been rather country-specific. No such study exists for Belgian institutional-administrative web-based communication. We propose to critically explore the websites of public social providers under municipalities's authority in Brussels (CPAS-OCMW). We propose a small corpus-based quantitative analysis to prevent over interpretation. We then go into details and provide a close-reading of the 19 websites' texts (one for each municipality in Brussels). The aim is to provide a critical insight into what the discourse on those websites does in term of social categories, power and inequalities and how organizations act as state-apparatuses.

The analysis showed the constructions and re-assertions about *the social field* as individualized, which were produced by the texts of the organizations studied. It showed the organizations as *re-producing* the system of institutions and conceptions rather than *challenging* or changing them in a context of institutional interconnectedness. An omnipresent rhetoric of voluntarism, professional competence and legal entitlement has been shown to obscure the social role of these organizations, and conversely, emphasize their top-down role.

Keywords: CDA; Critical Discourse Analysis; Institutional Discourse; Online; Web-based; Institutions; Belgium; Welfare Services; Policy; Corpus

Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Discourse as Action	1
1.2	Representation and Opportunities	2
1.3	Institutions	2
1.4	Background	4
1.5	Our Study	6
2	Presentation of the Data	8
3	Method	11
4	Analysis	13
4.1	Preliminary Analysis: What to look at?	13
4.2	Lexical Analysis	15
4.3	First shuttle: the words in their context	18
4.3.1	Recurrent Lexemes	18
4.3.1.1	Social-	22
4.3.1.2	aid- (help-)	24
4.3.2	Rite of Passage	28
4.4	Upward Shuttle: Let's compare with a bigger Corpus	31
4.5	The Organizations and the Public	33
4.5.1	Insiders	33
4.5.2	Outsiders: The use of the second person plural: "Vous"	33
4.5.2.1	Indirect Categorizations	35
4.5.2.2	Direct Categorizations	37
4.5.3	Creating the Boundary	41
4.6	Disturbing Common Sense	42
4.7	Construction of the Social Reality	44
4.7.1	Social Insecurity	44
4.7.2	Employment and Studies	46
4.7.3	The individual and The family	48
4.7.4	Control	49
4.8	Wrapping the Discourse: the Rhetoric of Benevolence	52
5	Discussion	54

6 Conclusion	57
References	59
A Function Words in the Corpus	63
B AntConc's Stoplist	64
C Schaerbeek's CPAS: a condensed and long example of the Corpus	65
D URL's of the websites studied	70
E Leeds' Corpus Collocates of "Sociale"	71
F Contact Sheets	75

List of Tables

2.1	Words and characters Count in Municipalities' text material	9
2.2	Length of Texts Distribution	10
2.3	Length of Words Distribution	10
4.1	Top 40 of content Words in the Corpus	17
4.2	Collocates of "Socia*"	18
4.3	Collocates of "Aid*"	20
4.4	Collocates of "Social"	23
4.5	Collocates of "Sociaux"	23
4.6	Collocates of "Sociale"	23
4.7	Collocates of "Sociales"	24
4.8	Collocates of "aider"	24
4.9	Collocates of "aide"	25
4.10	Collocates of "aidées"	25
4.11	Collocations "bénéficiaires", "personnes", "usagers". Span Right and Left of 3	34

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Discourse as Action

The question of the role and function of language is a classic and long heated debate (Krieg-Planque, 2012; Cameron, 2007; Maingueneau, 2011). There are basically two views on the subject: the first one sees language as transparent, being merely a medium between cognitive functions and social functions (Krieg-Planque, 2012; Cameron, 2007). This means that intentions and representations are embedded in the language at any point of it. The second views language as an action in its own right through the concept of discourse. According to this view, the language in use, that is discourse, produces its own reality rather than merely describing the reality “out there” (Stråth, 2007). The concept of actually “doing things” (Austin, 1962; Stråth, 2007; Jaworski and Coupland, 2006b) with language can be considered in two ways. Bourdieu (1982) introduces the concept of “symbolic power” enacted by words and actions. Here, the action of speaking literally *is* an action as it modifies a symbolic reality. For example, the act of pronouncing two people married, accomplished by the right person, at the right time, and within the right conditions actually realizes the symbolic action of those two people to *be* married. The concept of “right” in the previous sentence refers to the need for the speech act (Paltridge, 2006c; Bourdieu, 1982) to be recognized by its subjects, legitimized by its own reality and performed according to this reality, that is symbolically. Here, speaking actually performs an action, durably inscribed in, and creator of, reality. The second way to look at it, related though, is more passive, as it does not perform *per se* but produces a particular vision of the world by restraining what is possible outside of what is said, that is discourse. This is the Whorfean view which states that words shape ideas as a framework for perception and categorization (Cameron, 2007; Maingueneau, 2011; Bohman, 2004, p. 158). This “field of possibilities” (Kymlicka, 1989) can be defined by two close concepts: the concept of culture, and the concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1982).

1.2 Representation and Opportunities

“Culture” has been conceptualized as a social arena (Stråth, 2007) defining its own borders and contents, within which can take place the struggle of ideologies (as an integrated collection of key concepts helping people to make sense of the world past, present and future – Heywood, 2007). Culture has also been conceptualized, as an “overarching ideology” representing the regime of possible and thinkable truths, and with the words of Griffin (2007), a “megamachine” restricting the evolution of ideologies, and thus of itself, in a system of possibilities (the regime of truth) that resists to its inner changes, but finally implements those changes in its evolution. Culture moves, changes and transforms as language is used to define the ways it can change, discursively and deliberatively (Bohman, 2004; Dryzek, 2004; Seargeant, 2009; Maleuvre, 2004; Sullivan, 2006). Culture both enables individuals by providing the means to frame reality within a particular “known” and precisely constrains what the known, the reality, could be.

The *habitus* of Bourdieu is similar in its implications, namely that it enables and constrains the individual within a particular frame, that it can change through the possibility of recognition, hence the possibility of strategic choice and deliberation (McDermott, 2011, p. 68) and of resistance. In complementarity, the *habitus* embeds as a concept the embodiment of power structures and the uneven distribution of this power (McDermott, 2011). It – the *habitus* – contains, as the “culture” does, the conditions for its reproduction and for resistance against it. This conceptual framework is useful to us as it includes both the actions of words as realities and the unequal distribution of the resources (the capital in all its forms: symbolic, cultural, social and economic– Bourdieu, 1982) to interpret on the one hand, and to produce on the other hand.

1.3 Institutions

In this context, we need to define the term “institution”, which is really the object of this paper. For Bourdieu, an institution is a symbolic order legitimized by the ones who *are* in it, participate in it or wanting to have access to it. It implies that an institution has to be symbolically recognized as such to exist, that it has rules for such existence. It also implies that institutions draw a difference between “those who can have access to it, and those who can never have such access” (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 121). They inform the reality by acting upon the representations of this reality, and finally reproduce their own legitimacy by this very means, that is by building and constructing the adequate *habitus*. In other words they re-produce their own existence by “selecting” (that is drawing a line between legitimate and illegitimate members) and restraining their access. It is also reversible: for those inside the institution it is impossible to get out of it, since it would mean the non-conservation of it. We understand that an institution is nothing else than a symbolic social construct, able to act on reality to strengthen its own legitimacy through the *habitus* and through the selection of the adequate capital. More simply, an in-

stitution can be conceived as a discursive community (Krieg-Planque, 2012) or as a community of practice (Gunnarsson, 2009), it is, anyway, *something* that has and gains legitimacy. The passage from this abstract definition to a practical/material one, necessary to the purpose of this paper, is usually skipped in the literature: an “institution” is directly identified as an “organization”. However, the speech act of “creating” a structure, with all the discursive legitimacy it can get (the law, rules, or social – group – will) actually accomplishes its material existence (Bourdieu, 1982). In this way, the created “institution”, as organization, appears to be a part of a broader institution, acting within it, as a tool to conserve both, that is, in the case of public institutions, a state apparatus (Butler, 2001).

This point of view, using Bourdieu’s arguments, leads to the study of organizations-institutions in terms of what they do, discursively, in terms of the power embedded in their actions and then in terms of the *de facto* separation (Bourdieu, 1982) they operate. The purpose of this paper is to study in this way the discourse of a public institution. We want to describe the actions it makes through its discourse, what kind of assumptions, pre-constructions and separations it makes, and finally what kind of power imbalance (Cameron, 2001) it draws upon and re-accomplishes.

We want to look at two things, which are deeply intertwined. First, in line with the previous arguments, we want to describe the way power relations are enacted in the discourse, and how this enactment relates to the position of the institution. We use van Dijk’s (2008) framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, which connects three levels of co-influence: macro phenomena (power and dominance among social groups), micro phenomena (a particular artifact, a conversation etc.) and meso (or intermediary) phenomena, that is Bourdieu’s *field* or, similarly, interfaces between social structure and context, actions and process (van Dijk, 2008). At this level, actions (and thus, discourse) of individuals are constitutive of the group’s actions: they shape and are shaped by one another. Similarly, the context of the discursive activity is constitutive of the social structure: the former is part of the latter, and they relate to one another.

A second approach that we use will help bridging the context, actions and structure (meso-level). That is the “What is the Problem represented to be?” (Bacchi and Eveline, 2010) approach (WPR), a little modified though since we don’t want to evaluate or assess the policy being implemented. The idea of this approach relates evidently to the power of institutions, through their legitimized language (Krieg-Planque, 2012), to construct *problems* while trying, by means of policies, to solve them. A small example to illustrate this approach: if a policy consists of building highways to stimulate the economy, the problem, according to this policy is represented as being infrastructural (that we need highways on the one hand, and on the other hand that those highways have an influence on the economy – it relies, also, on a particular notion of the economy, that is as merely the physical exchange of goods). Hence, this representation doesn’t only address a particular problem, it does construct in itself a particular idea of the economy and the need for highways as a condition for that economy; all of those being legitimized by the position of the policy maker. Furthermore, it has practical effects as building highways has an effect on the environment (by merely building them), and hence

produces a cost of opportunity for any other representation, which are obscured in the policy (such as considering the environment itself as an economic resource). The representation of the problem influences how it is addressed and what it produces as discursive as well as materially and physically.

This combination of approaches will enlighten the discourse of the public institution in two ways. Firstly, it will describe what is at stake in terms of power and dominance in the public institution's discourse, and, secondly, will explain how and why.

1.4 Background

Critical discourse analysis has been done in various ways and contexts, and mostly with conversational ethnographic data. Martín Rojo (2008) studied the class-room discourse of teachers within an "equal-chances" school in Spain. He found that in such setting, at a micro-level, the teachers were re-producing the condition of cultural exclusion, that is both insisting on the cultural capital they judged necessary (Spanish-European national identities and knowledge) obscuring the cultural capital of their non-Spanish pupils (south-American background and language). These micro-level characteristics were echoed by macro-level policy and setting, in which the geographical and social environments made the "equal-chances" schools targeted at these populations in a nationalistic manner, where any other knowledge was undervalued, hence making the school a state apparatus for the conservation of the national interest and re-producing the allegedly fought inequality and exclusion, instead of promoting potentially other kinds of knowledge and cultural capital in the interest of the pupils. Codó (2011) found similar relations, in a regularization campaign of undocumented people in Catalonia, between macro- and micro-level of analysis. At the micro-level, conversations of public civil servants, which were found reproducing the exclusion of these people (by obscuring and preventing the access to the cultural and symbolic capitals valued by the institution). The macro-level, that is the organization of the campaign by the relevant authorities, provided explanations for the micro-level conclusions, i.e. civil servants were hired as temporary, insecure workers without training. Other studies have been done on textual data, emanating from different institutions (courts, newspapers, political discourses, and in the military) (van Dijk, 2008). Even if these precedents leave a rather dark view on institutions, the space that has been evoked in the previous section concerning resistance and re-significations (the process of discursively re-assigning a positive meaning to a negatively-connoted hegemonic word – for example the term "gay" was re-signified into a positive pride whereas it was a negative insult stigmatizing homosexuals – Lykke, 2010) always exists in every settings. People redefine words and identities by their efforts as subjects rather than merely objects of institutions (Mai, 2012).

With a lexicographic approach, Gobin and Deroubaix (2009) critically studied institutional texts from the European Union as a corpus: they studied the change in the discourse produced by the institution and found a shift around 1985 in the

meaning of “rights” related to the questions of integration, economic growth and policies. In the same vein, and of particular relevance to us because of the amount of data, Gobin (2000) studied 14 public speeches of the Executive of the European Union. She found a tension between three lexical poles: building a unity across the Union, the institutional organization of the Union and the economic and social policy in a globalized world. In both these studies, a lexicographic approach was used, which includes counting the frequencies of words as well as the frequency of collocations of words. This allows for downgrading possible over interpretations of individual texts by comparing them to one another. Also, the data they use are “non-partisan”. That is they are not emanating from a particular political party or doctrine, rather they are administrative discourses, thought of as “neutral” (Gobin and Deroubaix, 2009) and representing a general “common sense” of government (Gobin and Deroubaix, 2009, in Introduction).

A website discourse analysis approach, like the one in this paper, is fairly rare as the medium is largely under explored and no well-trying frameworks of analysis yet exists. However, similar studies exist. Johnson (2012) studied the websites of clinics in the USA and explored disparities in access to pro-creative technologies according to marital status and sexual orientation. She found that on these clinics’ websites, there was an implicit gate-keeping against lesbian couples and that the clinics kept a partnered heterosexual paradigm in the access to the technologies. Tamatea et al. (2008) studied websites of international universities in the Asia-Pacific Region. They found first a patterned discourse across these universities, each claiming their uniqueness but referring to the same unified discourse on Globalization and the need to train “citizens of the world”. They also found that these universities were actually tied to a nationalistic vision of the world, obscuring the local population of their country and strengthening the exclusion of this population by promoting a specific array of cultural capital: namely the one concerning the “citizen of the world”. Tapia et al. (2011) studied three municipalities’ websites’ rhetoric of “digital inclusion policies” in the US. They emphasized the differences in policy and design across the municipalities and their relative success in bringing the topic on the political forefront as both a need and an opportunity for businesses. Interestingly for us, Harder and Jordan (2012) studied the implementation of the transparency policy in the USA by exploring 16 county websites. They found a lack of interactivity and weakly informative contents on transparency and public data. They assumed, as a reason for that, the early development stage of the technology and describe as basic the stage in which those county are in terms of web development. McNamara et al. (2012) studied nursing schools’ websites to examine the visibility of nursing as a distinct discipline in Ireland and compared them to several other nursing schools’ websites. They found little evidence that nursing theory was informing the curricula of Irish schools. They also found that the Irish schools’ websites showed eclecticism in the form and contents of the programs and relied upon knowledge of other disciplines. Other studies in the domain of websites analysis involve content analysis and the organization of information (Halpern and Regmi, 2013).

1.5 Our Study

Critical Discourse Analysis has rarely been done on web-based data (Mautner, 2005), although it is growing and is being backed by other kinds of analysis. Institutional discourse has also been studied in depth, using data from various media and is usually country-specific (Gobin, 2000). For example, studies on French data is specific to France (Anderson, 2006), and no study of this kind exists for Belgium.

We propose here to start small as the task is probably big and would need much more resources to explore all Belgian institutions in order to build a corpus big enough.

The public institution we chose to look at is part of the social system in Belgium. The organizations we are interested in are called “Centre Pour l’Action Sociale” (CPAS), that is *Center for Social Action*. They provide minimum survival income, health care for the elderly, help and subsidies for accommodation and energy. Such institutions are under the authority of each municipality (in Belgium there are 579 municipalities, thus there are 579 CPAS and 579 websites). However, we focus here on the 19 municipalities of the Region Brussels-Capital (which is both a federal Region and a Province in terms of governance). The reason for this is twofold. First, it would exceed the scope of this paper to study in depth the potential 579 websites (one for each organization), and, as a related reason, in case of positive response from these institutions for interviews and on-the-field ethnographic studies, it would be easier to reach them. The second reason is less trivial. The language policy in Belgium separates three entities from one another (the three Regions). Public websites in Flanders are in Flemish only, and conversely in the Walloon part they are in French, whereas in Brussels they are in both languages. Choosing only the ones in French would have been relevant only to the French part. So, for the relevance of both cases is the same (the study is not relevant to the whole of Belgium, but to a delimited part), only the Brussels-Capital Region’s websites have been chosen, making this study relevant only to that part.

We propose in the first part a description of the data in terms of what the texts and material represent and in terms of the way they were collected. Indeed, the study of websites is rather new and multiple frameworks exist to study their structure (both physical and virtual) (Santini et al., 2011). However, the study of the technical organization of online communication exceeds the scope of this paper which is not about defining or delimiting a framework for the study of websites’ *genre* nor about generalizing how an institutional website is made. Rather, we study the discourse on those websites, taken as “organizational routines” that contain:

“forms, rules, procedures, conventions, strategies, and technologies around which organizations are constructed and through which they operate. It also includes the structure of beliefs, frameworks, paradigms, codes, cultures, and knowledge that buttress, elaborate, and contradict formal routines. ” (Levitt and March, 1988, p. 320)

And, in the words of Johnson (2012):

“As such [organizational routines], these websites are media with manifest and latent possibilities—overtly conveying information to potential clients, but also expressing cultural and organizational norms about reproduction, gender, and family in the process. ” (Johnson, 2012, p. 396)

In a second part, we explain the methods used for the analysis of these data. Then we move to the analysis *per se*, and further explore and discuss the results.

Chapter 2

Presentation of the Data

As stated earlier, we study the discourse on the websites of the organizations we are interested in. These websites relate to, or are directly belonging to, the 19 organizations constituting our base of interest. All the 19 organizations have, in one way or another, a page, or several pages dedicated to them. A preliminary search on a broad search engine has been done, with the pattern “CPAS [name of the municipality]”, returning at the top of the results the most relevant pages. Only official websites have been considered, that is excluding all the occurrences of other websites dealing *with* or talking *about* the organizations searched for.

Since the organizations are under their municipality’s authority, it led to the problem of the *place* where the organization’s information was *hosted* on. That is, concretely, 8 organizations out of 19 are hosted within their municipality’s website, under a menu or sub-menu on this website. This led to a first problem concerning the epistemology of the analysis: in these cases, where is the actual information coming from? Is it written by the organization anyway and put afterwards on the general municipality’s website? Or is it fully written according to the municipality’s guidelines and/or by its services?

As we are interested in what the discourse does on the websites and not in how websites in general are made, we focus on written information, and study it as institutional discourse. The way information is organized and displayed on websites participates in its own right to the sense that contents take in terms of discursive functions. We provide a short analysis of the display of information on those websites in a following section of this paper, in order to delimit the texts to study. However, despite the benefits that this paper would get from a deeper analysis of this contextualization of information, such an analysis exceeds the scope of this paper.

After having identified the host (either self-hosted or municipality-hosted), the websites were manually browsed to get, in the case of municipality hosted-websites, the CPAS’s section or menu. We present a snapshot of each website (one for each CPAS) in Appendix F. The core data is constituted by gathering any text related to the general presentation, missions, or statements concerning the organization. These textual data have been gathered separately and considered independently from their website of origin. Our enquiry concerns the broad discourses of the

organizations and not precise policies, hence the choice of this narrowing down.

Out of 19 websites, two are of a particular kind and 17 directly display content. The municipality of Molenbeek proposed the downloading of a “User’s guide to the CPAS”, on which the same kind of information as on the other websites was found (that is an editorial-like written text, and the broad presentation of the organization). The guide is 44 pages long, but only the first 4 pages containing text are relevant to us. The nature of this particular set of data is different from the others, but this difficulty represents more an issue for the study of the organization of websites in general rather than a problem for us. The only things different are the format (the *.pdf* instead of a *.html*) and the need for an external tool to have access to it (the pdf reader). Otherwise, the visitor just has to click on a link and can download it, as if he clicked on a link and got to a *html* page (as for the others websites). The *pdf* of the pages of interest has been converted to text to process it as the other data. One of the organization (the one in Uccle) did not have this kind of information online, it is then dismissed for now, as it appears as an exception and hardly constitutes a pattern in itself.

The table below (Table 2.1) describes the data in terms of number of words and characters, and the municipalities studied.

Table 2.1: Words and characters Count in Municipalities’ text material

words	characters	Characters/word	Municipalities
206	1403	6,81	Anderlecht
1141	7750	6,79	Auderghem
396	2642	6,67	Berchem
573	3810	6,65	Brussels
265	1804	6,81	Etterbeek
163	1023	6,28	Evere
569	3683	6,47	Forest
62	472	7,61	Ganshoren
390	2703	6,93	Ixelles
674	4761	7,06	Jette
523	3531	6,75	Koekelberg
846	5565	6,58	Molenbeek
1150	7969	6,93	SaintGilles
300	1932	6,44	SaintJosse
2045	13256	6,48	Schaerbeek
583	4079	7,00	Watermael
126	852	6,76	WoluweSaintLambert
425	2746	6,46	WoluweSaintPierre
10437	69981		TOTAL

Table 2.2 shows that the texts gathered as data are rather heterogeneous in length as measured by the number of words (by showing high dispersion in the distribution of the number of words, i.e. the standard deviation is high and close

Table 2.2: Length of Texts Distribution

	Words	Characters
Standard Deviation	480,73	3165,85
Average	579,83	3887,83
Median	474,00	3138,50

Table 2.3: Length of Words Distribution

	Chars/Words
Standard Deviation	0,30
Average	6,75
Median	6,76

to the average), whereas Table 2.3 guarantees, by showing small variations in the number of characters per word across the data, that the same kind of data is analyzed (that is plain text composed of intelligible words – we assume that if it were not the case, the values would have been very variable, i.e. with a much higher standard deviation and a median more different from the average).

The word count software used is UNIX's *wc*, which counts strings of characters separated by *space* as words. This means that a telephone number is also considered as a word, for example. This computation is only a practical one as the software is simple in use and in the usability of its output. However, the word count provided by the Lexical and Text analysis software (*AntConc*) differs by less than 5%. We do not consider this difference an issue for us since the figures are not the purpose of our study.

These figures are designed to present the data as a whole, to describe them and to delimit the scope of the study. The texts are rather short, synthetic and can contain occasionally other *textual information* than *verbal text*, i.e. mostly telephone numbers.

Chapter 3

Method

As a preliminary method of analysis, to delimit the core analysis of discourse, we will do a “layout analysis”. The websites we have as data are heterogeneous in length, form and presentation. To clarify what the core and relevant data is and represents in terms of the place it has on each website, its meaning in terms of the institutional discourse and finally the signification it makes at a larger scale, we need to briefly address the question of the organization of information on those websites. This brief exploration of the front-pages of the organizations’ websites (presented in Appendix F) will include the study of the links pointing to the core data, the terms used to describe them, their visibility, the depth in terms of menu and sub-menu, and their dilution within the broader framework of the website.

We search for patterns, or, conversely, the absence of patterns, each making particular sense in their context. This method is both structural and thematic (Santini et al., 2011), that is allowing for the study of the importance given or made by the information, and for the description of the kind of information it is anyway.

After this, the analysis of the lexical field of the texts as well as a small quantitative analysis will be made in order to compare occurrences and collocations found in our corpus against a larger web-based corpus within the Wacky project (Baroni et al., 2008). This corpus has been made following similar steps and procedures as explained by Baroni et al. (2008), however, the “crawl” of web pages to compose this corpus has been limited to *.fr* domains¹. The in-house quantitative study will be made with AntConc freeware under UNIX environment (Anthony, 2012). Two things are expected to be controlled for with this methodology. First, our corpus will be checked for frequencies, concordances and collocations. The aim, especially concerning concordances and collocations, is to spot patterns in the formulations within the corpus and prevent over interpretation of expressions: we do not study words and expressions randomly or arbitrarily, rather, we propose to study those that are salient and recurrent (as measured by the software) across the corpus. The second objective of the method is to compare our corpus against a larger web-based one and check for originalities of the institutional-administrative communication we have, or, on the contrary, for similarities with the large corpus.

¹A small description of the corpus is available at (05/2013): <http://wacky.sslmit.unibo.it/doku.php?id=corpora>

Concretely, the most frequent words and expressions found in our CPAS corpus will be searched for in the Leeds' corpus². We will then be able to compare the salience of the meanings of these words in our CPAS corpus to more general uses in the Leeds' corpus. If the determinations of the meanings of the words in both corpora are equivalent, they would correspond to a general language use, and not to specific moves of our CPAS texts. Reciprocally, if the meanings in our CPAS corpus is more salient than in the Leeds', it would correspond to a specific move of meaning determination in the former.

This method isn't an attempt to study the institutional-administrative communication *genre*: the aim of this study is not to make generalizations about the institutions (or kinds of institutions) at stake, but rather to study the discourse in our corpus with specific boundary and accuracy. In the same vein, which constitutes the limitations of our study, the WaCky-like corpus comes with some issues. First, it is constituted by French (from France) data, which could induce a bias since we study Belgian institutions. Second, even if methodologically worked-out, the corpus evidently has limitations in itself. However, we do not expect the Belgian-French dialect to be over represented in our data, and use the corpus as a scaffolding rather than as a concrete wall to bring support and structure to our study.

After having addressed this broader scale issue of the organization of information to delimit our core data (that is the texts gathered on the websites after the preliminary analysis), a qualitative enquiry will be proposed. We will close-read all the texts according to Lykke:

“An analysis that gives priority to a focus on the details of a text (its rhetorical gestures, tropes, imagery, pronouns, proper names etc.).”(Lykke, 2010, p. 187)

While doing this close-reading, we will constantly go back and forth to the quantitative analysis (Gobin and Deroubaix, 2009; O'Halloran, 2009). The point of this is to check the viability of the categories found and made during the close-reading of each text against the occurrences found in the quantitative analysis.

While reading and analyzing the texts, a look at some linguistic features of the texts will be given. According to the approach of this paper, we will explore what is not said, or, better, what is understood as being given, assumed and considered as truths in the texts (that is under-determination, implicit, implications, presupposition etc... – Krieg-Planque 2012). The idea to study this is related to the WPR approach we explained in introduction. We want to explore how, across the texts, social services are thought of and represented to be and enlighten the vision of the world that is implicit in the texts and acting as institutional discourse. We are also interested in the kind of legitimacy the institutions and their discourse are supported by and what they (re)produce in their discourse.

²The search engine is hosted at: <http://corpus.leeds.ac.uk/internet.html>

Chapter 4

Analysis

4.1 Preliminary Analysis: What to look at?

It is worth noting here that this section is not the core of the paper and would definitively benefit from a clearer theoretical framework on the study of websites. The following small description and analysis have been done to build a pattern in the gathering of information we do want to analyze in depth.

There are several ways of studying Internet websites and web pages (Santini et al., 2011). Although this question is greatly debated in terms of the technical, graphical and textual elements to look at and consider for such analysis, the purpose of this first round of analysis, this snapshot of the 19 websites, is not to study how websites are made. Rather, it is an attempt to find commonalities or differences between them in the graphical organization of their “first” page in order to delimit the scope of the proper analysis. We find here a first difficulty in apprehending and defining what the first page is. It is not properly the first page on which the visitor ends up, either from a search engine or from the municipality’s wide website. Rather, it is the first relevant page (for our study) of the organization under scrutiny (the CPAS). For our purpose, the “first page” is defined as being accessed either directly (from a search engine), immediately after choosing the language on the actual first page, or by clicking on the main municipality’s website’s menu item “CPAS”.

Out of nineteen, eleven websites have a first page filter designed mostly to choose the language between Flemish, French, and sometimes English. There is no dependence between the presence of the filter and the location of the CPAS’s website (either on the city’s website, or on its own).

The legal organization of the CPAS is two fold. First, the services it provides are under the city’s authority, according to constitutional requirements and under Federal Law¹. Second, they have legal personality², making them independent from the city itself. In our sample within the Region of Brussels-Capital, eight out of nineteen websites are hosted within their municipality’s website, under a

¹In Sterckx, 2012, Chap. 1, Art. 1

²In Sterckx, 2012, Chap. 1, Art. 2

dedicated menu item and category. This indicates a small preference for the independence of the CPAS's communication means on the Internet. Of course, we can not know for sure whether the contents of the site is created in-house, or is being produced according to broader guidelines. It is however not our purpose here. Rather, it indicates the hybrid construction of the CPAS as an organization, being sometimes a municipality service, and sometimes a self-standing one, which happens to be under the municipality's authority (but not evident on the CPAS's website itself). The latter being preferred, it indicates the construction of the social policy as independent from the administrative process, hence potentially limiting the effects of accumulative institutional forces.

In terms of layout, the websites are very different but with similar features. The sizes of the page, graphic information, textual information, and websites options are always different from one website to another. However, a preferred type of layout appears. There is a "Top Banner" on which either the municipality's or CPAS's logo appears. The menus are usually on the left side and can be repeated or completed by a menu on the top of the page. In some cases, a right banner is present, either with rapid access categories on it, or, in most of the cases, practicalities regarding contacts or inside news information. These are rather classic layouts. However, the reading direction it implies (left to right) constructs the subject and visitor to those website as being a natural European language speaker (as supported by the language choice).

The central section of the page includes contact information (10 cases), the presentation of the organization (9 cases), which can take the form of an informal statement (6 cases), a formal statement of the missions of the organization (3 cases) or a combination of the two. In 2 cases, a word from the chairman is written. We will of course study in depth those texts in a latter part of this paper, which is the core purpose of this paper. In 4 cases the presentation of the organization's board figures as the main information.

This descriptive part doesn't really allow us to draw conclusions upon the organization of information on these pages/websites. Even though the layouts *per se* look alike, there is no uniform way to present the information. This denotes a paradox: the authority and services are granted by federal law, but the visitor must address the one organization he is supposed to. In other words, the visitor must already know what to look for and where. Moreover, what emerges as an obscured assumption from the organization's part is the knowledge of structures, procedures and authorities from the visitor's part in terms of social services. It *de facto* excludes from its functioning the people who can not know this, that is mostly foreigners.

To return to the proper discourse analysis, we need to take a look at the menu entries relevant to our research. We first want to look at the general role of the CPAS as an organization and then disentangle how the presentation of each organization, when present, is accomplished. A brief look at the menu, with a focus on what we are looking for, shows nearly no common ways of situating the organization among the potential other instances that can be presented on a municipality's website. However, when the organization is self-hosted (with its proper website),

the purpose of the organization is better defined, and we are able to find the information either on the front page, or on the top three menus (either placed on the left or top). When the CPAS is municipality-hosted, it becomes harder to situate it among all other services, since the relevant menus are named “other services” (Watermael) or “Social Affairs” (Jette, Koekelberg). The place of the CPAS among the menus is also obscured, being part, in the worst case scenario, as the 21st place on the menu side (Anderlecht), or as a sub-menu to a general one (Koekelberg). A general fact emerges, it is not surprising but adds up to the previous findings: the visibility of the organization is related to the type of hosting of its website. It is considered as “just another” service when on the municipality’s website, and as a self-defined one when self hosted.

When the CPAS is self hosted, the information we want to analyze (that is introductions, presentations or any other broad information on the organization) is displayed almost directly: on the front page, or on a menu and/or sub-menu among the first on the page.

The absence of common consideration among the nineteen municipalities has already been shown, and here we can say something more. For the municipalities hosting their CPAS’s website interface, the obscured information does two things: it assumes that, paradoxically, the visitor will know what to look for (as found earlier) and that he already knows what a CPAS is: that is that it provides social services within the municipality. The second thing it assumes, more generally is that the visitor knows that what he seeks for is provided by this particular organization.

This confirms, together with the previous findings, that new citizens (defined as *living somewhere*), without the knowledge of the particular information on social services, are excluded from the website’s communication purpose: giving information about social services. This kind of exclusion and conversely the inclusion of the ones who already know, is consistent with Bourdieu’s argument (1982): institutions (as a field) produce and re-produce the conditions for their own survival through the promotion of a certain kind of capital. In our case, the cultural capital, in its incorporated form, takes a prime importance. This capital includes knowledge and skills as its features. The form of the websites presented here needs particular knowledge (knowing how the organization works), and skills (knowing how to deal with the information presented and with a broader network of intertwined institutions)

Now that we delimited what to study on these websites, that is a presentation, an introduction, about what it is and what it does, we can now study in depth the textual information contained in these websites.

4.2 Lexical Analysis

A pass in AntConc to make a word list across the 18 remaining texts that we have in our corpus outputs 10848 words for 2067 word types, the difference in the number of words here compared to the one above (10437) is due to the use of two different

softwares to compute it (UNIX *wc* earlier, and *AntConc* now). The function words in French (conjunctions, prepositions and articles) have high frequencies as shown in Appendix A. This is not surprising, and such figures are rather common in the first stage of such an analysis (Gobin et al., 2005). Note that the 12th position is “cpas”, which is the *lexicalized* form of the acronym C.P.A.S.

To have a clearer view on the words and expressions to study, a preliminary refinement can be done. We give *AntConc* a stop list to exclude function words (or grammatical words – Paltridge, 2006d – i.e. prepositions, pronouns and articles, see Appendix B) from the word list output by the software. Function words articulate content words to express grammatical relationship in sentences and produce intra-sentence cohesion. By this means, we make an attempt to grasp the terms around which the lexical field operates. The words excluded in this way, however, participate in the meaning of sentences. We use this method as a filter to highlight possible poles of meanings around which the texts are constructed. This has to be seen as a preliminary step in our study and not as a definitive methodology of exclusion.

The lexical words output by the software are 6181 in 1999 types, and the top 40 follows in table 4.1.

Not surprisingly, and as stated before, the most common non-function word in the corpus is “cpas”. Interestingly, the most common words in the corpus are “aide” (literally “help”, but in a context of social services it is closer to “benefits”), “sociale” (again, literally “social”, but could be understood as “welfare”), “personnes” (“persons”), “services”, etc. The boundaries of the corpus’ lexical field can be sketched. The vocabulary, not surprisingly, is the one of social providers at large, with words such as the ones we mentioned above, plus some other terms such as “public”, “droit” (“right”), “loi” (“law”), that give the corpus an added signification which echoes what we found in the previous section, namely the legal and institutional character of the organization as a state-regulated tool within the welfare system. This is not surprising, though it could have been different since the organizations are local and not national, they could have relied upon a bottom-up approach (emphasizing the grass-root role of the organizations) instead of a top-down signification, i.e. the state provides, by means of the law and of the organizations under study as proxies, a certain type of welfare and social cohesion.

Also, a vocabulary of social “efforts” can be seen in the top 40 words, which also appears as top-down. Nouns like “action”, “mission”, verbs such as “assurer” (equivalent to “to secure” or “to guarantee”, “to ensure”), “mener” (to “lead”), “permettre” (“to allow”) and the word “afin” (“in order to”) create a rhetoric of action and socio-political voluntarism around the existence of the organizations, which paints them as an active, relevant and powerful force to change people’s lives. There is here also a top-down feature of this discourse by making this action (put in effect by the State’s institution) necessary for the social welfare and cohesion. We shall explore later the meaning that these words create in their own context, and the equivalent translation in English. For example, the verb “assurer” in French includes all the equivalent mentioned as translation, but English readers of this paper would notice a semantic difference between all of them, implying a

Table 4.1: Top 40 of content Words in the Corpus

Rank	Freq	Word
1	147	cpas
2	135	aide
3	120	sociale
4	101	est
5	75	a
6	61	personnes
7	55	service
8	48	sont
9	46	peut
10	42	action
11	42	plus
12	41	cette
13	39	intégration
14	37	loi
15	36	centre
16	34	droit
17	34	social
18	31	personne
19	30	public
20	29	être
21	28	emploi
22	28	tous
23	27	afin
24	26	revenu
25	26	vie
26	25	chacun
27	25	mission
28	25	toute
29	24	aides
30	24	commune
31	24	services
32	23	assurer
33	23	mener
34	20	faire
35	20	familles
36	20	permettre
37	19	article
38	19	dignité
39	19	logement
40	18	aussi

different connotation for the French word. More simply, the nuance brought about by “assurer” can not be determined solely by evoking its English equivalents and needs to be studied in depth.

4.3 First shuttle: the words in their context

4.3.1 Recurrent Lexemes

We now get to the texts themselves to disentangle the meaning of special words and nuances. We have seen that several verbs can have different semantic loads when put in their context. Similarly, some lexemes are in different forms within the top 40. For example the lexeme *social-* appears in the feminine adjectival form “sociale” (120 times) and in the masculine form “social” (34 times only). Similarly, the lexeme *aid-* (“help-”) appears mostly as noun singular (135 times) and in the plural form (24 times), while other forms appear more rarely and further in the table.

Here we provide a contextualization of the lexemes *social-* and *aid-*. The collocation tool in AntConc gives us some evidence of the use of the word “sociale”. We take a look at the statistical significance (Breidt, 1993) to see whether or not we should be interested by the collocate and for this purpose we consider relevant those collocates rather frequent, scoring on both *t-score*³ and *MI score*⁴ sufficiently high (meaning roughly $t > 1.643$; $MI > 4$; $freq > 3$ – Salama, 2011 – that would yield reliable results).

A preliminary collocation analysis is done with a span left and right of 5. It shows an intersection between 4 poles plus one, which altogether produce an institutionalized and professionalized social *interventionism* upon individuals, legitimized by the Law, which includes the dichotomy between rights and duties.

Table 4.2: Collocates for the pattern *socia** (Span R and L of 5)

FreqTotal	FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocate
44	38	6	6.52130	aide
35	35	0	5.87703	action
29	24	5	5.34533	intégration
(Continue)				

³In statistics the *t-test* is used to determine whether two variables are dependent to one another. In the case of linguistics $t = \frac{\bar{x} - \mu}{\sigma/\sqrt{N}}$ where $\bar{x} = \frac{\text{Occurrences of bi-gram}}{\text{Tokens}}$ is the sample mean, μ is the probability of each word of the bi-gram to occur independently ($P(\text{bi-gram}) = P(\text{Word1})P(\text{Word2})$), σ the standard deviation of the corpus and N the size of the corpus. The obtained value is compared to a critical value corresponding to a confidence interval. In our case $t_{critical} = 1.643$ for a 90% confidence interval, and degree of freedom infinite. (Manning and Schütze, 1999)

⁴The Mutual Information score measures the ratio of the frequency of the collocation relative to independent occurrences of the two words. $MI(\text{Word1}; \text{Word2}) = \log_2 \frac{P(\text{Collocation})N}{P(\text{Word1})P(\text{Word2})}$ where N is the corpus size.

Table 4.2: Collocates for the pattern *socia** (Continued)

FreqTotal	FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocate
27	9	18	5.11676	a
25	21	4	4.96700	public
21	21	0	4.53936	centre
21	14	7	4.51656	service
21	3	18	4.46134	est
19	17	2	4.31599	droit
18	1	17	4.05205	cpas
15	6	9	3.85026	médicale
136	9	7	3.83498	sociale
14	13	1	3.72696	matérielle
14	12	2	3.69902	être
13	0	13	3.59335	psychologique
12	6	6	3.39106	peut
10	5	5	3.15010	médico
10	8	2	3.14836	assistant
10	0	10	3.13966	but
10	7	3	3.13445	conseil
43	4	5	2.93766	social
8	7	1	2.81092	publics
8	0	8	2.80509	ci
8	7	1	2.74869	cette
7	7	0	2.63120	centres
7	5	2	2.62912	travailleurs
7	0	7	2.62912	celle
7	4	3	2.59793	assurer
7	4	3	2.59170	revenu
7	0	7	2.54596	sont
6	3	3	2.42928	fonction
6	5	1	2.42030	droits
6	1	5	2.39335	mission
5	1	4	2.22377	général
5	5	0	2.22377	assistants
5	4	1	2.20163	projet
5	0	5	2.20163	conditions
5	0	5	2.19179	chaque
5	2	3	2.17703	aides
5	3	2	2.17457	toute
4	3	1	1.99175	assistante
4	0	4	1.98900	déterminées
4	3	1	1.98350	exclusion
4	0	4	1.98075	dossier

(Continue)

Table 4.2: Collocates for the pattern *socia** (Continued)

FreqTotal	FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocate
4	1	3	1.97800	tél
4	2	2	1.97250	auprès
4	4	0	1.96975	situation
4	2	2	1.95599	également
4	2	2	1.93399	services
4	2	2	1.89824	loi
4	2	2	1.88448	plus
3	2	1	1.72570	travailleur
3	0	3	1.72252	établissement
3	3	0	1.72252	spécial
3	3	0	1.72252	comité
3	0	3	1.71935	équivalente
3	0	3	1.71935	chef
3	0	3	1.70664	professionnel
3	2	1	1.70347	guidance
3	2	1	1.70029	santé
3	1	2	1.69076	ont
3	2	1	1.69076	octroi
3	2	1	1.68759	allocations
3	1	2	1.67806	financière
3	0	3	1.67171	article
3	2	1	1.66853	familles
3	3	0	1.64948	vie
3	0	3	1.64630	afin

A search on the pattern “*socia**” shows a lexical determination of this lexeme around 4 poles: Institutional organization (“public”, “centre”, “service” etc.); The Law and Examination (“droit”, “article”, “mission”, “conditions” etc.); Categories (“médicale”, “psychologique”, “financière” etc.); Professionalization (“assistant”, “but”, “conseil”, “travailleur” etc.).

Table 4.3: Collocates for the pattern *aid** (Span R and L of 5)

FreqTotal	FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocate
43	5	38	6.15775	sociale
29	18	11	5.13776	personnes
27	13	14	4.57826	cpas
20	10	10	4.37446	familles
22	13	9	4.34117	a
19	7	12	4.12841	peut

(Continue)

Table 4.3: Collocates for the pattern aid* (Continued)

FreqTotal	FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocate
18	14	4	4.03157	cette
16	9	7	3.69968	service
14	1	13	3.64242	financière
12	1	11	3.36322	médicale
12	8	4	3.26865	personne
35	5	6	3.15858	aides
10	2	8	3.10702	due
10	5	5	3.07249	domicile
10	10	0	2.92745	droit
9	3	6	2.92720	familiales
9	6	3	2.90536	octroi
9	9	0	2.83255	assurer
9	0	9	2.78887	être
8	1	7	2.78210	ménagères
8	2	6	2.76665	collectivité
8	0	8	2.75121	matérielle
8	7	1	2.63538	mission
147	7	5	2.61293	aide
7	0	7	2.57971	celle
7	0	7	2.54669	ci
7	3	4	2.53018	enfants
6	6	0	2.30682	autres
7	4	3	2.29903	plus
9	0	9	2.26468	est
5	3	2	2.21653	comprend
6	2	4	2.20874	afin
6	4	2	2.19982	emploi
5	1	4	2.19700	équivalente
5	3	2	2.19700	demandeurs
5	1	4	2.17746	financières
5	2	3	2.16769	formes
5	2	3	2.15793	tél
5	5	0	2.14816	demande
5	1	4	2.13839	hébergement
6	2	4	2.12849	centre
6	0	6	2.02149	sont
5	2	3	1.99188	toute
4	2	2	1.96724	adéquate
4	2	2	1.95632	constitution
4	2	2	1.94540	écoute
5	2	3	1.94304	public

(Continue)

Table 4.3: Collocates for the pattern aid* (Continued)

FreqTotal	FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocate
4	2	2	1.93448	bénéficiaires
4	2	2	1.92356	diverses
4	2	2	1.89079	sociales
4	4	0	1.87987	besoin
5	3	2	1.87466	loi
4	1	3	1.85803	trouver
4	1	3	1.83619	repas
4	2	2	1.79251	logement
4	1	3	1.71607	revenu
3	2	1	1.70683	guider
3	0	3	1.69422	manières
3	1	2	1.68161	matière
3	2	1	1.66900	préventive
3	2	1	1.66900	encore
3	1	2	1.66900	carte
3	2	1	1.66900	apporte
3	0	3	1.65639	prendre
3	1	2	1.65639	garantir
3	0	3	1.65639	différentes
3	0	3	1.64378	er
3	1	2	1.64378	doit

A search on the pattern “aid*” shows a determination of that lexeme around 5 poles, 4 of which are the same as for “socia*”: Institutional organization (“cpas”, “service”, “centre” etc.); Categories (“financière”, “matérielle”, “revenu” etc.); The Law and Examination (“droit”, “due”, “mission” etc.); Professionalization (“assurés”, “apporte”, “garantir”, “adéquante” etc.). The fifth pole is constituted by the lexical field of individuals and networks (“familles”, “personnes”, “public” etc.)

In the next section, we detail for each lexeme their associations and determinations with a smaller window of collocation. We limit to the immediate collocates, that is with a span on the right and on the left of one.

4.3.1.1 Social-

Under these conditions of search, we can present three tables of collocations: “sociaux”, “sociale”, “sociales”.

Table 4.4: Collocates of “Social”

FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocate
12	0	3.41434	service
7	0	2.63627	assistant
0	4	1.86366	qui
0	0	-1	social

Table 4.5: Collocates of “Sociaux”

FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocate
5	0	2.23298	assistants
4	0	1.99447	travailleurs
3	0	1.72167	droits
0	0	-1	sociaux

Table 4.6: Collocates of “Sociale”

FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocate
35	0	5.83755	action
32	0	5.39286	aide
18	0	4.14095	intégration
0	9	2.94100	médicale
0	7	2.61230	celle
7	0	2.60394	matérielle
5	0	2.20144	médico
0	9	2.10398	et
0	6	2.05208	dans
4	0	1.93916	situation
0	5	1.79083	ou
0	6	1.78563	cpas
3	0	1.71289	assistante
0	3	1.70650	équivalente
3	0	1.69373	exclusion
0	4	1.58518	a
0	4	1.44137	est
0	3	1.17642	qui
0	5	0.99436	le
0	4	0.49004	d
0	3	-0.13284	la
0	5	-0.60849	de
0	0	-1	sociale

Table 4.7: Collocates of “Sociales”

FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocate
2	1	1.72460	allocations
0	0	-1	sociales

These first findings are interesting as the numbers show already a particular meaning for this lexeme. The meaning it takes is the one of a problematic situation (“intégration” is opposed to “exclusion”, making two valid poles for a social situation: either integrated, or excluded) that can be acted upon by means of the organizations’ actions (“service”, “assistant”).

The masculine forms operate a determination around workers in the social field, that is professionals whose role is to assist and provide a service.

The feminine plural form appears only with “allocations” which can be translated as *welfare benefits*. In the singular form, it appears that it produces broader significations (“integration”, exclusion”). Also it appears with “medicale” and “matérielle”, which terms can not qualify (as adjectives) the term “sociale”. We explore later these terms.

The lexical field used is, once again, the one of state welfare providers who can act in, and shape the social field. They do it by means of professional workers, and benefits, which are described as *social*. That is the *social field* is pictured as an object which can be modified by the organizations, by identifying situations and the response to them.

4.3.1.2 aid- (help-)

The collocations of “aider”, “aide” and “aidées” are presented in the tables below, according to the same computation as before.

Table 4.8: Collocates of “aider”

FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocate
7	0	2.58913	vous
2	3	2.11763	les
0	4	1.82683	à
3	0	1.54317	d
0	3	1.33422	de
0	0	-1	aider

Table 4.9: Collocates of “aide”

FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocata
47	0	6.44541	l
0	32	5.39286	sociale
28	0	4.64945	d
24	0	4.50016	une
13	0	3.46404	cette
0	12	3.40303	financière
0	13	3.34323	aux
0	7	2.60812	due
0	7	2.42938	peut
1	4	2.14702	médicale
0	10	2.02496	à
0	3	1.66020	matérielle
0	4	1.53955	au
1	4	0.88367	et
0	3	0.74053	du
0	3	0.66149	un
0	0	-1	aide

Table 4.10: Collocates of “aidées”

FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocata
7	0	2.63087	personnes
0	5	2.21616	par
0	0	-1	aidées

The determination of “aid-” strengthens the view of a social field as an object, as the bi-gram “aide sociale” and the duty (“due”) are evidence of: there is a duty to help, with several means (“financière”, “matérielle” etc.), the individual with his/her social situation (as the bi-gram “vous aider” – *to help you* – testifies). This individualization is visible with the bi-gram “personnes aidées”, which entails another meaning as we will see later.

Its plural form appears together with “ménagères” (“housekeeping” as in the whole word “housekeepers”) and “familiales” (“family related”), which refers to actual persons (that is certain employees of the organization), and not to some kind of benefits as the singular form refers to. This constructs further a kind of expertise in the domain of help, that is the kind of help provided by the organizations and with the organizations resources i.e. their ability and competence to help.

As being significantly recurrent in the corpus, we shall explore what meanings the words “aide”, “aides”, “aider” and “aidées” (“help”, “helps”, “to help” and “helped”) produce in their own context.

A close exploration of the texts shows how these two terms (“sociale” and “aide”) are related and act upon one another.

It appears that a significant number of these texts (9), and by extension of the organizations, quote the actual legal text, in which the term “aide sociale” (“welfare benefits” – and it includes the possibility of non-financial support) appears. The Law is as follows:

"Toute personne a droit à l'aide sociale. Celle-ci a pour but de permettre à chacun de mener une vie conforme à la dignité humaine". (Sterckx, 2012, From Art. 1)

Every person has the right to welfare help. This latter has as aim to allow every one to live a life in accordance to human dignity. (My translation)

Another quote from the Law appears several times in a rather regular form, where we understand better its collocation with “médicale”.

“Cette aide peut être matérielle, sociale, médicale, médico-sociale ou psychologique” (4 times) (Sterckx, 2012, Chap.4, Section 1, Art. 57)

This help can be material, social, medical, medico-social or psychological (My translation)

“Le C.P.A.S. doit assurer l'aide sociale due par la communauté [...]” (Sterckx, 2012, Chap.4, Section 1, Art. 57) (Evere, Brussels, Forest, Ixelles, Saint-Gilles, Schaerbeek, Watermael)

The CPAS must carry out the welfare help that is owed by the community [...] (My translation)

And gets reformulated in several occurrences:

“Cette aide peut prendre diverses formes: elle peut être palliative, curative, préventive, matérielle, sociale, médicale, médico-sociale, psychologique...” (Saint-Gilles)

This help can take diverse forms: it can be palliative, preventive, curative, material, social, medical, medico-social, psychological... (My translation)

“Elle peut également être matérielle, sociale, médicale, médico-sociale ou psychologique.” (Forest)

It can also be material, social, medical, medico-social or psychological. (My translation)

The term “aide” is used in a legal fashion, quoting the text from which the organizations get to exist and to act.

Furthermore, 16 of these texts (including the 9 above) refer in one way or another to these legal entitlement. They do it mostly explicitly, with expressions such as “cadre légal”, “le cadre du droit”, or “la loi” (“legal framework”, “the framework of the Law” or “the Law”), but also more passively, that is with expressions such as “attributions”, “missions”, “chargée” (“in charge of”), all of them having the “legal” connotation in their contexts:

“Le C.P.A.S. a dans ses attributions [...]” (Ganshoren).

The CPAS has as its attributions [...] (My translation)

“le CPAS a pour mission d’assurer aux personnes [...]” (Brussels)

The CPAS’ mission is to provide to people [...] (My translation)

“une institution publique chargée de veiller [...]” (Schaerbeek)

A public institution in charge of ensure [...] (My translation)

This interpretation echoes what we have seen earlier while discovering the vocabulary of the texts and the way the websites are designed. That is a reliance on the legal status, which emanates from the Federal State and serves its reproduction.

As we have seen, the term “social” gets redefined in an ambiguous way. First, “social” comes with “aide” to create the bi-gram “aide sociale” (“welfare benefit”) which, in this context represents a redefinition into a concept touching the individual (the beneficiary of this help). Second, it comes to signify a problem, also considered as individualistic (rather than a matter of the society). That is, “social” is used to mean a problematic (we will see in which way later on) individual situation, rather than an other meaning that “social” can refer to (again, at large, anything that is group related). This is further supported by the paradoxical sentence:

“Mais après une analyse individualisée de la situation sociale de l’usager [...]” (Etterbeek)

But after an individualized analysis of the user’s social situation [...] (My translation)

In this sentence, “social” is literally individualized in the final stage of its transformation. The “social” becomes the situation *of* the individual and specific to him/her.

Furthermore, all other forms of this lexeme refer to institutional persons (“assistant social” — *social assistant*; “travailleurs sociaux” — *social workers*) or institutionalized form of interventions (“allocations sociales” — *social benefits*; “service social” — *social service*). In this way, the lexeme *social-* gets determined further as an uncontested term which entails both a form of individual problem and the required intervention by the state, also individualized, constraining what could be accepted within, and as, the “social”.

In the same vein, the noun “aide” in its plural form also refers to institutional persons (“aides ménagères” — *housekeepers*; “aides familiales” — *housekeepers for family and children*), able in the context of the organization’s intervention, to support the “helped” person, that is in a contractual framework, as we shall see in the next section.

“Aide”, on the other hand is used as a legal term (a legal duty as shown by the collocate “due”) rather than as a reference to, precisely, a social fact, that is members of a group supporting one another beyond the overarching state structure.

Instead, the State's Law enforce the kind of help it judges adequate, according to its own references.

This omnipresence of the legal framework combined with the determinations of certain words in the texts does two things. It claims the relevance of social actions undertaken by an overarching structure (the CPAS and the State) and downplays what happens or can happen outside this structure, on the one hand. On the other hand, more subtly and implicitly it constrains what the group of persons concerned is within a nationalistic framework, enforced by the State's Law.

4.3.2 Rite of Passage

The above is supported inter-textually by the construction that is done around certain difficulties and what these difficulties could be. The organizations, supported by the text of the law itself, claim to serve "any person". This is exemplified by the following:

"Quelle que soit votre situation, soyez certains de notre motivation, de notre dynamisme et de notre écoute à votre égard. Ensemble, nous tenons à faire le maximum pour vous garantir un avenir meilleur." (Brussels)

Whatever your situation is, be sure that our motivation, dynamism and listening go towards you. Together, we insist on doing the maximum to assure you a better future. (My translation)

"[...] sans distinction de rang ou de situation sociale, d'âge ou de sexe, riche ou pauvre, Belge ou allochtone." (Berchem-Sainte-Agathe)

[...] Without distinction of class or social situation, of age or sex, rich or poor, Belgian or foreign-born." (My translation)

However, this discourse of inclusion is counter-balanced by exclusionary forces. Not surprisingly, these services are actually designed legally to the inhabitants of the municipality in question and is reflected in the texts by various means: explicitly:

"[...] aux personnes résidant sur le territoire de la Commune [...]" (Anderlecht)

[...] to the persons residing in the municipality's territory [...] (My translation)

"[...] créés au profit des habitants [...]" (Jette)

[...] created in favour of the inhabitants [...] (My translation)

or implicitly:

"[...] accessible à tous les Berchemois [...]" (Berchem-Sainte-Agathe)

[...] available to all [the people living in the municipality] [...] (My translation)

This might be seen as unproblematic and quite natural, however the meaning of “resident” or “inhabitant” in this context is obscured, as in Belgium, only are considered as such the ones who are registered in the Municipality. This registration is in itself another procedure (which is not explored here) which includes the examination of the legal status of the applicant (which excludes “illegals” – as evaluated by the procedure – hence, there is a distinction done regarding the social situation). A mention in one of the websites is interesting as it is the only one to have such warning:

“Toutefois, afin d’apprécier si l’aide qui leur est octroyée n’est pas déraisonnable pour le système d’assistance sociale, le Service Public Programmation-Intégration Sociale (SPP-IS) est autorisé à communiquer à l’Office des Etrangers, via la Banque Carrefour, les données qui concernent les étrangers ressortissants d’un Etat membre de l’Union européenne dont le séjour est supérieur à trois mois et qui résident en Belgique depuis moins de trois ans. Cela peut avoir pour conséquence le retrait du titre de séjour et l’éloignement du territoire belge.” (Saint-Josse-Ten-Noode).

Which can be translated as:

However, in order to evaluate whether the help [benefits] that is allocated to them is not unreasonable for the [System of Social Assistance, the Public Service of Programmings] is entitled to communicate to the [Foreigner’s Office] via the [Carrefour Database] the data concerning foreigners citizens of a EU member, whose stay is superior than three months and who reside in Belgium for less than three years. This can have as consequence the cancellation of the [residence visa] and the deportation from Belgian territory. (My translation)

This sentence is interesting as it contrasts an above sentence:

“Si, dans un premier temps, il procure le minimum vital à la personne en détresse”

If, at first, it [the benefit] provides the subsistence level to the person in distress. (My translation)

and further:

“Tous [les] membres [du CPAS] [...] sont tenus au secret professionnel [...] ils ne peuvent en principe jamais révéler à des personnes étrangères au CPAS [...]”

All [the] members [of the CPAS] are bound by professional confidentiality [...] they can not, in principle, ever reveal [what they know] to people outside the CPAS [...] (My translation)

Hence, if a person is a foreigner, the personal information can be transmitted to the Immigration Office, despite the alleged confidentiality, which is present throughout all the corpus in one way or another (“confidentialité”: 3 times across 3 texts;

“secret”: twice across two texts). This comes in direct contradiction to both the mission that the organizations claim to perform, and to the inclusive positioning they take by using the term “every person”, that they claim to address. Here, only EU citizens are mentioned, which excludes *de facto* non-EU citizens. Two classes of citizens are made up, the legal Belgians, and the others, the former having full entitlement to the service, and the latter having a conditional treatment and a threat to deportation in the worst case scenario. It also excludes the so-called foreigners to be in distress as a living experience, and even if they could be, their legal status is checked first.

This is of course only one example, which isn’t present in the corpus besides this text. However, the construction of the people entitled to the service is constructed in similar ways all along the corpus.

The access to the service entails a procedure which is sketched in several texts, and consists of an examination of the situation of the person:

“L’aide est soumise à une enquête préalable” (Auderghem)

The help is conditioned by a preliminary enquiry. (My translation)

“toujours conditionné par une enquête précise” (Watermael)

[...] always conditioned by a precise enquiry. (My translation)

“Le CPAS examine toute demande d’Aide Sociale” (Forest)

The CPAS screens every application to [Welfare Benefits] (My translation)

The examination of the personal situation is also found with another collocate of “sociale” i.e. “situation”:

“Mais après une analyse individualisée de la situation sociale de l’usager [...]” (Etterbeek)

But after an individualized analysis of the user’s social situation [...] (My translation)

“[...] en fonction de la situation sociale et selon les conditions précisées [...]” (Auderghem)

[...] in function of the social situation and the conditions pointed out [...] (My translation)

This contrasts greatly with the alleged access for everyone, and shows the organization as performing its “second line” role of social filtering, the first one (checking the legal status of the citizen) being done by the Municipality, by granting or refusing access according to certain characteristics (again, we shall explore these later on).

The social action is pictured as institutionalized, that is accessible for the ones able to access it. This is where the adjective “aidées” comes into the picture in the complex “personnes aidées par le CPAS” (“persons helped by the CPAS”). In this context, this adjective, which means “helped” refers to the persons entitled to the service in the first place, that is the ones that have successfully “passed” the procedure. We shall explore this later.

4.4 Upward Shuttle: Let's compare with a bigger Corpus

In order to see whether these findings are significant, we need to address the presence of the found expressions in a large corpus. As explained earlier, we use the Corpus of web-based texts, in French (I-FR), that we can access and search for terms on the Leeds' University Corpus⁵. We use the collocation tool of this website, along with the same criteria: one word right and one word left span. We do not worry about frequencies since the corpus is large enough to produce $freq > 3$ collocations.

The first term that we search for is "sociale". We find "aide sociale" at rather high positions in the tables produced by the tool. A rapid look at the concordance sheet reveals a similar pattern to the one discovered earlier: "aide sociale" is rather a common term which refers to financial matters. This meaning coexists with one we also encountered: that is a general matter of policy directed to people "in need". This term, as a bi-gram, appears to be used to designate policy- or macro-economic-related issues and seems rather common in political and policy discourses.

However, none of the expressions figuring on the list shows up in our CPAS corpus: "vie" ("life"), "sécurité" ("security"), "protection" ("protection") etc. This allows us to consider "aide sociale" in our corpus as having a relative over-representation, leaving all the other significations of "sociale" undisclosed. Our previous conclusions hold, even if somewhat weakened, because no other determination of the meaning of "sociale" is present. However the one meaning created in our CPAS corpus i.e. the individualized problematic situation, seems fairly spread across the French language.

In the Leeds' corpus, "sociale" can take a wide array of meanings besides policy-related issues. For the latter meaning, we can quote "cohesion" ("cohesion"), "sécurité", "protection", "justice". Other determinations occur in the Leeds' Corpus which relate to "sociale" as phenomena that deal with groups of people and the organization of those group (that is what we expect this lexeme's constructions to cover, as stated both above and below). The word "vie" along with "organisation" ("organization") and "réalité" ("reality") are the nouns that "sociale" qualifies, giving this latter a various, non-exclusive network of meanings across the Leeds' corpus. These broader determinations are not present in our CPAS corpus.

The second word we search for is "social". Once again, we find the collocates found earlier in good places ("travailleur", "droit"). Except that "social" gets a lot of different meanings with help of its collocates. It appears with "ordre" ("order"), "lien" ("link", "bond"), "statut" ("class", "status"), "dialogue" ("dialogue") etc. This represents what we meant earlier by the many meanings "social" can get.

The case of "aide" is less controversial as the term itself carries the meaning

⁵ Accessible at <http://corpus.leeds.ac.uk/internet.html>

This corpus is a WaCky-like corpus as explained in the Method section, that is a Web-based corpus limited to .fr domains and covers a large range of genres and material.

of “need”. We found in the large corpus the same kind of collocates than in ours, except that the “need” is directed to many different things, ranging from persons, to institutions and to organizations. A study of the Leeds’ corpus is way beyond the scope of this paper, but the table may reveal the propensity of “aide” to be in bi-grams generally, each specific to particular domains. The bi-gram “aide sociale”, as we have seen, seems also rather common in this framework.

A limitation of this corpus web-based research involves the use of accents. Hence, we can not search for “aidé” or “aidées”.

In the Leeds’ corpus, the meanings of the lexeme *social-* are broad, non-exclusive and cover at least a very large array of the meanings it could get, if not all of them.

This small study supports our earlier conclusions on the meaning of words being constrained by their context of use, that is being emptied from other meaning than the legitimized one, that is the one present in our corpus i.e. policy related and individual determination of the word “social”. This is quite important as it enlightens the way our texts emphasize the determination of *social-* at the expense of potential other determinations. That is, the other meanings and connotations are not mentioned, which leaves the space for the main meaning to blossom.

The word “social” in our CPAS corpus comes to signify, alone and without counter-balance, the *personal* situation of the person, who is immediately transformed into *having* a problem and *being one* to be solved, a *situation* that needs to be addressed individually, without considering the broader environment in which this person evolves (that is, the proper *social*).

This finding is quite natural, as the context of text production always determines the text itself and its meanings (van Dijk, 2007; Salama, 2011). In our case, these constraints on meanings indicate that the context of these texts is related to how social action is represented to be (Bacchi and Eveline, 2010) at the level of institutions: social issues are represented as individual matters, the solution to which having to be individual.

Also, these findings suggest the existence of a *genre* (Paltridge, 2006b) of institutional discourse, which could encompass different areas such as policy, political, economic and legal, in which the texts of our corpus can well be situated. This can introduce a bias in our study if the moves (style, display, lexical field) that are present in our CPAS corpus are in fact broadly used in various types of institutional communication. This means that the patterns in our corpus, in terms of formulations, turn of phrases or language features, could be broadly spread in the language as “default” moves and not specific to our CPAS’s texts. In this case, the CPAS’s texts would reflect trends in language use rather than strategic choices in institutional discourse. This, however, subtracts nothing to the actions the patterns make, but the analysis would benefit from an explanation of what is used in the language, why, by who, and under what conditions.

4.5 The Organizations and the Public

4.5.1 Insiders

We have seen the use of “aidées” in the bi-gram “personnes aidées” (7 times) (as in *persons already helped*), which makes a separation between the ones who have successfully passed the application procedure, and are thus insiders.

In the same vein, the word “bénéficiaires” (it appears 6 times across 3 texts) (“beneficiaries”) entails the same connotation as it literally means “the ones who benefit”, hence who have passed the procedure (or can pass it, for that matter – Bourdieu, 1982).

Other words throughout the corpus indicate, in a much subtle way, this same separation. Among them, “usagers” (8 times across 6 texts) (“users”) acts through its function: in all its occurrences, this word is an object (as “bénéficiaires” is). The collocation tool in AntConc produces the table below for the three words “bénéficiaires”, “personnes” and “usagers”. It indicates, with the high probability of “aux” on the left side (preposition – equivalent to “to”), the predominance of these terms as objects of verbs such as “assurer”, “aider”, “accueille”, also situated on the left. This denotes, by grammatical means, the construction of the organizations as having the capacity to act upon the individual and possibly to *change* his/her living conditions.

In the texts, formulations such as the following confirm these constructions:

“[...] pour permettre aux usagers [...]” (Anderlecht)

[...] to enable the users [...] (My translation)

“Réservée aux personnes aidées par le CPAS” (Auderghem)

Restricted to the persons helped by the CPAS (My translation)

The actions of the organizations (“ensure”, “host” etc.) are constrained by the condition for the individual (its position as object to the verb) to be accepted as an insider, who has to successfully pass the procedure (which we explore later). Although this might seem natural, there is a separation made between the ones who can or are insiders and the others. This separation is left to the organizations’ discretion, as we shall see later.

4.5.2 Outsiders: The use of the second person plural: “Vous”

We left out until now a particular word because it is not a *content word* (lexical word) (Paltridge, 2006d) *per se*: the pronoun “vous” (“you”). However, this pronoun appears 125 times in the corpus across 14 texts (out of 18). A small purification needs to take place at this point however. The composed lemma “rendez-vous” (“appointment”) is composed of this pronoun and appears in the numbers, precisely 9 times across 4 texts (Anderlecht, Auderghem, Saint-Gilles, Watermael). The texts of Anderlecht and Auderghem contain only “rendez-vous”. We exclude

Table 4.11: Collocations “bénéficiaires”, “personnes”, “usagers”. Span Right and Left of 3

FreqLeft	FreqRight	T-Score	Collocate
23	7	5.39920	aux
21	5	4.87626	des
20	6	4.85530	les
7	13	3.74914	de
4	12	3.65839	et
12	3	3.47662	d
1	10	3.29967	âgées
1	8	2.96251	familles
9	1	2.93645	pour
2	9	2.82664	à
1	7	2.81451	aidées
1	8	2.78070	en
1	7	2.69125	par
4	4	2.56004	aide
0	9	2.52953	le
6	0	2.39669	assurer
1	4	2.21092	sans
2	3	2.13045	s
4	3	2.02515	la
0	5	2.01728	qui
4	2	1.93067	l
3	1	1.88191	plus
1	3	1.84255	il
3	0	1.72231	accompagne
1	2	1.71582	abri
2	1	1.69959	soutien
3	0	1.68985	aider
3	0	1.64115	emploi

this lemma from the analysis as it is part of the practicalities of the organizations, along with their opening hours, locations etc.

Another refinement has to be made, which is the possibility of the redundancy of “vous” in a reflexive verb group, which happens once:

“Vous vous présentez” (Saint-Gilles)

You present yourself (My translation)

Similarly the occurrence in the text of Schaerbeek is in a title:

“La solidarité près de chez vous” (Schaerbeek)

Solidarity nearby your place (My translation)

Finally the pronoun “vous” appears 114 times across 11 texts, which is still significant. This is an interesting word in that it supports, at least for now and superficially, the determination of “the social” as individual.

On the other hand, this pronoun can be related to the *genre* of the texts, that is related to the communicative purpose in general of the texts which are offering information to an identified reader (and might introduce a bias here for the same reasons as in Section 4.4).

4.5.2.1 Indirect Categorizations

We can now proceed to see how “vous” articulates and with what. The texts articulate “vous” either with “nous” (“us” or “we”) or with “CPAS”, introducing a dialectic between the organizations and the public, the former being implicitly outside the latter.

Within the 114 occurrences of “vous”, 9 of them contain (with a concordance window of 200 characters) the first person plural in any of its forms (“nous”, “nos”, “notre”) in 4 texts.

Moreover, 48 of the occurrences of “vous”, in terms of concordance, contain one of the forms of the organization’s name (CPAS, C.P.A.S., C.P.A.S – regardless of the case of letters) in mostly different texts than those in which “nous” appears. Only Brussels (in which one of these occurrences is part of the President’s signature) and Berchem-Sainte-Agathe have both.

The first person plural and/or the term “CPAS” occurs in the same texts as the second person plural: these two grammatical persons are correlated to one another (if we accept that in this context “CPAS” is equivalent to “us”). There is one exception, Forest, where it is used as a section title:

“Qui sommes-nous?” (Forest)

Who are we? (My translation)

In total, 7 texts out of the 12 remaining (The 10 only with “vous” plus Brussels and Berchem), present with a separation between what we can call a “Us” (belonging to

the institution) and a “You” (outside of the institution and likely to want something from it).

In these texts, our previous argument i.e. the individualization of social issues, is supported and furthered, as social issues are constructed in direct address to the potential applicant in an individualized way, and that the organization decides who gets to be included as “Us” as well as what social issues are.

The Procedure

The procedure to get to be helped is detailed, literally, in Saint-Gilles’ text, under the section “public concerné” (“addressed public”). The structure is a bullet point checklist indicating all the steps to go through within the procedure. The rhetoric which installs itself contains many issues.

First, the overwhelming use, in Saint-Gilles’ text (19 times), of the second person (plural, to mark the polite form) at each step indicates the individualized character of the procedure. The individualization goes further as all the sentences are in the present tense and perform discursively the procedure *before* it practically takes place. The sentences are neither imperative nor textbook performatives (Krieg-Planque, 2012; Austin, 1962) because these particular actions need to be formally and physically done, that is, some degree of legitimacy is not reached. However, this legitimacy is left to the appreciation of the organization. The sentences, in this sense, are not orders in the grammatical sense, but are in the pragmatic one: there is no entering the organization for the reader if he/she doesn’t perform what the organization wants and requires him/her to do.

Second, the steps contain a difference in connotations for the “Them” (referred to as “you”) and the “Us” (van Dijk, 2007), which supports their categorization as orders. The reader’s actions are pictured by the following:

“Vous vous présentez [...]”

You present yourself [...]

“Vous signez [...]”

You sign [...]

“Vous prenez rendez-vous [...]”

You take an appointment [...]

“Vous rencontrez [...]”

You meet [...]

“Vous fournissez les documents demandés [...]”

You provide the required documents [...]

Whereas the organization’s actions are:

“[...] les documents demandés [...]”

[...] the required documents [...]

“[l’assistant social] qui analyse votre situation.”

[The social worker] analyses your situation.

“[idem] constitue votre dossier.”

[idem] constitute your file.

The organization can *require, analyze, constitute* whereas the reader must *meet, provide* etc. The connotation that forms around these differences is the one of the requirement which echoes the institutional form of the procedure. The organization makes its own rules to help what it considers as needy and worth the help. That is the third point: the organization separates itself from the reader, by means of the separation between “Us” and “Them”, and hence imposes itself as a regulating institution, positioned above the public.

This categorization is thought of as indirect because the rights and duties of the organization are made different from the ones of the public, and because it relies upon the institutional power in action, which defines these rights and duties.

4.5.2.2 Direct Categorizations

The “vous” also directly addresses the reader and produces various effects. Unlike the above categorization which relied on the power of the institution *implied* in the texts, the categories we will explore below are done by means of the texts themselves, that is their structure and semantics.

Medicalization: Watermael

In a medical fashion, the text of Watermael makes categories for the applicability of the flu vaccine, and uses the term “categories”:

“[la campagne] sera axée sur les groupes les plus à risques.” (Watermael)

[The campaign] will focus on groups at most risk. (My translation)

And further:

“Si vous appartenez à une des catégories suivantes: [...]”

If you belong to one of the following categories: [...] (My translation)

The paragraph which follows is a bullet point checklist, which points, inter-textually with the above quote, are mutually exclusive. The direct address with the “you” imposes first, either to recognize oneself in, or conversely to be excluded from these categories and, second, denies the existence of other categories. Moreover, it makes *categorization* an *ontological truth*: that is the existence and relevance, at the social level, of the need to define and be defined by categories, whatever they could be.

More than these categories, the pragmatics of this text does something even more powerful. The lexical field of that paragraph belongs to the medical and

technical with terms such as “à risque”, “hémoglobinopathie”, “immunodépression” and “acide acétylsalicylique”. The use of the latter term “acide acétylsalicylique” indicates the uncritical level of this checklist, by taking the scientific word instead of the vernacular “Aspirine” (“Aspirin”), supported by the use of “hémoglobinopathie” in the same way. This does not directly exclude the possibility of a broad comprehension of this text by the readers, but manufactures an *expert* view on the categories it states. Moreover, the following sentence is ambiguous:

“vous avez une des maladies chroniques suivantes: [/maladies/...], situations qui *les* prédisposent particulièrement à des complications de la grippe” (Watermael)

You have one of the following chronic illnesses [/illnesses/...], situations which especially predispose them to flu complications (My translation)

The ambiguity lies in the pronoun “les” (“them”) as emphasized in the quotes, whose antecedent is unclear. At first sight, it could refer to the illnesses, but this antecedent is already taken by *situations*, and in any case, if the illnesses were a given, it would have predisposed *the flu* to produce complications, and not the other way around. We can decipher this odd sentence with the help of the sentence:

“vous êtes enceintes après le 1er trimestre de grossesse”

you are pregnant after the first quarter [of pregnancy] (My translation)

The translation doesn’t show what is interesting for our argument. In French, “enceintes” is an adjective, and is in a position where it takes the number and gender of the antecedent, which is, in this case, “vous”. However, it is a mistake in this sentence, “vous” refers to a single person (it is, in this case, the polite form of “vous”), “enceintes” should then drop the mark of the plural (“-s”). This form of the adjective “enceintes” would have worked if the subject were a third person plural (“elles”).

Taken independently from one another, these sentences may appear as mere mistakes. But we can consider these sentences as connected to each other, as it appears that both would have been correct if the subject were a feminine third person plural (“les personnes”, “elles”). In this case, we may consider that there exist (or have existed) two versions of the same text. The original version may have been a medical guideline issued by another institution, and the one on the website a modified version of the first (with the replacement of the third person by the second).

The two possibilities involve the uncritical pragmatics of the organization: either it took a text from another source and made formal modifications, or wrote it directly but incorrectly.

The first case may indicate the interconnections of institutions and presumably state apparatuses in the construction of the social reality.

Here, the potential interconnection of the medical and a certain vision of the social constructs the individualized person in need as a object of medical attention, that is as potentially ill because of his/her individual situation and endowment.

Subtly in this text, the social situation, or social class, is somewhat *pathologized* (Nixon, 2011, p. 80).

The second case may indicate specific work conditions and agency within the organization.

The easy Solution to the complicated Problem

Further categorization is found in the Woluwe-Saint-Lambert's text. The disposition of the text is also a checklist which is counter-balanced with a conclusive paragraph. In this text which is rather short (126 words), the structure is as follows. The seven first sentences address the reader as "you" and are designed as a checklist of questions, and interact with the three last sentences, which are pure declaratives. This interaction is, at the first level, obvious. The succession of questions is answered to by the declaratives. This question/answer structure performs the separation between a "Us" and a "Them" which we explored earlier, and adds to it the notion of neediness which is directly answered to by the provider. The distinction is clear between a weak "Them" (referred to as "you") and the strong, providing "Us". This is further emphasized by the relative length of the two parts which are separated by the textbook *performative* (Krieg-Planque, 2012):

"Notre porte est grande ouverte"

Our door is wide open. (My translation)

By this means, the organization asserts and constructs the service they provide as irrevocable: it claims and is what it ought to be, hence it becomes what it is. Put more simply, it is because it has the power to say this as truth that what it says *is* the truth.

The first part contains the "you" along the many needs and difficulties it can encounter whereas the second contains the "us" which is pictured as simple and homogeneous (by purely considering the length of the sentences) and powerful:

"Vous avez besoin d'informations, d'écoute, de soutien, d'aide financière?" (Woluwe-Saint-Lambert)

You need information, listening, support, financial support? (My translation)

As opposed to:

"Des professionnels vous assurent l'écoute et la confidentialité, ils mettent leur expérience et leurs compétences à votre service."

Professionals assure you be listened to and your confidentiality; they put their experience and skills at your service. (My translation)

The first quote is the first sentence of the text, while the second is the last. They echo each other with the word "listening" ("écoute"), and the word "besoin" ("need") contrasts with "experience" and "service".

This further constructs social issues as individual *and* problematic, and this time the structure of the text clearly indicates the action of separation that institutions do, while creating the *answer* to the *problems* they just created discursively.

In this context, the problematic categories that are made vary largely in importance and in the way they are constructed.

We find again the construction of a rhetoric which constructs the public as needy and incompetent, and the organization as strong, competent, willing to provide and providing.

“Vous avez *besoin* d’informations, d’écoute, de soutien, d’aide financière?”

You need information, listening, support, financial support? (My translation)

“Vous êtes endettés et vous avez *besoin* [...]”

You are indebted and you need [...] (My translation)

“Vous avez un proche qui *nécessite* un hébergement en centre de jour?”

You have a [relative, a friend] who requires an accommodation in a [disabled care center]? (My translation)

This rhetorical move, that is an explicit cause-consequence structure, echoes the broader implicit one we just discussed (as in “you have the problem, we have the solution”).

There is another move that is made to transform the reader into a “seeker”:

“Vous êtes sans emploi et vous *cherchez* à remettre le pied à l’étrier?”

You are jobless and seek to get back on track? (My translation)

“Vous êtes âgé ou, vous avez un proche âgé et vous *cherchez* [...]”

You are an elder, or you have a relative who is, and you seek [...] (My translation)

This move is less problematic, surely, than the one above, but it contrasts with the so called help that is “due” by the community that we explored earlier. It, however, supports our argument on the problem being individualized and the response to it being also individualized. This represents *social issues* as localized in individual situations.

Also, these “problems” are constructed as independent from one another by means of the checklist shape of the paragraph. It indicates further the “atomization” of situations rather than their intersections, or, at least, the possibility of intersections⁶. Furthermore, the introduction of most criteria (5 of them) by “vous êtes” (“you are”) tends to assign a situation to one person, who, in turn, is identified with it. The person *becomes* his/her problem, and the problem becomes unique to the person.

⁶Intersections allow for looking at social issues as an integrated set of circumstances (class, sex, gender etc.) endowment (Bourdieu’s capital) embedded in social processes and structures (Lykke, 2010). All these variables intra-acting within one another (that is influence one another in the way they are perceived and constructed – Barad, 2003, 2011)

4.5.3 Creating the Boundary

The construction of the public addressed by the organization is mostly done in an active grammatical form where the organization is the subject and the public is the (usually indirect) object of the verb, while the direct object is the help itself:

“[...] le CPAS apporte [...] à toute personne en situation de besoin.” (Forest)

[...] the CPAS brings [...] to any person in situation of need (My translation)

“[...] de répondre aux besoins des usagers [...]” (Anderlecht)

[...] to respond to users' needs [...] (My translation)

“[...] [le CPAS] procure [...] à la personne en détresse [...]” (Saint-Josse)

[...] [The CPAS] provides [...] to the person in distress [...] (My translation)

“Prodiguer une aide adaptée aux besoins des demandeurs.” (Koekelberg)

To dispense an adequate support to the needs of the enquirer. (My translation)

“Des aides sociales sont mises à la disposition des plus démunis.” (Auderghem)

Social assistance are put at the disposal of the most impoverished. (My translation)

In these cases, the person gets qualified as needy or weak. Another means, which is close to the previous, is the use of noun phrases, where the person also gets qualified as in difficulty, needy etc.

“l’octroi des aides matérielles aux personnes momentanément en difficulté” (Ganshoren)

The granting of material support to the persons temporarily in difficulty (My translation)

A last means is the use of the sole noun phrase:

“[...] personnes découragées [...]” (Etterbeek)

[...] discouraged persons [...] (My translation)

“[...] aux plus défavorisés [...]” (Berchem-Sainte-Agathe)

[...] to the most disadvantaged [...] (My translation)

This latter quote operates a further categorization by a metonymy: the whole (the person) is designated solely by one of its facet, this latter becoming the main signifier.

In all these examples, the common means of constructing *the social field* is to separate the organization from the public. Furthermore, the organizations are pictured as providers, strong and helpful by the verb of which they are subject. On

the other hand, the addressed public is pictured as needy, impoverished and helpless as it is referred to usually as individual persons, and is always qualified by a negative adjective.

A point of critique needs to be addressed here. The separation that this latter categories (the ones entitled to the help versus the one excluded from it) operate, can well be the expression of the willingness to actually help the less endowed of the society by excluding the more endowed, in a framework where *equality of chances* excludes *equality of treatment*. This framework is actually made explicit:

“Chaque CPAS apprécie le type d’aide qu’il estime le plus adéquat.”
(Molenbeek)

Each CPAS appreciates the kind of support that it estimates the most appropriate (My translation)

This goes with several problems though. As we will see later on with the study of the production of social reality, by using such a framework as their core functioning, the organizations acknowledge the existence of inequalities, but *obscure* their foundation in a broader system than the *individual*. Put differently, by constructing social issues as individual issues, the organizations deny the source of the problems they claim to address. Moreover, they re-produce these inequalities by means of their control over the social reality, which they discursively define.

This emphasizes the *de facto* exclusion of foreigners, that we touched upon earlier, from the scope and *authority* of the organizations, and hence from the human dignity the organizations claim to preserve.

With this apparently neutral or even benevolent position (excluding the endowed to include the less endowed), inequalities are reproduced as the organizations themselves define *who is unequal*. As a state apparatus supported by law and policy, they obscure their role in this social production and social organization while at the same time claim to produce social equality.

4.6 Disturbing Common Sense

The pieces of data we have, describe what the organizations do, i.e. require and provide, along with what they are. It is not surprising then to have formulations like “[The Organization] is [...]”. What is surprising though, is the appearance in 6 texts of the *negation* of what the organizations *could be* or are *supposed to be*.

This negation operates in several ways. Obviously, it is done *directly* by using the negative grammatical form.

“[...] Mais le rôle du CPAS ne se limite pas à cette aide financière.”
(Saint-Josse)

But the role of the CPAS is not limited to the financial help [support]. (My translation)

“Le CPAS n’est pas qu’un système d’assistanat octroyant un revenu d’intégration.” (Koekelberg)

The CPAS is not only a state handouts system granting the integration revenue. (My translation)

This direct negation bearing on the financial support is ambiguous. It indicates that the organizations *presuppose* that people may believe something and would ask for it (financial support). They in turn *construct* the public as mere applicants to financial support. They, as well, construct the public as potentially knowing something about the organizations and their role, which argument goes in line with our previous argument: the public is assumed to know this, and by this mean the cultural capital recognized is constrained and implied. People not knowing this wouldn't end up reading the texts anyway, whereas the people who do know it are constructed as financial support seekers. On the other hand, the organizations obviously try to challenge these views, but by *expecting* these as the default behaviour, they end up legitimizing them: by generalizing what the public is (as seeking) and defining themselves by this construction, they construct both the public *and* themselves as wanting or bearing financial support (respectively). More simply, by saying "we are not what you think we are", they define themselves by what *they assume* the people *they* construct might define *them*.

The negation of what the organization *is*, also operates in a much subtler way since it doesn't use the proper grammatical negative form, but rather relies on a representation of the *common sense*:

"Qui dit CPAS pense souvent 'revenu d'intégration'." (Saint-Josse)

Who says CPAS often thinks 'integration revenue' (My translation)

"La mission la plus connue du CPAS est l'octroi d'une allocation sociale [...]" (Schaerbeek)

The most known mission of the CPAS is the granting of welfare benefits [...]
(My translation)

The mechanism is the same as before: the organizations construct themselves as knowing what is thought about them, hence generalizing *the public* as a whole and defining themselves by means of this common sense.

This first aspect (we shall explore another one later on) of of the organizations' *ethos* (the set of attitudes manifested socially⁷) echoes what we have seen earlier, that is their constitution as gate-keepers. They gate-keep, first by the procedures, and second by challenging the assumed role and *ethos* that they construct as real and presuppose as "out there". It goes further as they self-deny their arguments (because they indeed value financial support as their primary role, and as the main legitimate capital — see next section), and produce themselves as the legitimate *definer* of their role and positions denying what their *ethos* is or *could be*.

⁷The Oxford Dictionary definition: "the characteristic spirit of a culture, era, or community as manifested in its attitudes and aspirations"; accessed at: <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/ethos>

4.7 Construction of the Social Reality

An inter-textual close-reading of all the texts together reveals a particular construction of the social reality in which the organizations act, and, in turn, gets produced by them. We consider our CPAS corpus as a whole and consider the interconnections the texts make to one another. A particularly striking, interesting and representative example is presented in Appendix C. It is so as this text is long and contains all forms of constructions explored so far, as well as the ones we are about to.

The picture of the society that is given in these texts revolve around four axes, which together define the society, i.e. value and implement particular aspects of social organization. These axes interact with one another, interplay together and use aspects of one another. These axes are: the social insecurity (precariousness, “*précarité*”), employment and studies (schooling), persons and family, and control.

4.7.1 Social Insecurity

For this axis, the French term “*précarité*” applies, which differs a bit from “social insecurity” as “*précarité*” can apply to many things besides *the social* and is defined⁸ as the “absence of guarantee of any kind”, and as a “concession or permission that is always revocable”.

Interestingly, the texts redefine “*précarité*” as one-shot, isolated and an individual matter:

“Face à toutes ces situations de *précarité* [...]” (Schaerbeek)

Facing all these situations of insecurity [...] (My translation)

“La *précarité* peut frapper chacun d’entre nous [...]” (Molenbeek)

Insecurity can hit each and every one of us [...] (My translation)

In these examples, social insecurity gets redefined as something that can “hit” someone or as *situations* of insecurity, rather than as a concept inherent to society. The formulations above are making insecurity an incidental event, rather than something which can be either anticipated or prevented. A metaphor that fits is the one of a car accident, where being injured is defined as *the insecurity*, obscuring the fact that being on the road *is* insecure. This is a really problematic re-definition as, once again, *the social organization* gets defined as an individual *thing*, hence obscuring the social, broad-group related processes and structure.

Although the word “*précarité*” doesn’t occur much in the corpus (5 times), a discourse of emergency is constructed by several means.

The first mean the texts use is to define the person as having difficulties, usually temporary:

⁸By the online dictionary maintained by the CNRS, ATILF and the University of Nancy 2: <http://www.tlfi.fr> and the search engine: <http://atilf.atilf.fr/>

“Toute personne en difficulté [...]” (Saint-Gilles)

Any person having difficulties (My translation)

“[...] dans le souci de sortir [les usagers] de l’urgence [...]” (Forest)

[...] with the concern of taking [the users] out of the emergency [...] (My translation)

“Guider les demandeurs [...] à surmonter leurs difficultés [...]” (Koekelberg)

Guide the applicant [...] to overcome their difficulties (My translation)

“[...] difficultés auxquelles vous pourriez être confrontés [...]” (Jette)

[...] difficulties that you could be facing [...] (My translation)

This latter quote involves the use of the conditional mood, indicating the temporary, or even merely potential character of such a situation, which, by the use of the second person, is made specific to the individual.

There is a further individualization in Schaerbeek’s text:

“Chacune, chacun peut, à un moment de son existence, avoir le sentiment que la vie bascule [...]” (Schaerbeek)

Every one can, at some point of his/her life to get the feeling that his/her life is falling apart [...] (My translation)

In this quote, more than a one-shot and individual particular event, *insecurity* gets to be merely a personal feeling rather than a social reality or fact.

Moreover, insecurity in this sense, that is a one-shot and individual problem, calls for a fix, which is presumably reachable.

“[...] d’aider la personne à retrouver une véritable autonomie [...]” (Saint-Josse)

To help the person to get back to a real autonomy (My translation)

This game of traveling back and forth between a given or normal (interacting with the other axes) situation and a incidental unpredictable one indicates how the social organization is represented to be. The social organization is represented as individual, incidental and fixable. It follows that the means of reparation involve a fixing entity acting upon individual matters.

This goes, however, in direct contradiction to what the organizations actually state. They insist, as we have seen (in the quote of the Law), on a certain kind of preventive help:

“[...] mais encore une aide préventive [...]” (Forest)

[...] but also a preventive help [...] (My translation)

“[...] [l’] assistance publique pour la prévention et l’atténuation de la pauvreté.” (Koekelberg)

[...] public assistance for prevention and attenuation of poverty. (My translation)

This construction of this social reality (precariousness) in particular is problematic, not because fixing something is inherently wrong, but because any other possibility of social organization is obscured, and more than that, the legitimized social organization is left unchallenged as it is spread. Because these particular institutions are within a network among the most legitimated, what they say and what they do perpetuates both the situation (that they claim to fight) and, logically, their own existence. This perpetuation operates by obscuring, or hiding, their role both as institutions and social actors (that is their ability to do something in a group), and by hiding the actual organization of the society. This is exemplified by:

“En cette période où chacun peut être confronté aux effets de la crise [...]” (Molenbeek)

In this period of time where any one can be facing up the effects of the crisis [...] (My translation)

In this quote, insecurity is defined solely by the crisis, that is, once again, a one-shot event, hiding both the possibility that the crisis is in fact inherent to the society as a whole (at a macro-level), and the possibility for social agents to do anything to prevent either the crisis or a particular situation. In this particular example, crisis defines insecurity and both can “just happen” anyway. In the other texts insecurity also “just happens”, even though not defined by the crisis. The problem here lies in the power of these institutions, which is used to re-produce the conditions that created them, while the institutions hide themselves and their behind particular events (by not questioning them).

4.7.2 Employment and Studies

In their discourse, the organizations also construct the social participation of the public around the cultural and economic capital they value.

The following two quotes do two things in terms of their discursive power. First, they make *the social field* something (literally) that *can* be organized, and deny by this mean the possibility (or fact) that *the social field* is *already* organized without having needed their presence. Second, by use of the verb “organiser” and of the adjective “bien” (“well”), they construct themselves as the guarantors (i.e. able, authorized and legitimized) of *the social field*, and inscribe their own values on both *the social field* and what a good organization must or could be.

“Il [le CPAS] organise également la participation sociale de ceux-ci [les usagers]” (Anderlecht)

It [The CPAS] also organize the social participation of [its users] (My translation)

“[...] grâce à une solidarité bien organisée [...]” (Woluwe-Saint-Pierre)

[...] thanks to a well organized solidarity [...] (My translation)

The social participation is thought of as two concepts: integration and insertion, the former being associated with “sociale” (“social”), and the latter with “professionnel” (“professional”) or “socio-professionnel” (“socio-professional”).

“leurs [personnes aidées] démarches de (ré) insertion socio-professionnelle” (Auderghem)

Their [persons helped] process of socio-professional (re) insertion. (My translation)

“[...] un projet individualisé d’intégration sociale [...]” (Molenbeek)

[...] an individualized project of social integration [...] (My translation)

Note the latter quote, where the social integration is explicitly made individual, which implicitly calls on the one hand for a kind of “disintegration” and on the other hand for a *particular* kind of insertion. Both these aspects are conditioned by two things. The first is employment and the research of a job.

“[...] la mise à l’emploi de personnes aidées [...]” (Woluwe-Saint-Pierre)

[...] the placing to employment of helped persons [...] (My translation)

Note in the latter quote the term “la mise” (the placing), which introduces a connotation of *authority* in the search for employment. The search for employment goes hand in hand with the second valued category, which appears literally as the second best choice: studying.

“[...] un emploi rémunéré, un projet individualisé d’intégration sociale axé sur le travail, une formation [...]” (Molenbeek)

[...] a paid job, an individualized project of social integration focused on [job/work], a training [...]

It also goes along with the “control” axis of the organizations’ discourse.

The difference, or on the contrary, the link between integration and insertion is not explicit but both are conditionally bond to the capital valued by the organizations and hence by the society as a whole or, more precisely, by the society the organizations picture, represent and construct as real. The CPAS constitute themselves as experts and guarantors of the capital which is valued.

“Le CPAS de Bruxelles remplit [ses missions en suivant] les méthodes de travail social les plus adaptées [...]” (Brussels)

The CPAS of Brussels fulfills [its missions by following] the methods of social work the most appropriate [...] (My translation)

Along with precariousness and social insecurity, this particular constructed reality reveal the individual as both the problem (by loosing a job, a house etc.) and the solution (by getting back to a job...), obscuring the actual social dynamics by, for example, *not* asking the questions: who are the persons loosing their jobs? And Why?

Also, we have seen that the second best solution, apart from working, was studying. It makes a second category of people: the ones not able *yet* to work (the first category being the active population). A third category emerges then, as “seniors” are proposed to live in “homes” (that is retirement facilities). This intersects with the next axis though.

“[le CPAS] veille à assurer l’aide à domicile tout particulièrement des personnes âgées [...]” (Watermael)

[The CPAS] ensures to guarantee housekeeping help, especially for elder people [...] (My translation)

Inter-textually, employment is constructed as the norm and condition to be included socially. If not *yet* working, help will be provided to the person, if the time has passed, structures exist, and if by accident someone loses his/her job, always by accident, the organization will help to get back to work.

Furthermore, an ambiguity emerges, along with the rhetoric of help, on the type of work, or project, that is valued.

“qui [entretiens] ont pour objectif d’orienter au mieux la personne [...]” (Auderghem)

which [interviews] have as aim to appropriately [better] orient the person [...] (My translation)

This quote is ambiguous as it plays with two things. On the one hand, it introduces the nuance of a better orientation, which means, logically, that there is a worst one that would, presumably be accomplished by the person. The organization puts in action the value of a personal project, that is, it gives legitimacy to a certain kind of capital. On the other hand, it lets implicit the possibility that the orientation could be towards what the person would want or need. There is other evidence of this constant game between the organizations’ values and the persons’ throughout the corpus. However, it appears inter-textually that in every stance of this game, the meanings and definitions of “autonomy” are obscured, and echo the social construction of precariousness and employment. Put more simply, even though the possibility of the organization letting the individual decide or make his/her own sense of what “autonomy” is, the evidence we have point towards the judgment of the individual’s value according to the organizations’ constructions and standards.

At any time, the organizations are the guarantor of this *social organization* and of the meaning of it, that is what are the values to put in and on it.

Other ways to *be* included is otherwise obscured: one can not be included outside these norms, moreover, and implicitly, the organizations decide and define discursively what *is* inclusion.

4.7.3 The individual and The family

So far, we have seen that *the social* has been redefined by the organizations’ discourse as essentially an individual matter. We need to make a little modification

to that. If the texts define indeed the actions to be taken as individualistic, the next scale they construct is the family.

“Le service social a pour mission d’aider les personnes et les familles [...]” (Saint-Gilles)

The social service has as its mission to help the persons and the families [...]
(My translation)

Almost no other scale of social inclusion is mentioned, besides cultural and volunteering activities, mostly in associations.

“[...] un engagement bénévole dans une association, dans un projet artistique, culturel.” (Schaerbeek)

[...] a commitment as a volunteer in an association, in an artistic or cultural project. (My translation)

“[...] elles [les personnes aidées] ont accès aux séances de cinéma, aux pièces de théâtre et à d’autres manifestations culturelles [...]” (Auderghem)

[...] they [the users] have access to the movies [as in cinema], theater plays or other cultural manifestations. (My translation)

Here, even though “others manifestations” are mentioned, the connotation they take is the one of “mainstream” cultural events, that is recognized and legitimized by the organizations. The question whether or not this is the case is out of purpose here. It is the case, however, that discursively, “cultural events” are associated with “the movies” and “plays”, which supports the mainstreaming of cultural events in order to be considered as socially included.

The social field, in the following quote, is limited implicitly to the family, without consideration of the possibility of another kind of network around people.

“A l’écoute des personnes seules, les aides familiales [...]” (Auderghem)

Focusing on lonely persons, housekeepers [...] (My translation)

The groups that are recognized and valued at the level of society are the individual and the family. The social becomes constrained within these borders, and obscures other possibilities and ways of living.

4.7.4 Control

We explored earlier the procedures and the institutional power that is used by the institution to select who is entitled to their services and who is not.

Control operates together with the “expertise” that we explored earlier and reveals itself by subtle means.

It operates largely by putting in a conditional form users’ agency.

“[...] un emploi adapté à vos possibilités et dans la mesure du possible [...]” (Molenbeek)

[...] a job suitable to your possibilities and when possible [...] (My translation)

Of course this quote can signify many things, including the practical feasibility of what they propose. But, on the other hand, the argument is supported intertextually.

“[...] sur base d’une analyse précise des besoins du demandeur.” (Saint-Gilles)

[...] on the basis of a precise analysis of the applicant’s needs. (My translation)

The term “besoin” is located nearby the term “analyse”. This implies two things. First, the “benevolence” (the focus on needs and possibilities of the person) that appears in both the last quotes, but only as is in the first (which could introduce a doubt in our analysis), is modified by “analysis” which makes the need submitted to the organization’s judgment, and obscures the possibility for the user to have different needs than the ones addressed by the organization. Second, the term “analyse” implies a form of control by the organization according to its own standards, a *rite of passage* or, put more simply, a gate-keeping action achieved by the organization.

This gate-keeping is made explicit in other texts, always involving a check-up of the situation even after having passed the procedure, that is even when the person is already a beneficiary.

“Ce projet d’études comprendra des conditions afin de veiller à ce qu’à la fin de l’année scolaire vous ayez les meilleures chances de réussite.” (Molenbeek)

This project of study includes conditions in order to make sure that in the end of school year you get the best chances of success. (My translation)

The control axis goes hand in hand with the employment and study axis, as well as with the precariousness one. The aim is to “fix” the individual by making him/her ready again to the social life that is preserved, promoted and created by the organization.

Altogether, these four axes construct and show a particular society. Social inclusion and integration are related to the faculty of the individual to work and have a job. The participation in other structures gets also defined as the participation as volunteer, or in cultural project, that is what the organizations value as a “useful” or “productive” society. The loss of any of these is accidental and not related to the society as a whole.

Similarly, the primary social network is constructed as being the individual and his/her family, also with the risk of losing it. More precisely, three categories are

constructed: the *non yet workers*, the *should be working*, and the *have done enough work*. Social inclusion is weighed in terms of this social organization which emphasizes the family as the core and “normal” structure.

No particular questioning of this social organization is visible at best, and at worst gets naturalized.

“Dans une société de consommation comme la nôtre [...]” (Schaerbeek)

In a consumer society like ours [...] (My translation)

The society hence produced and naturalized can not be changed, and the necessity of having the CPAS as a social provider is made evident and also natural.

It appears, under the light of this network of construction, that specific kinds of capital (Bourdieu, 1982) are valued.

The social capital, as we have seen, entails the dimension of the individual and the family. At a broader scale, the valued network appears as *organized* institutionally (official or institutionally recognized associations, organizations etc.). The cultural capital that is valued obviously revolves around the previous. Skills and competences are related to work within the normalized and recognized society that is pictured by the organizations’ discourse. These skills and competences are reached to and institutionalized by means of a kind of training, or regular schooling, either sanctioned by diplomas or by the successful passing of the control procedure organized by the CPAS and its network of institutions (at large: the State).

Economic capital is also valued as it appears as the first questioned item:

“Une aide financière peut aussi être octroyée lorsque les ressources sont momentanément insuffisantes [...]” (Watermael)

A financial support can also be granted when resources are temporarily insufficient [...] (My translation)

Besides going in contradiction to the above section because the economic capital is weighed and considered at first, it also supports and re-asserts the importance of money-related capital in the society pictured.

Furthermore, an interesting construction that is made is around debt, consumption and energy.

“[...] d’accompagner des personnes en défaut de paiement des factures d’énergie, au travers de la prévention et de la sensibilisation.” (Audergem)

[...] to guide the ones failing to pay energy invoices, by means of prevention and sensitization. (My translation)

“[...] un ingénieur propose une analyse et une aide technique en matière de consommation énergétique [...]” (Schaerbeek)

[...] an engineer proposes an analysis and a technical help considering energy consumption [...] (My translation)

In these two quotes, the difficulty to pay is construed as a misconception or even ignorance or incompetence of the person (*i.e.* a lack of – legitimized – skill). This latter needs to be *educated* or *guided* not to consume too much, and his/her financial difficulties are constructed as inherent to him/her (in this sense it is related to the *pathologization* of poverty). Moreover, the societal mechanisms get hidden behind the individual, and no mention of other reasons for these situations to happen is done (price of energy and rational choice of the individual — agency).

More than simply picturing the society, this discourse *performs* it by means of the weight allocated to each of its facets. That is, by not questioning the society, the conditions of re-production of it are fulfilled. The organizations use their power and legitimacy first to re-produce them at their own scale, and second, to re-produce the broader institutional network at a larger scale.

4.8 Wrapping the Discourse: the Rhetoric of Benevolence

As we touched upon all along this paper, the meanings and constructions that are produced by the texts of the corpus are embedded within particular sentences and formulations that create a second part of the organizations' *ethos* which finally wraps it.

We mentioned in the second section of this analysis that the organizations' communication involves their self-presentation as self-standing organizations that *matter*.

A broad network of formulations throughout the corpus participates in this self-presentation. Here again (as in Section 4.4) we encounter the problematic of the potential *genre* of our corpus, which might be a bias in our study for the following reasons. Our CPAS corpus is composed by online material that aim to present and justify the presentation, just as any other organization (public or private) could do, hence these justifications might be related to the *genre* (as a conventionalized way of presenting contents and arguments and of turning phrases). If the formulations studied below are broadly spread across the language and various organizational types of communication, they might be the reflection of a standard way of doing things rather than that of a strategic and/or intentional move.

The rhetoric of “usefulness in necessity” has been grasped in the previous sections, while discussing some recurrent lexemes (*i.e.* aid- and social-) and the construction of a dichotomy between the organizations and the public. This goes along with the support they textually get by the simple mean of mentioning it, from the Law and policies.

This rhetoric is associated and completed throughout the corpus with a rhetoric of “voluntaristic action towards the public”. This rhetoric operates at the intersection of the professional and expert vocabulary such as “professional”, “skills”, “engineer” etc. and of the possibility for the social field to be organized and fixed. By this intersection, they put themselves in a position where they can organize the

social field, unlike the public they are addressing. This move achieves the search of legitimacy by the organizations (combining the Law and their actual skills to fulfill their missions) and also achieves a top-down approach to the social field: they institute themselves as able to fix what is wrong (while, of course, defining what is wrong and what is it to be able to fix it) in the social arena, that is the society.

This second part of the organizations' *ethos* involves the construction of the organizations in *movement*, *provoking* movement in their wakes.

"[...] afin de permettre [...]" (Koekelberg)

[...] in order to permit [...] (My translation)

"[...] une vision dynamique de l'aide [...]" (Koekelberg)

[...] a dynamic vision of help [...] (My translation)

"[...] le CPAS décidera [...]" (Molenbeek)

[...] the CPAS will decide [...] (My translation)

"Notre CPAS veut offrir [...]" (Berchem-Sainte-Agathe)

Our CPAS wants to offer [...] (My translation)

These quotes are only examples of the way the organizations picture and construct themselves. They use comforting verbs such as "ensure", "make sure", "allow" or "permit", "can help" or generally "can do". This vocabulary constructs the organizations as *able* to do something, and actually doing it in the social arena.

A rhetoric of professionalism supports this:

"[...] notre CPAS a beaucoup évolué [...] et parce qu'il a innové en créant des services inédits." (Woluwe-Saint-Lambert)

Our CPAS has very much evolved [...] and because it has innovated by creating some new services. (My translation)

"[...] [les équipes du CPAS] tendent vers un même objectif [...]" (Brussels)

[...] [the CPAS' teams] aim to the same target [...] (My translation)

Together with the use of the verb "aider" ("to help") and the lexical field that goes with it (that we explored earlier), a particular notion of what the organizations are and do, emerges.

They make an attempt to produce themselves, by means of their own discourse, as legitimate, able and skilled, committed, helpful and even necessary. By this process, their role as public institutions is somewhat obscured as they separate themselves from the public. Their legitimacy comes from "above", putting the organizations in a top position within a top-down configuration of their relationship with the public. While it is clear that organizations can act on the public, the possibility of the public acting on the organizations is obscured. As argued earlier, they provide criteria to define who is to be helped, on what grounds and how to fix the problem.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The analysis above showed a self-description of the CPAS, as institutions, as *the* providers in *the social field*. That is, the CPASs tend to define what is a desirable social organization, and the means to reach it. The society that is both pictured and re-asserted by means of the legitimized power of these institutions includes the recognition of the individual and then the family as core and relevant constituents of the social life. The emphasis on work, or studies, in terms of what is recognized by the institutions as valid, actually produces, also by means of legitimacy, the very same conditions for which they were created and possibly needed.

If a society as a whole relies on the notion of work for its members to be included socially (as members of this society), then it is indeed necessary to have institutions protecting that notion by fixing the absence of work of the applicants to membership. The problem lies in the absence of questioning and the potential oppressions that this position implies (on the ones not able to work, or not productive enough...).

Work, and more generally social activities and networks, get defined against the institutions' standards, which prevents other definitions to be spoken out, or even to be thought of. For example, work gets defined as paid, or volunteering in associations, both of them needing either guidance or a diploma of some kind (a symbolic artifact recognized by the institution as a proxy of the society). These productions of *the social field* also imply generally a separation between the ones working or able to, and the ones not working or not able to, which means it makes a separation within the society between a class of "productive" people, and a class of "unproductive" people, these latter having to be fixed or dealt with. These institutions do not challenge the basic assumptions of the society they produce. As rather official discourses, the texts at our disposal show a lack of resisting aspects towards this definition of society: they rarely show a different approach to the society, and when they do, it is at the level of the individual, with empathic tone, revealing the lack of bottom-up criticism.

We consider this as rather expected since the institutions themselves state their bond to the Law and rules, acting as state-apparatuses in charge of fixing social problems considered as such within the society. However, they willingly inscribe themselves within this wake, refuting their potential role as social actors challeng-

ing the social organization, i.e. challenging inequalities and their source. They actually interpret and implement the Law in their own way, excluding for example foreigners at worst, or at best making two categories of entitled people to human dignity. This doesn't exclude the possibility of resistance *within* these institutions as people inside, as subjects enacting their agency, would *do* such critiques by their actions. That is why we consider these organizations as embedded within a network of similar institutions (medical system, the state, the government, the municipalities and the economy) which use its power and legitimacy to conserve the *statu quo*. This network involves a reliance on the individual, the family and usefulness in the society through work.

What was not expected though, is the contradictions (between the struggle against inequalities and the creation of others – by determining what people might suffer from them, excluding other people: foreigners, illegals etc.) that operate *within* this particular *ideology* (which we may now characterize as neo-liberal, i.e. the emphasis on the individual as being the basic constituent of his life, and of the society) in the organizations' discourse. By obscuring the why, the who and the how of the social issues they address (precariousness, poverty, crisis, insufficient resources), they re-produce the conditions for inequalities to exist and perpetuate themselves. If loosing a job "just happens", for example, the only necessity is to fix that loss, with the risk that each time this situation "just happens" is considered independently from the others, obscuring a potentially recurring, patterned and systematic social process.

It could be argued as a critique that I was influenced by the work of Bourdieu to describe and explain social processes, and that, therefore, I found what I assumed in the first place. It is true that the theory influenced me, but what I found is controlled for: there *is* an overuse of the legal quotes, there *is* the making of *social issues* as individual, and straight contradictions between what the organizations claim to do, and what they discursively do, *exist* in the corpus (even though it is situated at the level of the discourse in this study), etc.

The interpretations I make are contestable of course, but they are legitimate in the sense that the organizations, and the network in which the inter-act, *do*, corporally, gate-keep the access to the society (and hence to the territory) from non-recognized people, which the organizations under study reserve to themselves the right to define.

The use of other frameworks of analysis, even with critical aims, might have produced other interpretations of the texts studied. With focus to other salient words in the corpus, it could be possible to see how the organizations manage their obligations in the entanglement of institutions, and highlight the effort they make to include the public despite hierarchical constraints. With focus on policy, among which *gender* policies, youth and elderly policies, other conclusions might have been reached concerning the type of social organization promoted, or resisted against, by the organizations.

The use of the "vous" (in Section 4.5.2) may have been interpreted as a polite, personal and comforting way of describing and making the relationship with the public, instead of a separating rhetorical move, which would lead to other conclu-

sions than ours, but still connected. Also, a focus on texts not containing either “nous” or “vous” might have told another story concerning the position of the organizations within their social field and the subsequent relations they have or intend to have with the citizens.

Finally, the relations between the texts and their website of origin may be explored in depth and show the articulations of the two in a different way.

Another point that might be unclear is the way the texts, which can be qualified as “neutral” in their function and as non-partisan in their pragmatics (they are not emanating from organizations whose role *is* to produce ideas and to claim particular visions of the world and definitions over key terms and concepts – ideology, Griffin 2007; van Dijk 2007; Heywood 2007 – in competition with other world views, i.e. political parties, think tanks, unions...), produce their world discursively. This point has to do with three things. First, the texts *are* productions in their own right: they were thought of, written and broadcasted as any other cultural artifact. Second, they have been produced by *subjects* enacting their *agency*, that is they were produced by one or more individuals able of agreeing, approving or disapproving, resisting and negotiating what they perceive in the world to eventually modify and create in their own way an interpretation of the world, as functions of the *habitus* and power relations pertaining to social relations. Third, the texts emanate from legitimate institutions that are bound to their self-preservation: they are legitimate *because* they are recognized by individuals and the group as existing. If this recognition stops existing, they lose legitimacy by definition, and stop their very existence. There is no point in being married if it is not recognized by other people, and by extension, by the group of people and the society. This intersection of legitimacy, agency of subjects and the production of cultural artifacts in these conditions situates the texts within a particular configuration of these conditions and within a particular world view, which *produces* in the social arena, rather than merely describes or represents, this particular world view. If someone says “I am married”, he/she produces the particular world view of being in a couple, asserts the relevance of this particular social fact to him/her *and* to the audience, who is invited to recognize this fact as real, i.e. to give it legitimacy. This *speech act* doesn’t merely describe a situation, it *produces* the situation as an ontological truth, as the texts do in their own right and context.

A possible limitation of this study involves the important difference that exists between the texts of the corpus. We considered them as representative of the organizations’ communicative function, that is their willingness to “define them out there”, hence making the texts relevant altogether for the purpose that is ours in this study. However, the texts vary in length, in the nature of the content and possibly in the function of the author.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Our methodology involved the use of Critical Discourse Analysis with the purpose of exploring the sources, use and relations of power in the context of institutional-organizational communicative functions. These functions involve several relationships and interconnections in the social field in general, that is the public or citizens, other institutions, and the social organization at large.

In this framework, the micro-level of the "neutral" or common-sense based discourse of the organizations under study, hence perceived as harmless, relates to and perpetuates the macro-level neo-liberal nation-state social organization.

The intermediary level, or meso-level, operates a bridge between the texts under study and the interconnectedness of institutions they are embedded in. That is, with the WPR approach, we pointed out constructions concerning the individual as the main problem, to whom can happen many things as localized and specific. This involved the solution to this problem to be also an individual response. The organizations studied would define, and orient the individual towards these constructions and structures and, finally, orient the individual to embody them. The context of our CPAS corpus' texts re-enacts the broader social structures in which they were created: a reliance on the Law and on the individual articulating with the conception of the social world as being regulated by work and usefulness, induces the need for institutions able to control and repair these aspects.

Although intuitively we may have expected these organizations to have such connections and roles, to make such constructions and actions, and to have such a discourse (control, the Law, individualism etc.), the extent to which they do, is surprising. The heavy reliance on the legal foundations of the organizations, strongly spread in all the texts, as well as the emphasis on the same kind of services, procedures and solutions to living conditions, were rather unexpected.

These two approaches (CDA and WPR) are designed to have a critical standpoint upon *what is done* in the social arena. Further directions of research can be sketched. Along two vectors, vertical (i.e. within the CPAS themselves) and horizontal (i.e. across other related institutions), and combinations of these two, more questions can be asked.

Vertically and down to the workers' level, ethnographic research must be done to disentangle the power enacted at grass-root levels involving how the organiza-

tions' agents or employees communicate and construct as discourse towards and with the public. In this kind of study, resistance and agency could be studied, that is how the power and constructions of the organizations are challenged by their participants (the public and the employees in those organizations). Towards the other direction (i.e. up to the organization of the CPAS as an entity), a study of the close network of influences that contributed to the production of our corpus' texts can be done to study their pragmatics in depth: who wrote what for what purpose and under which or whose influences? Here also, resistance to and preservation of the *statu quo*, in terms of what people discursively produce, could be explored.

Horizontally, the study of other institutions within the network can also be done. What does, for example, the online discourse of a State's department produce as social reality? How could it be, or is, related to our present study? Is there any contradictions *within* this network in terms of resistance or approval concerning productions of social reality?

Another facet of our study concerned the technicalities of the gathering and exploration of relevant data. Web-based studies have seen the development of frameworks and methods of analysis, which were not our prime focus, and can definitely enlighten the possible virtual interconnectedness of institutions.

Also, a *genre* research would be useful as it can point out recurrences and patterns in the way websites are made or used, what content and discourse are presented along with the kind of purpose they pursue, and the kind of social production they make.

References

- Anderson, W. J. (2006). *Phraseology of Administrative French : A Corpus-based Study*. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi.
- Anthony, L. (2012). *AntConc (3.3.5u) [Computer Software]*. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. Available from <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/>.
- Austin, J. L. (1962). How to do things with words. In Jaworski and Coupland (2006a), pp. 55–65.
- Bacchi, C. and Eveline, J. (2010). Approaches to gender main-streaming: What's the problem represented to be? In *Mainstreaming politics: Gendering practices and feminist theory*, pp. 111–138. Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press.
- Barad, K. (2003). Posthumanist performativity: Toward an understanding of how matter comes to matter. *Signs*, 28(3), 801–831.
- Barad, K. (2011). Nature's queer performativity. *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences*, 19(2), 121–158.
- Baroni, M., Bernardini, S., Ferraresi, A., and Zanchetta, E. (2008). The wacky wide web: A collection of very large linguistically processed web-crawled corpora. *Language Resources and Evaluation*, 43(3), 209–226.
- Bohman, J. (2004). Discourse theory. In Gaus and Chandran (2004), pp. 155–166.
- Bourdieu, P. (1982). *Ce que parler veut dire. L'économie des échanges linguistiques*. Paris: Fayard.
- Breidt, E. (1993). Extraction of v-n-collocations from text corpora: A feasibility study for german. In *CoRR-1996*, pp. 74–83.
- Butler, J. (2001). Doing justice to someone: Sex reassignment and allegories of transsexuality. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 7(4), 621–636.
- Cameron, D. (2001). *Working With Spoken Discourse*. UK: Sage Publications.
- Cameron, D. (2007). Ideology and language. In Freedman (2007), pp. 136–147.

- Codó, E. (2011). Regimenting discourse, controlling bodies: Disinformation, evaluation and moral categorization in a state bureaucratic agency. *Discourse Society*, 22, 723–742.
- Dolón, R. and Todolí, J. (Eds.) (2008). *Analysing Identities in Discourse*. The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Dryzek, J. S. (2004). Democratic political theory. In Gaus and Chandran (2004), pp. 143–154.
- Freeden, M. (Ed.) (2007). *The Meaning Of Ideology*. London: Routledge.
- Gaus, G. F. and Chandran, K. (Eds.) (2004). *Handbook of Political Theory*. London: Sage Publications.
- Gobin, C. (2000). Un survol des discours de présentation de l'exécutif européen (1958-1993). *Mots*, 62, 99–107.
- Gobin, C., Castel, N., Cusso, R., Deroubaix, J.-C., Robert, M., and Shirmann, M. (2005). European discourses glossary on pension reforms and employment reforms. Technical report, RESORE - Université de Nancy - Université de Lorraine - GRAID Université Libre de Bruxelles.
- Gobin, C. and Deroubaix, J.-C. (2009). Mots, fréquence et réseaux dans le discours politique : analyse lexicométrique, méthode et illustration dans deux corpus de textes européens. *Sociolinguistic Studies*, 3(2), 203–227.
- Griffin, R. (2007). Ideology and culture. In Freeden (2007), pp. 75–97.
- Gunnarsson, B.-L. (2009). *Professional Discourse*. UK: CIP Group.
- Halpern, N. and Regmi, U. K. (2013). Content analysis of european airport websites. *Journal of Air Transport Management*, 26, 8–13.
- Harder, C. T. and Jordan, M. M. (2012). The transparency of county websites: A content analysis. *Public Affairs Quarterly*, Spring, 103–128.
- Heywood, A. (2007). *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*. USA: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Jaworski, A. and Coupland, N. (Eds.) (2006a). *The Discourse Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Jaworski, A. and Coupland, N. (2006b). Introduction: Perspectives on discourse analysis. In Jaworski and Coupland (2006a), pp. 1–37.
- Johnson, K. M. (2012). Excluding lesbian and single women? an analysis of u.s. fertility clinic websites. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 35, 394–402.
- Krieg-Planque, A. (2012). *Analyser les Discours Institutionnels*. Paris: Armand Colin.

- Kymlicka, W. (1989). *The value of Cultural Membership*, chapter 8, pp. 162–181. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Levitt, B. and March, J. G. (1988). Organizational learning. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 14, 319–340.
- Lykke, N. (2010). *Feminist Studies: A Guide to Intersectional Theory, Methodology and Writing*. NY: Routledge.
- Mai, N. (2012). The fractal queerness of non-heteronormative migrants working in the uk sex industry. *Sexualities*, 15, 570–585.
- Mangueneau, D. (2011). Multiculturalism in discourse analysis: The "French" example. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 6(2), 105–120.
- Maleuvre, D. (2004). Beyond culture. *Journal of Human Values*, 10, 131–141.
- Manning, C. D. and Schütze, H. (1999). *Foundations of Statistical Natural Language Processing*, chapter 5, pp. 141–177. USA: MIT Press.
- Martín Rojo, L. (2008). Imposing and resisting ethnic categorization in multicultural classrooms. In Dolón and Todolí (2008), pp. 31–56.
- Mautner, G. (2005). Time to get wired: Using web-based corpora in critical discourse analysis. *Discourse Society*, 16, 809–828.
- McDermott, E. (2011). The world some have won: Sexuality, class and inequality. *Sexualities*, 14, 63–78.
- McNamara, M. S., Fealy, G. M., and Geraghty, R. (2012). The visibility of the discipline on the websites of academic nursing schools. *Nurs Outlook*, 60, 29–36.
- Nixon, C. A. (2011). Working-class lesbian parents' emotional engagement with their children's education: Intersections of class and sexuality. *Sexualities*, 14(1), 79–99.
- O'Halloran, K. (2009). Inferencing and cultural reproduction: a corpus-based critical discourse analysis. *Text & Talk*, 29(1), 21–51.
- Paltridge, B. (2006a). *Discourse Analysis*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Paltridge, B. (2006b). *Discourse and Genre*, chapter 4, pp. 82–105. In (Paltridge, 2006a).
- Paltridge, B. (2006c). *Discourse and Pragmatics*, chapter 3, pp. 52–81. In (Paltridge, 2006a).
- Paltridge, B. (2006d). *What is Discourse Analysis?*, chapter 1, pp. 1–22. In (Paltridge, 2006a).

- Salama, A. H. (2011). Ideological collocation and the recontextualization of wahhabi-saudi islam post-9/11: A synergy of corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis. *Discourse Society*, 22, 315–342.
- Santini, M., Mehler, A., and Sharoff, S. (2011). Riding the rough waves of genre on the web. In Santini, M., Mehler, A., and Sharoff, S. (Eds.), *Genres on the Web*, chapter 1, pp. 3–30. US: Springer.
- Seargeant, P. (2009). Language ideology, language theory, and the regulation of linguistic behaviour. *Language Sciences*, 31, 345–359.
- Sterckx, N. (2012). *Loi organique du 8.7.1976*. Association de la Ville et des Communes de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale – Section CPAS.
- Stråth, B. (2007). Ideology and history. In Freedon (2007), pp. 21–40.
- Sullivan, P. (2006). Introduction: Culture without cultures - the culture effect. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 17(3), 253–264.
- Tamatea, L., Hardy, J., and Ninnes, P. (2008). Paradoxical inscriptions of global subjects: critical discourse analysis of international schools' websites in the asia-pacific region. *Critical Studies in Education*, 49(2), 157–170.
- Tapia, A. H., Kvasny, L., and Ortiz, J. A. (2011). A critical discourse analysis of three us municipal wireless network initiatives for enhancing social inclusion. *Telematics and Informatics*, 28, 215–226.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2007). Ideology and discourse analysis. In Freedon (2007), pp. 110–135.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and Power*. USA: Palgrave MacMillan.

Appendix A

Function Words in the Corpus

The most used words in the corpus are function words.

Rank	Freq	Word
1	575	de
2	292	la
3	289	à
4	273	d
5	251	le
6	243	et
7	226	l
8	221	les
9	202	des
10	157	une
11	149	un

Appendix B

AntConc's Stoplist

Function words in French (manually compiled). Are included: conjunctions, pronouns, prepositions and articles according to Paltridge (2006d) and Gobin and Deroubaix (2009): words having little lexical meaning but having grammatical function in the cohesion of sentences. Also included are single letters that might appear as words in the corpus either by formatting (hyphenation etc.) limitations or by contractions.

du; ou; au; sur; je; tu; il; nous; vous; ils; mon; ton; son;
notre; votre; leur; mes; tes; ses; nos; vos; leurs; à; de; pour;
mais; où; et; donc; or; ni; car; pas; ne; que; qui; quoi; quand;
quant; le; la; les; un; une; des; quelle; quel; quels; quelles;
d; l; n; en; aux; dans; par; ce; c; ces; avec; sans; qu'; se;
me; te; t; m; s; moi; toi; il; elle; vous; nous; ils; elles; sa;
si; on; y; b; c; d; e; f; g; h; i; j; k; l; m; n; o; p; q; r;
s; t; u; v; w; x; y; z

Appendix C

Schaerbeek's CPAS: a condensed and long example of the Corpus

Le CPAS : « La solidarité près de chez vous »

Chacune, chacun peut, à un moment de son existence, avoir le sentiment que la vie bascule : perte d'un conjoint, d'un compagnon, peine immense à laquelle s'ajoutent souvent de graves difficultés financières ; perte d'un emploi sans droit au chômage ; perte d'un logement confortable au loyer raisonnable et impossibilité d'en retrouver un dans un délai court; conflit grave avec un parent, un partenaire et nécessité de quitter la maison ; gros ennuis de santé qui déséquilibrent le budget du ménage ; surendettement. . .

Face à toutes ces situations de précarité et de pauvreté, quand faire face aux nécessités premières : loyer, gaz/électricité, nourriture, santé, devient impossible, il existe une institution publique chargée de veiller à ce que toutes et tous aient les moyens de vivre dignement, c'est-à-dire sans devoir user de moyens humiliants ou dégradants pour se procurer les ressources nécessaires à la vie. Cette institution, c'est le CPAS : le Centre public d'action sociale. Chaque année, plusieurs milliers de personnes reçoivent le soutien du CPAS.

La mission la plus connue du CPAS est l'octroi d'une allocation sociale : le Revenu d'intégration qui a remplacé le Minimex ou une aide équivalente. Il s'agit d'une aide financière, censée permettre aux personnes de répondre à leurs besoins de base. Ce revenu est octroyé après une enquête sociale, faite par un assistant social qui vérifiera que les conditions d'octroi sont réunies. Cette mission donnée aux CPAS est essentielle, même si toutes les études démontrent que les revenus ainsi octroyés ne suffisent pas pour vivre (625 euros pour un isolé, 834 pour un ménage et 417 pour un cohabitant). C'est la raison pour laquelle d'autres aides complémentaires peuvent être octroyées : carte santé, intervention dans les factures sibelga, garantie locative, etc.

Pourtant si ces aides financières sont essentielles pour bon nombre de personnes qui sans elles n'auraient aucun moyen pour vivre, les missions du CPAS vont bien au-delà. L'ambition du CPAS est aussi de permettre à chacun, chacune de trouver une place dans la société, de participer à la vie sociale et ce, à travers un emploi, un engagement bénévole dans une association, dans un projet artistique,

culturel. Nous avons tous besoin de nous sentir reconnus, fiers de ce que nous pouvons faire. La société, elle aussi, a besoin que tous celles et ceux qui sont capables d'apporter quelque chose à la collectivité se mobilisent pour le faire. Et pour cela, il est important de tenir compte des capacités, des talents de tous ceux qui s'adressent au Centre. Il ne s'agit pas d'imposer un projet, mais de le construire avec la personne en fonctions de ses possibilités, de ses compétences et de ses aspirations.

Ainsi, parallèlement au service social général qui est souvent le premier à recevoir la personne qui s'adresse au Centre, le CPAS a développé un ensemble de services dans le but d'octroyer à chacun et chacune l'accompagnement, le soutien le plus adéquat.

CHERCHER ENSEMBLE UNE ORIENTATION PROFESSIONNELLE

L'orientation et l'insertion socioprofessionnelle constitue une mission très importante du CPAS. Afin de la mener à bien, le service « ISP » a été créé. Il rassemble des travailleurs sociaux qui, en collaboration avec l'Orbem et d'autres partenaires, aident les bénéficiaires du CPAS à évaluer leurs compétences, à définir un projet professionnel, à choisir des moyens de remise à niveau de leurs connaissances et des formations, à chercher activement de l'emploi. Le service ISP permet en outre à plus ou moins 300 personnes par an de trouver un l'emploi dans des associations, entreprises privées, autres services publics via l'application de l'article 60, §7, de la loi organique des CPAS.

ECOUTER ET ORIENTER LES JEUNES

Les jeunes de 18 à 25 ans qui s'adressent au Centre sont accueillis par le service « Référents jeunes » qui leur offre une première information concernant leur situation portant sur leurs droits et devoirs. Un accompagnement individuel est ensuite proposé et au moment opportun, des contacts sont pris avec la cellule d'insertion socioprofessionnelle afin d'orienter les jeunes vers des formations ou des études et de les aider à chercher un emploi.

S'EPANOUIR PAR LA CULTURE, L'ART ET LE SPORT

Participer à la vie sociale, ce n'est pas seulement travailler. Ainsi, dans un tout autre registre, depuis 2003, grâce à un fonds octroyé par l'Etat fédéral aux CPAS, notre Centre développe une action destinée à permettre à chacun, même quand il dispose de très peu de moyens financiers d'accéder aux spectacles culturels, de faire du sport, de découvrir les trésors des musées et des villes... Ces activités permettent de rencontrer d'autres personnes, de créer des liens, de sortir de son isolement, de se détendre et à travers cela, de retrouver confiance en soi en se (re)découvrant riches de choses à dire et à partager. Par ailleurs, le service épaulé aussi les artistes en finançant du matériel et en travaillant à la promotion de leur œuvre. Enfin, des activités et ateliers sont organisés afin d'approfondir divers aspects de la création culturelle et artistique en groupe.

TROUVER UN LOGEMENT

Nous savons tous à quel point trouver un logement en bon état à un prix raisonnable devient de plus en plus difficile. Pour certaines personnes, leur difficulté est telle qu'elles courent le risque de se retrouver à la rue. En plein développement, le service « Logement » accompagne les bénéficiaires de l'aide sociale dans

leur recherche d'un toit. Ce service apporte une information sur les logements disponibles, prépare les personnes à rencontrer les propriétaires, fournit une assistance juridique et joue parfois le rôle de médiateur.

GERER SON BUDGET, LUTTER CONTRE L'ENDETTEMENT

Il n'est certainement pas facile de gérer un petit budget. Dans une société de consommation comme la nôtre, il faut beaucoup de détermination pour résister aux multiples tentations qu'amène chaque sortie en ville. Mais il n'y a pas que les plus petits revenus. En fait, un nombre de plus en plus important de personnes, même avec des revenus suffisants, voire importants, connaissent des problèmes de surendettement. Le CPAS a également pour mission de soutenir tous les habitants de la commune confrontés à ces problèmes. Le Service « Media Dettes » apporte ainsi des conseils et une assistance juridique. Il aide les personnes à trouver un plan de remboursement raisonnable avec leurs créanciers et à respecter les engagements pris. Il organise aussi des séances d'information concernant la manière de gérer son budget de manière responsable et autonome.

Dans cet esprit, un ingénieur propose une analyse et une aide technique en matière de consommation énergétique (eau, gaz, électricité), un poste dont l'importance dans les dépenses du ménage ne cesse de croître, comme en témoigne une actualité récente.

ACCOMPAGNER LES AINES

Les seniors de notre Commune font l'objet d'une attention toute particulière de notre Centre et ce à plusieurs égards. Les aînés peuvent s'adresser au CPAS pour obtenir aide et soutien. Un service « personnes âgées » accueille les personnes qui ont besoin d'aide et qui habitent chez elles : complément à une trop petite pension, aide en matière de santé, repas à domicile, aide familiale. . .

Les aînés et leur famille peuvent aussi s'adresser au Centre quand ils ne désirent ou ne peuvent plus vivre seuls à la maison. Ils seront accueillis par le service « hébergement » qui étudiera avec eux les possibilités d'hébergement en maison de repos ou en appartement supervisé. Il pourra s'agir de structures appartenant au CPAS ou pas. Le CPAS dispose de deux maisons de repos : la maison de repos Albert de Latour et la maison de repos et de soins La Cerisaie. La maison de repos Albert de Latour est située à deux pas de la place Dailly, rue Thomas Vincotte, accueille dans un bâtiment moderne et lumineux 147 personnes âgées en général de plus de 60 ans. La maison de repos et de soins La Cerisaie. Cette maison située à l'arrière du CHU Brugmann est conçue pour accueillir des personnes âgées dépendantes et/ou désorientées, nécessitant des soins et de l'aide dans les actes de la vie quotidienne. Elle accueille et accompagne aussi des personnes en fin de vie par la mise en place de soins palliatifs.

UNE PLACE POUR LES ENFANTS

Il existe aussi un service « famille-jeunesse » qui offre un accompagnement très soutenu aux enfants, adolescents en difficulté ainsi qu'aux familles sollicitant une aide pour leurs enfants de 0 à 18 ans. Ce service est amené très souvent à jouer un rôle de soutien aux parents et aux enfants qui traversent un cap difficile et de médiateur en cas de conflit. Avec les jeunes et leur famille, ils s'efforcent d'apporter des solutions pratiques aux problèmes afin qu'ils ne s'amplifient pas.

COLLABORER AVEC LE MILIEU ASSOCIATIF

Depuis Novembre 2004, à travers la création de la Coordination de l'Action sociale, notre CPAS développe à nouveau un partenariat avec un large ensemble d'associations investies dans le champ social à Schaerbeek. Son objectif est de mener une réflexion commune et des actions concertées afin de lutter ensemble contre la pauvreté et l'exclusion sociale.

UNE ADMINISTRATION AU SERVICE DE TOUS

Pour assurer le bon fonctionnement des services présentés, aux côtés des travailleurs sociaux, de nombreux travailleurs administratifs veillent à l'exécution des décisions prises. Par ailleurs, d'autres services se chargent de la gestion financière du CPAS, de son personnel et de l'entretien de ses bâtiments. Comme la plupart des administrations, le CPAS a donc un département Ressources Humaines, un Service Recettes, un Service Finances, un Service technique, un Service Informatique, un Service Interne de Prévention et Protection au Travail. Au total, le CPAS compte 460 travailleurs. L'ensemble du personnel est placé sous l'autorité d'un Secrétaire, Dirk Kaekebeeke et ses activités sont dirigées par une Présidente, au mandat politique similaire à un échevin, Dominique Decoux.

[OTHER SECTION OF THE WEBSITE]

Les CPAS de Belgique ont été créés, sous la forme que nous leur connaissons en 1976, date de création de sa loi organique. Auparavant, l'aide sociale étant l'apanage des bureaux de bienfaisance tels que les Comités d'Assistances Publiques (C.A.P.) créé en 1925 ou d'actions de charité à l'initiative de la noblesse, de la Croix-Rouge, de l'Eglise catholique, ...

L'article 1 de la loi organique des CPAS traduit l'essence même du rôle social et humain qui leur est attribué: "Toute personne a droit à l'aide sociale. Celle-ci a pour but de permettre à chacun de mener une vie conforme à la dignité humaine. Il est créé des centres publics d'aide sociale sui, dans les conditions déterminées par la présente loi, ont pour mission d'assurer cette aide."

En 1974, le "minimex" (revenu minimum garanti) avait été instauré. Il en découle tout à fait naturellement que ce sont les CPAS qui les gèreront en tant qu'institution publique.

En mai 2002, le "minimex" a évolué vers le "Revenu d'Intégration Sociale" (RIS). Le changement de nom marquait un changement de philosophie de l'action sociale. Le but n'est plus seulement de garantir une aide à toute personne dans le besoin (ou autrement dit: aide due à une personne par la collectivité) mais de créer avec elle, un parcours pour assurer sa meilleure intégration dans la vie aussi bien au niveau social qu'au niveau professionnel. L'article 23 de la loi organique des CPAS précise les droits garantis à la personne qui ne visent plus précisément la seule aide financière. En effet, selon l'article 23, "Chacun a le droit de mener une vie conforme à la dignité humaine. A cette fin, la loi, le décret ou la règle garantissent, en tenant compte des obligations correspondantes, les droits économiques, sociaux et culturels. Ces droits comprennent notamment:

le droit au travail et au libre choix d'une activité professionnelle dans le cadre d'une politique générale de l'emploi, visant entre autres à assurer un niveau d'emploi aussi stable et élevé que possible, le droit à des conditions de travail et à une ré-

munération équitables, ainsi que le droit d'information, de consultation et de négociation collective; le droit à la sécurité sociale, à la protection de la santé et à l'aide sociale; médicale et juridique; le droit à un logement décent; le droit à la protection d'un environnement sain; le droit à l'épanouissement culturel et social.

Une certaine autonomie est laissée aux CPAS pour assurer cette aide et nombreux sont ceux qui dépassent les missions de base. Il existe 589 CPAS sur le territoire belge qui ont chacun leur propre action sociale.

Appendix D

URL's of the websites studied

- www.cpas1060.be
- www.anderlecht.be/cpas
- www.ocmwelsene.irisnet.be/bienvenue?set_language=fr&cl=fr
- www.watermael-boitsfort.be/commune/autres-services/cpas
- www.cpas1200.be/main.php?set=1&txt=m&lng=fr
- cpas-ocmw1150.be/sommaire.php
- www.schaerbeek.be/vivre-schaerbeek/aides-sociales/cpas-schaerbeek
- www.cpasevere.irisnet.be/fr/
- www.cpas-etterbeek.irisnet.be/
- www.cpasbru.irisnet.be/fr/index.asp
- www.ganshoren.irisnet.be/cpas
- www.koekelberg.be/p4w/index.php?cont=741&lgn=1
- www.cpas-molenbeek.be/fr
 - The User's Guide: http://www.mi-is.be/sites/default/files/doc/109233-pod-ocmw_fr_02_indd.pdf
- www.jette.be/fr/05_social/cpas.htm
- www.uccle.irisnet.be/fr/C.P.A.S www.cpas-saintjosse.irisnet.be/
- www.auderghem.be/index.php?option=com_content&task=section&id=28&Itemid=288&lang=fr
- www.cpasberchem.irisnet.be/fr
- www.cpasforest.irisnet.be/

Appendix E

Leeds' Corpus Collocates of "Sociale"

In the first column: the first word is the lemma searched for; the second (after ~~) is the collocate.

The Joint column is the occurrence of the bi-gram i.e. the word searched for and the collocate.

Freq1 is the number of occurrences of the first word (the word searched for) in the corpus.

Freq2 is the number of occurrences of the collocate alone in the corpus.

Corpus: I-FR; Tokens: 263727981

Query: [word="sociale"]

Colloc: left=1, right=1; Filter:

[T score](#)

T score

Collocation	Joint	Freq1	Freq2	T score	Concordance
social ~~ et	5990	90718	4929483	69.41	Examples
social ~~ ,	6860	90718	14126115	61.44	Examples
social ~~ .	5121	90718	9012750	55.77	Examples
social ~~ sécurité	2083	90718	44873	45.52	Examples
social ~~ vie	1948	90718	214270	43.53	Examples
social ~~ protection	1133	90718	26787	33.56	Examples
social ~~ justice	830	90718	35771	28.65	Examples
social ~~ aide	818	90718	41470	28.42	Examples
social ~~ cohésion	646	90718	2664	25.40	Examples
social ~~ organisation	592	90718	46104	24.09	Examples
social ~~ économie	476	90718	24671	21.68	Examples
social ~~ action	459	90718	68346	21.02	Examples
social ~~ du	1451	90718	5249759	20.81	Examples
social ~~ ou	599	90718	785423	20.45	Examples
social ~~ »	540	90718	518709	20.44	Examples
social ~~ révolution	424	90718	26420	20.43	Examples
social ~~ politique	418	90718	139253	19.59	Examples
social ~~ situation	395	90718	70733	19.43	Examples
social ~~ classe	382	90718	42549	19.27	Examples
social ~~ réalité	369	90718	47060	18.90	Examples
social ~~ qui	714	90718	1952479	17.56	Examples
social ~~ (591	90718	1325743	17.47	Examples
social ~~ paix	304	90718	36937	17.17	Examples
social ~~ assistant	257	90718	3660	16.00	Examples
social ~~ intégration	253	90718	7759	15.84	Examples
social ~~ position	257	90718	36842	15.74	Examples
social ~~ responsabilité	250	90718	27318	15.59	Examples
social ~~ structure	247	90718	22954	15.53	Examples
social ~~ Europe	238	90718	40753	15.10	Examples
social ~~ "	499	90718	1326174	14.90	Examples
social ~~ exclusion	216	90718	4607	14.66	Examples
social ~~ question	237	90718	143851	14.22	Examples
social ~~ dimension	203	90718	16050	14.11	Examples
social ~~ transformation	195	90718	9753	13.88	Examples
social ~~ solidarité	191	90718	10532	13.72	Examples
social ~~ fracture	184	90718	2118	13.55	Examples
social ~~ reconnaissance	186	90718	13465	13.51	Examples
social ~~ fonction	186	90718	47490	13.20	Examples
social ~~ condition	186	90718	64802	13.04	Examples
social ~~ réinsertion	170	90718	1028	13.03	Examples
social ~~ promotion	165	90718	8179	12.77	Examples

Collocation	Joint	Freq1	Freq2	T score	Concordance
social ~ origine	167	90718	35797	12.58	Examples
social ~ crise	163	90718	23615	12.54	Examples
social ~ psychologie	156	90718	4771	12.44	Examples
social ~ utilité	155	90718	5599	12.39	Examples
social ~ assistance	152	90718	7023	12.26	Examples
social ~ ascension	148	90718	2684	12.14	Examples
social ~ réussite	148	90718	8878	12.07	Examples
social ~ assurance	148	90718	10146	12.06	Examples
social ~ construction	151	90718	22982	12.05	Examples
social ~ évolution	150	90718	20903	12.03	Examples
social ~ critique	151	90718	29580	11.99	Examples
social ~ conscience	153	90718	38338	11.98	Examples
social ~ pression	141	90718	16832	11.70	Examples
social ~ :	456	90718	1651874	11.66	Examples
social ~ insertion	135	90718	2349	11.59	Examples
social ~ phobie	129	90718	1197	11.34	Examples
social ~ injustice	126	90718	5311	11.17	Examples
social ~ hiérarchie	120	90718	4345	10.90	Examples
social ~ histoire	140	90718	90877	10.87	Examples
social ~ échelle	119	90718	13153	10.76	Examples
social ~ ?	255	90718	716817	10.34	Examples
social ~ modernisation	107	90718	2116	10.32	Examples
social ~ couverture	107	90718	9242	10.23	Examples
social ~ matière	113	90718	47314	10.07	Examples
social ~ science	110	90718	40681	10.00	Examples
social ~ régression	97	90718	1660	9.83	Examples
social ~ mixité	96	90718	457	9.79	Examples
social ~ identité	100	90718	17120	9.79	Examples
social ~ pratique	102	90718	47878	9.51	Examples
social ~ norme	93	90718	15719	9.44	Examples
social ~ catégorie	93	90718	16917	9.42	Examples
social ~ ;	275	90718	982141	9.16	Examples
social ~ raison	105	90718	93476	9.10	Examples
social ~ inégalité	84	90718	4599	9.10	Examples
social ~ demande	90	90718	31733	9.07	Examples
social ~ base	93	90718	44444	9.07	Examples
social ~ démocratie	86	90718	18140	9.03	Examples
social ~ division	84	90718	10946	9.02	Examples
social ~ stabilité	82	90718	5143	8.98	Examples
social ~ communication	87	90718	27947	8.95	Examples
social ~ activité	92	90718	52687	8.90	Examples
social ~ insécurité	79	90718	2557	8.85	Examples
social ~ lutte	85	90718	32745	8.77	Examples
social ~ doctrine	79	90718	8360	8.77	Examples
social ~ guerre	92	90718	83175	8.50	Examples
social ~ union	76	90718	21219	8.41	Examples
social ~ législation	72	90718	6715	8.39	Examples
social ~ production	76	90718	30101	8.28	Examples
social ~ éthique	71	90718	10021	8.28	Examples
social ~ régulation	69	90718	2736	8.27	Examples
social ~ violence	76	90718	35721	8.20	Examples
social ~ mobilité	68	90718	2803	8.20	Examples

Collocation	Joint	Freq1	Freq2	T score	Concordance
social ~~ être	877	90718	5080641	8.11	Examples
social ~~ existence	73	90718	30075	8.10	Examples
social ~~ misère	67	90718	10204	8.03	Examples
social ~~ richesse	68	90718	14728	8.02	Examples
social ~~ couche	67	90718	11434	8.01	Examples
social ~~ égalité	66	90718	10697	7.96	Examples
social ~~ interaction	62	90718	4339	7.80	Examples
social ~~ enquête	65	90718	20314	7.75	Examples

Appendix F

Contact Sheets

The screenshot displays the official website of the municipality of Schaarbeek. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the logo 'Schaarbeek.be' and the text 'Bienvenue sur le Site officiel de la commune de Schaarbeek'. Language options for 'NEDERLANDS' and 'ENGLISH' are available. A secondary menu includes 'A-Z', 'Questions fréquentes', 'Plan de site', 'Aide', and 'Contact'. Below this, there are tabs for 'AGENDA' and 'ACTUALITÉ'. The main navigation bar features three categories: 'VIVRE', 'SE DÉTENDRE', and 'TRAVAILLER, SE FORMER'. A search bar is located on the left side of the page.

The main content area is titled 'CPAS DE SCHAARBEEK'. It includes a sidebar with a search filter and a list of services under the heading 'VIVRE À SCHAARBEEK'. The central part of the page features a large image of the CPAS building and a map showing the location at '100 Rue des Palais 1030 Schaarbeek'. Below the map, there is information about the 'Service d'Action Sociale' and a 'Call Center' number '02.240.30.80'. A 'Mise à jour' date of '03/02/2012' is also present.

At the bottom of the page, there is a section for 'Démarches' with a 'Gagnez du temps ! 32 formalités par internet' banner. Below this are links for 'SE LOCALISER', 'CARNET D'ADRESSES', 'GALERIE PHOTOS', and 'GALERIE VIDÉOS'. The footer contains contact information for the 'Hôtel communal de Schaarbeek' and a 'FÊTE DU TRAVAIL' notice for May 1st, 2013. Logos for 'Région de Bruxelles-Capitale' and 'CHANTIERS' are also visible, along with a 'Schaarbeek 2021' logo.

Bienvenue sur le site du CPAS de Woluwe-Saint-Pierre

Membres du conseil



Anne-Marie Claeys-Matthys, Présidente



Alain Wilmotte, Secrétaire



Catherine Bruggeman



Paul Delva



Anne Delvaux



Muriel Godhaird



Carine Kolchery



Claire Renson



Christine Salié



Mohamed Temsamani



Claude Vanhee

Philippe Van Cranem



Sybille van Zuylen

- [Bienvenus](#)
- [Le mot de la présidente](#)
- [Action sociale et emploi](#)
- [Aide au logement](#)
- [Services aux familles](#)
- [Accompagnement des seniors](#)
- [Nouveaux services](#)
- [Coordonnées utiles](#)
- [Vous êtes à la recherche de personnel?](#)
- [Coordination sociale](#)

Copyright 2006 © cpas-ocmw1150.be
Conception et Réalisation: [d'et ASBL](#)

The screenshot shows the homepage of the CPAS Woluwe Saint-Lambert website. The header includes the CPAS logo, the name 'CPAS Woluwe Saint-Lambert', and the subtitle 'Centre Public d'Action Sociale'. There are links for 'Home', 'Nederlands / français', and 'Site map'. A navigation menu contains 'Conseil du CPAS', 'Services sociaux', 'Etablissements', 'Bénévoles', 'Galerie de photos', and 'Liens'. The main content area is titled 'Bienvenue' and contains a list of bullet points: 'Vous avez besoin d'informations, d'écoute, de soutien, d'aide financière?', 'Vous êtes âgé ou, vous avez un proche âgé et vous cherchez de l'aide, un service, une structure d'accueil, un lieu de parole?', 'Vous êtes sans emploi et vous cherchez à remettre le pied à l'étrier?', 'Vous êtes endettés et vous avez besoin de conseils objectifs?', 'Vous êtes privé de logement?', 'Vous êtes en convalescence ou souhaitez passer quelques jours dans un environnement médicalisé?', and 'Vous avez un proche qui nécessite un hébergement en centre de jour?'. Below the list is the bolded text 'Notre porte vous est grande ouverte.' followed by a paragraph: 'Nos équipes sont prêtes à vous recevoir pour vous informer et vous aider à trouver des solutions. Des professionnels vous assurent l'écoute et la confidentialité, ils mettent leur expérience et leurs compétences à votre service.' and a link 'Documents à emporter 1ère visite'. The footer contains the text 'Dernière modification: 26/03/2013 | Validé W3C XHTML, CSS et WAI-A | Disclaimer | Contactez webmaster'.

AUDERGEM : ENTRE VILLE ET SOIGNES FR NL EN

Accueil Contact Plan du site Index Liens Elections Rechercher...

Vous êtes ici: CPAS »

Centre Public d'Action Sociale

Contactez le CPAS :

par téléphone : 02/679.94.10.
par fax : 02/679.94.61.
Services ouverts de 8h à 12h ou sur rendez-vous.

Président du CPAS d'Audergem
Mr Christophe Magdalijs
Avenue du Paepedelle 87
1160 Audergem
presidence@cpasaud.irisnet.be

Secrétaire du CPAS
Mme A. MAHIEU
Ligne directe : 02/679.94.25

Receveur du CPAS
Mr Nils LAMBREMONT
Tél. : 02/679.94.28.

Conseillers de l'action sociale

ARTUS Véronique
Av. de Brouckère 85

BOODTS Emmanuel
Ch de Wavre 1657

CAUPIN Armand
Ch. de Wavre 1655

RIGODANZO Vanessa
Av. J. Smets 45

JAUMOT Robert
Av. des Meuniers 62

LENOIR Carinne
Ch de Wavre 1257

LAMBIN Fred
Rue Huygens 31

MOLENBERG Vincent
Av des Meuniers 42

SERVAIS Michel
Av. Drouart 12

VENIER Ingrid
Av de la Héronnière 102/17

Informations générales : www.ocmw-info-cpas.be
Ce site a été réalisé par la Section CPAS de l'Association de la Ville et des Communes de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale asbl (AVCB)

© 2013 Commune d'Audergem - Tél. : 02/676.48.11 - Fax: 02/660.98.38 - Rédaction : Uchtray | Hébergement: Logica

The screenshot shows the website for O.C.A.M.W. C.P.A.S. Berchem-Sainte-Agathe. The header includes the organization's logo, contact information (Av. du Roi Albert 88, 1082 Brussels), and navigation links for 'Comment nous trouver?', 'Accessibilité', 'Contact', and 'Site Map'. A search bar is also present. The main content area features a 'Bienvenue' section with a news article titled 'Bientôt l'ouverture d'une épicerie sociale à Berchem-Sainte-Agathe'. The article mentions a 5th-grade class from the Notre-Dame de la Sagesse school creating a logo and name for the store. A sidebar on the left lists various services: 'Le mot du Président et du Secrétaire', 'Le CPAS', 'Département des Affaires Sociales', 'Familles', 'Seniors', 'Personnes à Mobilité Réduite', 'Agenda 21', 'Offres d'emploi', 'Contact', 'Publications', and 'Liens'. There is also a 'CONECTAR NIGHT' poster on the right side of the page. The footer contains a 'Disclaimer' and the text 'Created and hosted by CIRB-CIBG'.

Le CPAS de la Ville de Bruxelles



NOTRE RÔLE
NOS SERVICES AUX PUBLICS
NOTRE ADMINISTRATION
CONTACTEZ-NOUS

Rechercher

OK

ACTION SOCIALE
SANTÉ
LOGEMENT SOCIAL
EMPLOI ET FORMATION
SENIORS
JEUNESSE
PARTENARIATS

BIENVENUE SUR LE SITE DU CPAS DE LA VILLE DE BRUXELLES

Toutes les équipes travaillant au sein du CPAS de la Ville de Bruxelles tendent vers un même objectif : aider les personnes qui s'adressent à nous à s'émanciper sous divers aspects : personnel, social, professionnel.

Dans cet esprit, les actions que nous développons recouvrent bien des domaines :

- l'action sociale;
- la santé;
- la mise à disposition de nouveaux logements ou de logements rénovés;
- la mise à l'emploi (article 60) et la formation;
- le soutien en faveur des personnes âgées, des jeunes en difficultés, et d'une manière plus générale, des personnes fragilisées (sans-abri, personnes isolées,...)

Ce ne sont là, en bref, que quelques facettes du soutien que le CPAS de la Ville de Bruxelles. Vous découvrirez plus en détail, au fil des pages de ce site Internet, les services que nous vous offrons et les actions que nous menons.

Quelle que soit votre situation, soyez certains de notre motivation, de notre dynamisme et de notre écoute à votre égard. Ensemble, nous tenons à faire le maximum pour vous garantir un avenir meilleur.

Yvan MAYEUR
Président du CPAS

Carine ELST
Secrétaire général

Le Budget 2013 du CPAS de la Ville de Bruxelles a été voté ce 15 avril au Conseil Communal

Le budget 2013 d'exploitation du CPAS s'élève à 279.526.900C.

Ce budget 2013 est présenté à l'équilibre moyennant une intervention globale de la Ville de 63.743.800 C ce qui représente par rapport au budget 2012, une augmentation nette à charge de la Ville de 5.279.800 C soit une augmentation de l'ordre de 9,5 %. Cette augmentation fait suite à des éléments exogènes au CPAS à savoir l'indexation des salaires et des aides de 2% ainsi qu'une charge très importante résultante de la réforme des pensions. Ce budget prévoit également l'ouverture de 4 nouvelles maisons de quartier.

Le budget 2013 d'investissement du CPAS s'élève pour 2013 à 120.724.600 C, les postes principaux résultent de la restructuration de notre réseau MR/MRS, la finalisation de nos constructions dans le cadre du plan "1000 logements", la rénovation importante de plusieurs bâtiments.

CPAS de Bruxelles – Siège administratif
Rue Haute 298a – 1000 Bruxelles
Téléphone : 02 543 61 11
Email : press.1000@cpasbrv.brnet.be

CPAS de Bruxelles – Accueil central
Rue Haute 296 – 1000 Bruxelles
Téléphone : 02 543 63 39

FR | NL

Quelques questions souvent posées

L'Agenda 21 et le CPAS de Bruxelles

Le CPAS en vidéos

Actualités

Jobs étudiant





Plan du site • Imprimer • Envoyer à un(e) ami(e) • Mentions légales • Site web hébergé par le CIRB

The screenshot shows the website for CPAS (Centre public d'Action sociale) in Anderlecht. The page layout includes a header with the Anderlecht logo and navigation links (Agenda, Photos, Numéros & adresses utiles, Offres d'emploi, Presse, Plan du site). A search bar is located in the top right corner. The main content area features the CPAS logo and the following text:

CPAS

C.P.A.S. Tel: 02 529 41 20
cpas@cpas-anderlecht.be Fax: 02 529 41 22

Le Centre public d'Action sociale d'Anderlecht est un établissement public doté de la personnalité juridique chargé en vertu de la loi d'assurer l'aide sociale aux personnes résidant sur le territoire de la Commune.

Cette aide sociale a pour but de permettre à chacun de mener une vie conforme à la dignité humaine (article 1er de la loi du 8 juillet 1976, organique des Centres publics d'Action sociale). Cette aide peut être matérielle, sociale, médicale, médico-sociale ou psychologique.

En outre le CPAS fournit tous conseils et renseignements utiles et effectue les démarches nécessaires pour permettre aux usagers de faire valoir leurs droits aux prestations sociales.

Le CPAS a développé une série de services afin de remplir ses missions légales et de répondre aux besoins des usagers. Il organise également la participation sociale de ceux-ci.



En fonction du type d'aide sollicitée, il existe des conditions d'accès, de résidence et/ou de ressources.

Solliciter une aide sociale se fait sur rendez-vous auprès d'un travailleur social, qui constitue un dossier de manière confidentielle et neutre. Ce dossier est soumis au Comité spécial du Service social chargé de prendre les décisions en cette matière.

Les différents services du CPAS d'Anderlecht ainsi qu'une description des aides sociales sont présentés dans les pages suivantes.

Place du conseil - Raadsplein, 1 - 1070 Bruxelles - Brussel // 02/558.08.00 // info@anderlecht.irisnet.be - [webmaster: Caravane media](mailto:webmaster@caravane.media)
 Région de Bruxelles-Capitale <http://www.bruxelles.irisnet.be>

[Home](#) - [Contacts](#) - [Liens](#)

Centre Public d'Action Sociale

[Aide aux personnes](#)
[Le Bureau Permanent](#)
[Le Conseil](#)
[Programme Politique 2007-2012](#)
[Adresses Utiles](#)
[Recherche](#)

Vous êtes ici : Accueil

[Aide aux personnes](#)

[Le Bureau Permanent](#)

[Le Conseil](#)

[Programme Politique 2007-2012](#)

[Adresses Utiles](#)

Bienvenue sur le site du Centre Public d'Action Sociale d'Etterbeek !

La conception de ce site répond à la volonté d'offrir une présentation moderne, fonctionnelle et interactive des actions sociales menées par le C.P.A.S. d'Etterbeek.

" Toute personne a droit à l'aide sociale. Celle-ci a pour but de permettre à chacun de mener une vie conforme à la dignité humaine. "

Art. 1er de la loi du 8 juillet 1976 organique des C.P.A.S.

Est-il concevable que, face à la complexité des démarches administratives, certaines personnes découragées renoncent à faire valoir leurs droits ?
Toute la population a le droit d'être informée de l'action dynamique menée par le C.P.A.S. au profit de tous les concitoyens qui connaissent des difficultés entrant dans le cadre de ses missions : aide à la réinsertion socio-professionnelle, cellule d'aide aux familles, hébergement de personnes âgées , ...
Trop de gens pensent que l'action sociale du C.P.A.S. se limite à l'octroi d'une aide financière. Mais après une analyse individualisée de la situation sociale de l'usager, l'aide proposée pourra aussi prendre d'autres formes: différentes guidances sont présentées sur ce site dans la rubrique aide aux personnes.
La mission du C.P.A.S. consiste aussi à favoriser la réinsertion professionnelle des usagers, notamment des jeunes. Elle est facilitée par le présent outil qui renseigne les employeurs potentiels sur les avantages liés à l'engagement d'un allocataire.
Vous trouverez en plus ici notre programme de politique générale pour la prochaine législature.
Bonne navigation sur le site du C.P.A.S. d'Etterbeek et n'hésitez pas à communiquer vos remarques, questions ou réflexions via l'adresse e-mail info@cpas-etterbeek.irisnet.be.

Les Membres du Bureau Permanent

(Il est important de rappeler que tous les collaborateurs du C.P.A.S. sont tenus au secret professionnel.)

[Envoyer cette page](#) [Imprimer](#)

[plan du site](#) [accessibilité](#) [contact](#)

« Avril 2013 »

Lu	Ma	Me	Je	Ve	Sa	Di
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

CPAS d'Etterbeek - Square Jean Joly - 1040 Etterbeek - Tél. : 02/627.22.57 - info@cpas-etterbeek.irisnet.be

vous êtes ici : accueil > fr

- ↳ Conseil de l'Action Sociale
- ↳ Département des Affaires Sociales
- ↳ Département Secrétariat
- ↳ Département Informatique
- ↳ Département des Finances
- ↳ Département de la Recette
- ↳ Département Facturation
- ↳ Département des Ressources Humaines
- ↳ liens externes

Bienvenu sur le site du CPAS d'Evere

Centre Public d'Action Sociale d'Evere

Le C.P.A.S. doit assurer l'aide sociale due par la communauté aux personnes et aux familles (article 57 §1 de la loi du 08.07.1976 organique des C.P.A.S.).

Le droit subjectif à l'aide sociale est inscrit dans l'article 1 de la loi organique sur le C.P.A.S. et dans la Constitution belge.


L'aide sociale doit garantir la capacité de chacun à "mener une vie conforme à la dignité humaine". Le **C.P.A.S.** assume donc une lourde tâche même si celle-ci n'est pas définie de manière précise. La réalisation de cet objectif relève de la compétence des autorités locales. "L'offre sociale" peut donc varier beaucoup d'une commune à l'autre mais aussi, dans le temps, au sein d'une même commune.

A propos du site du C.P.A.S. d'Evere.

Le menu dans la partie gauche des écrans vous permettra de facilement naviguer entre les divers départements du C.P.A.S. qui sont à votre service.

Nous vous souhaitons une agréable navigation.


CPAS Evere : 11 square Hoedemaekers, 1140 Bruxelles Tél:(+32.2) 247.65.65
Created and hosted by CIRB - CIBG




Vous êtes ici : Accueil

- Qui sommes-nous?
- Introduire une demande
- Coordination Sociale
- Maison vie du Val des Roses
- Publications


Plan du site



La Table emploi de nouveau sur les rails...



Une permanences éco-iris au CPAS chaque mois




Actualités

Programme 2013 Service Participation Sociale Culturelle et Sportive
12/02/2013


Des nouveaux horaires d'ouverture des portes...
27/09/2012

FR NL [Plan du site](#) [Accessibilité du site](#)



PLAN D'ACCES CONTACT PARTENARIATS OFFRES D'EMPLOIS GESTION DES PLAINTES

Bienvenue sur le site du CPAS de Forest



Antenne, 58
Rue de Liège, 58 - 1190 - Forest
Tél: 02-563.64.28

CPAS de Forest - Rue du Curé, 35 - 1190 Forest - Tél: 02/349.63.00 - Fax: 02/349.63.48
Heures d'ouvertures des portes: 8h30-12h00 13h30 -16h00 - Fermé le Vendredi après-midi

"Toute personne a droit à l'aide sociale. Celle-ci a pour but de permettre à chacun de mener une vie conforme à la dignité humaine. Il est créé des Centres Publics d'Action Sociale qui, dans les lois déterminées par la présente loi, ont pour mission d'assurer cette aide".(Article 1er de la loi organique des CPAS)

" Le Centre Public d'Action Sociale a pour mission d'assurer aux personnes et aux familles l'aide due par la collectivité. Il assure non seulement une aide palliative ou curative, mais encore une aide préventive. Cette aide peut être matérielle, sociale, médicale, médico-sociale ou psychologique » (Article 57§1 de la loi organique des CPAS)

Le CPAS examine toute demande d'Aide Sociale et propose les moyens les plus appropriés pour la satisfaire dans le souci de sortir de l'urgence et de lutter contre la pauvreté des usagers, tout en visant l'émancipation de ceux-ci.

[INTRODUIRE UNE DEMANDE](#)

[Rejoignez-nous sur facebook](#)

[Imprimer](#)

[Précédent : images](#) [Suivant : Offres d'emploi](#)

CPAS Forest
Rue du Curé, 35 - 1190 Forest

Created and hosted by
CIRB / CIBO

Commune de Ganshoren
Plan du site | Accessibilité | Contact | [fr](#) | [nl](#) | Recherche

Se connecter

Identifiant

Mot de passe

[Mot de passe oublié ?](#)

Accueil → CPAS

Le Centre Public d'Action Sociale

Le C.P.A.S. a dans ses attributions :

- l'octroi des aides matérielles aux personnes momentanément en difficulté ;
- l'attribution du revenu social d'intégration ;
- des assistances sociales diverses : aides juridiques, placements d'enfants abandonnés ou orphelins, aides administratives pour la constitution de dossiers, ... ;
- le transport et l'hospitalisation des malades et blessés ;
- la gestion du home Heydeken.

PERMANENCES SOCIALES :

lundi au vendredi de 8h00 à 12h00,
Avenue de la Réforme 63
Tél. : 02/422.57.57
Fax service social : 02/420.56.22
Email : info@cpasgan.irisnet.be

Les 11 membres du Conseil de l'Action Sociale sont désignés pour 6 ans par le Conseil communal.

PRÉSIDENT

VAN DAM Marco (LB / sp.a)*
Rue J. De Greef 1
Tél. : 0475/35.35.61
e-mail : marco.vandam@skynet.be

MEMBRES DU CONSEIL DE L'AIDE SOCIALE

THOMMES Lara (LB / PS)*
Rue Roger Abeels 7
Tél. : 0479/55.87.39
e-mail : lara_718@hotmail.com

RENSON Anne (Ecolo-Groen)
Tél. : 0484/92.02.22 (pas de SMS)
e-mail : rensan.ansoe@skynet.be

RASE Grégory (FDF)*
Avenue Van Overbeke 151/3
Tél. : 0487/22.88.58
e-mail : gregory.rase@hotmail.com

GENARD Robert (MR)

BAJART Lionel (LB / Open Vld)
Tél. : 0475/95.59.61
e-mail : liobajart@hotmail.com

ZID Naciema (LB / PS)
Rue Pangaert 35/07
e-mail : nass10@hotmail.com

PARMENTIER Benoît (PROGANSHOREN)
Avenue des Troubadours 13
Tél. : 02/425.86.71
e-mail : benoitparmentier@skynet.be

Belgé AHMETAJ (PROGANSHOREN)
Tél. : 0472/05.04.03
e-mail : bel.ame@laposte.net

BORMANS Kristine (PROGANSHOREN)*
Avenue des Gibiers Nationales 83/11
Tél. : 0478/24.82.04
e-mail : kristine.bormans@telenet.be

COPPENS Jean (LB)
Avenue Van Overbeke, 208 /33
Tél. : 02/425.87.20

* Ces Conseillers forment le Bureau de l'Action Sociale.

SECRETAIRE

Alain STIENON

RECEVEUR

Harc VAN DEN BULCKE

• Envoyer cette page à quelqu'un

- » Carte de la commune
- » Service d'urgence
- » Itinéraires STIB
- » Horaires de train
- » Journal communal

» Avril 2013						
Lu	Ma	Me	Je	Ve	Sa	Di
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

Maison communale de Ganshoren

Av. Charles Quint, 140
1083 Bruxelles

02/465.12.77

ganshoren@ganshoren.irisnet.be

© 2009 - Created and hosted by CIRB-CIBG

[La commune à votre service](#) |
 [Sécurité et prévention](#) |
 [Éducation et enfance](#) |
 [Loisirs](#) |
 [Affaires sociales](#) |
 [Habitat et urbanisme](#) |
 [Travaux et environnement](#) |
 [Économie et emploi](#)



Le CPAS et le Service d'Aide aux Familles

Le Centre Public d'Aide Sociale de Jette est un service public, dirigé par un conseil de l'aide sociale, qui s'adresse à l'ensemble de la population jettoise, dans le respect strict de toutes les convictions idéologiques, philosophiques et religieuses.

Présidente:	Brigitte De Pauw
Secrétaire:	Dominique Bernard
Receveur f.f.:	Nathalie Leherte
Adresse:	47 rue de l'Église Saint-Pierre 1090 Jette
Tél.:	02/422.46.11
Mail:	cpasocmw.jette@publilink.be

Parmi les services créés au profit des habitants, citons

- son home de retraite (64 lits maison de repos (MR)- 40 lits maison de repos et de soins (MRS));
- son service de repas à domicile;
- son service d'aide familiale;
- son service gratuit de consultations juridiques (tous les mardis de 18h à 20h);
- son service de réinsertion socio-professionnelle, qui s'adresse essentiellement aux personnes aidées et bénéficiaires du revenu d'intégration à l'exception des allocataires du chômage et sa table d'Emploi qui s'adresse aux personnes à la recherche d'un emploi ou d'une information;
- son service social polyvalent;
- son service cohabitation / intégration;
- son service médiation de dettes et comptes budgétaires;
- son restaurant social;
- ses cours d'alphabétisation destinés aux usagers du CPAS;
- son école de devoirs à destination des enfants des bénéficiaires d'une aide du CPAS;
- son espace "Femmes";
- sa crèche disposant de 18 lits.

Les travailleurs sociaux qui vous y accueillent ont pour tâche de rechercher avec vous une solution aux difficultés auxquelles vous pourriez être confrontés, et ce dans le contexte des missions assignées par le législateur:


- l'allocation du revenu d'intégration (loi de 2002).
- l'assurance de diverses autres formes d'aide sociale (loi de 1976), afin que chacun puisse mener une existence conforme à la dignité humaine quels que soient son âge, sa nationalité ou ses revenus
- renseignements et avis utiles, conseils et aide lors de démarches administratives ou juridiques;
- guidance psycho-sociale;
- intervention financière adaptée aux problèmes spécifiques;
- aide médicale (soins médico-pharmaceutiques...);
- tutelle des enfants.

L'aide aux familles








- **Les aides ménagères et les aides familiales:**
Le service comprend 25 aides ménagères et familiales, dont la spécificité est de soulager les personnes âgées, seules avec enfant ou handicapées dans l'exécution de certaines tâches, pour un prix allant de 0,25 € à 7,39 € selon vos revenus. Elles sont qualifiées pour vous seconder si vous ne pouvez assumer seul vos tâches ménagères et familiales, telles que la lessive, le repassage, préparation des repas, etc... Elles peuvent vous accompagner ou vous remplacer pour des courses ou démarches diverses. Elles peuvent faire votre toilette pour autant qu'elle ne soit pas médicale ou nécessitant un diplôme spécifique tel que pédicure, kiné, massage, etc... Renseignements auprès du responsable du service: Madame PRIEM Magda (02/422.46.92 - 51).
- **Les repas à domicile:**
Via le service d'aide aux familles, des repas chauds sont distribués à domicile du lundi au samedi, pour un prix variant de 3,13 € à 6,63 € (tarif au 1/01/2008 - sujet à modifications éventuelles) selon les revenus. Il est également possible de recevoir un repas pour le dimanche, mais celui-ci consiste en une assiette froide, apportée le samedi. Pour tous renseignements, vous pouvez appeler le 02/422.46.92 - 51
- **Les repas au home IRIS:**
L'accès au restaurant du home IRIS n'est pas exclusivement réservé aux résidents de cette maison de repos. Pour les personnes pour lesquelles les préparatifs culinaires représentent une tâche trop lourde, la possibilité existe de venir se restaurer pour une somme modique, en fonction du nombre de places vacantes. Il convient d'introduire préalablement une demande auprès du service d'aide aux familles. Tél.: 02/422.46.51/52/53.
- **Les chèques-taxis:**
Des chèques-taxis peuvent être octroyés aux habitants de Jette ayant un handicap ne leur permettant pas de se déplacer par leurs propres moyens ou d'emprunter un transport public. Ce handicap doit être constaté par certificat médical ou par tout autre document probant. Il peut être passager ou définitif. Le montant du chèque est fixé à 2,48 €. Le taux d'intervention des bénéficiaires est fixé à 0%, 25%, ou 50% de cette valeur, calculé en fonction des revenus. Les demandes d'obtention de chèques-taxis doivent être introduites auprès du Centre public d'aide sociale (service d'aide aux familles). Tél.: 02/422.46.51

[Guichet](#)
[Actualités](#)
[Contact](#)
[Liens](#)
[Recherche](#)
[Site map](#)
[Home](#)
[Plan des rues](#)
[Itinéraire STIB](#)
[La Météo](#)

[Top](#) | © 2012 Commune de Jette



Sint-Jans-Molenbeek-Saint-Jean

Accessibilité

FAQ Plan du site Contact Partenariats Entreprises Travailler au CPAS Guide beneficiaires Mécontent d'un service ?

[Vous êtes ici : Accueil](#)

[Néerlandais Français](#)

Aides financières et médicales

Formations et emploi

Troisième âge

Logement et hébergement

Initiatives spécifiques

Le CPAS de Molenbeek-Saint-Jean


Publications

Liens

Bienvenue sur le site du CPAS de Molenbeek-Saint-Jean

JOB DAY INFIRMIERS

4 mai 2013 de 13h à 17h




Infirmier pour seniors, plus qu'un métier, une PASSION !
Venez à la rencontre de nos infirmiers et découvrez une des plus grandes maisons de repos de Bruxelles et ses nombreuses opportunités.
→ Possibilité d'engagement rapide
→ Seulement un week-end de prestation par mois
→ Accès à un large éventail de formations

Résidence Arcadia
Rue Ferdinand Ebers 20 à 1080 Bruxelles
Accès transports en commun : bus 84 arrêt Ebers
Tel: 02481.99.11

Plus d'informations sur le Jobday Infirmiers

CONFÉRENCE-DÉBAT



LA MALADIE D'ALZHEIMER ET LES MALADIES APPARENTÉES

Oratrice: Madame Marguerite MORMAL
Présidente de l'ASBL Alzheimer Belgique

Dimanche 5 mai 2013
de 10h à 12h
Petit-déjeuner dès 9h30

Résidence Arcadia
Rue Ferdinand Ebers 20 à 1080 Bruxelles
Accès transports en commun : bus 84 arrêt Ebers
Tel: 02481.99.11

ACTUALITÉS

- Installation du nouveau Conseil de l'Action Sociale
01/03/2013


ACTUALITÉS DU SOIR

- Une petite ceinture ferroviaire autour de Bruxelles? La majorité bruxelloise méfiante
19/04/2013
- Quelque 140 faits d'injustices sanctionnés à Bruxelles-Ville
19/04/2013
- Levée de l'alerte à la bombe au Carrefour du Basilix à Berchem
19/04/2013

Plus...

Où m'adresser?

Ici vous trouverez l'adresse de votre antenne sociale



Joindre le CPAS de Molenbeek-Saint-Jean

Heures d'ouverture: du lundi au vendredi de 8h à 12h et de 12h30 à 16h45

Adresse du siège central: rue Alphonse Vandenpeereboom 14 à 1080 Molenbeek-Saint-Jean (plan d'accès)

Téléphone central: 02412.53.11
Fax central: 02412.53.53

APPENDIX F. CONTACT SHEETS

vous êtes ici : accueil

Localisation Contact Plan de site Accessibilité Liens

Accueil
 Département social
 Centre médical Jean Fontaine
 Centre gériatrique (MR/MRS)
 Organes de décision
 Service Administratif
 Coordination sociale
 Promotion de la Santé
 Actualités
 Règlements, budgets et comptes
 Demande d'attestation

Bienvenue sur le site du CPAS de Saint-Josse-ten-Noode

Le mot de la Présidente

Qui dit CPAS, pense souvent "revenu d'intégration".
 Mais le rôle du CPAS ne se limite pas à cette aide financière.
 Le CPAS est aussi appelé à accorder beaucoup d'autres aides, notamment de guidance.

C'est un service public, dirigé par des mandataires élus par le conseil communal et qui, sur le territoire de Saint-Josse-ten-Noode, a pour mission générale d'assurer l'aide sociale dans les limites de la loi du 8 juillet 1976, organique des CPAS, de la loi du 26 mai 2002 concernant le droit à l'intégration sociale et de la loi du 2 avril 1965 relative à la prise en charge des secours accordés par les CPAS. Si, dans un premier temps, il procure le minimum vital à la personne en détresse, il a surtout pour mission d'aider la personne à retrouver une véritable autonomie.

Tous ses membres du personnel, statutaires ou contractuels, assermentés ou non, et tous ses mandataires, sont tenus au secret professionnel prévu à l'article 458 du code pénal. Cela signifie qu'en principe, sauf éventuellement devant un juge, ils ne peuvent jamais révéler à des personnes étrangères au CPAS ce qu'ils ont appris sur ou par une personne qui demande l'aide(sociale, médicale,...) du CPAS. Les instances du CPAS (Conseil, Bureau permanent, comités spéciaux, ...) se réunissent toujours à huis-clos.

Toutefois, afin d'apprécier si l'aide qui leur est octroyée n'est pas déraisonnable pour le système d'assistance sociale, le Service Public Programmation - Intégration Sociale (SPP-IS) est autorisé à communiquer à l'Office des Etrangers, via la Banque Carrefour, les données qui concernent **les étrangers ressortissants d'un Etat membre de l'Union européenne** dont le séjour est supérieur à trois mois et qui résident en Belgique depuis moins de trois ans. Cela peut avoir pour conséquence le retrait du titre de séjour et l'éloignement du territoire belge.


OFFRES D'EMPLOI

Assistant(e)s sociaux(ales)
 Assistants sociale en chef (n/v)
 Infirmiers(ères)

« AVRIL 2013 »

Lu	Ma	Me	Je	Ve	Sa	Di
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

© CPAS de Saint-Josse-ten-Noode - rue Verbist, 88 - 1210 Bruxelles
 Tél. : 02/220.29.71 - Fax : 02/220.29.99
 Webmaster : DURAND Grégory
 Created and Hosted by




Rechercher
 Seulement dans le dossier courant

NL FR

Vous êtes ici : Accueil / Accueil / C.P.A.S

- Accueil
- Actualités
- Agenda
- Collège
- Conseil
- Services communaux
- C.P.A.S**
- Avis aux personnes âgées
- Antenne de remobilisation
- Le plan quadriennal du CPAS
- Conseil de l'Action sociale
- Service d'accueil et d'hébergement des personnes âgées
- Coordination sociale
- Vacance de postes
- Extension des titres-services
- Aide sociale
- Consultations juridiques gratuites
- Patented - frais de santé - logements...
- Les médicaments génériques
- Coût des activités sportives
- Nouveau service à Uccle
- Développement des services d'aide
- Service Médiation de dettes et prévention
- Boutique des quatre saisons
- Brochures
- Home Brugmann
- Des aides - ménagères à domicile
- Promo-Job Service
- Infir-crédit
- Service des accueillantes d'enfants conventionnées
- Le grand froid est à la porte
- Les « Titres-Services - Service de proximité
- Le Service de Réinsertion Professionnelle
- Le budget du CPAS
- Liens utiles
- Histoire
- Règlements Communaux
- Contactez les services communaux
- Urbanisme
- Commission de Concertation...
- Enquête publique
- Avis d'enquête publique
- Guichet électronique
- Vous ne pouvez vous rendre à votre commune...
- Annonceur de mariage
- Photos Noces d'or de diamant et de brillant...
- Prime au logement pour les jeunes
- La prime est octroyée pour une durée...
- Agenda 21
- agenda IRI 21 UCCLE
- Le plan communal d'actions pour le Développement Durable

Centre Public d'Action Sociale



Président :
Stefan Cornelis
 Chaussée d'Alsemberg, 860
 Tél : 02/370.75.11

Renseignements :
 de 8h30 à 12h30 et de 13h30 à 17h.

AVIS

Le CPAS d'Uccle a ouvert un **Centre de Distribution Alimentaire** gratuite pour les usagers disposant d'un revenu inférieur au seuil de pauvreté⁽¹⁾. Les personnes désemployées de bénéficier de cette aide sont invitées à se rendre au CPAS, 860 Chaussée d'Alsemberg en matinée.

L'aide alimentaire par personne représentée:

- 10 boîtes de céréales pour petit-déjeuner
- 20 bouteilles de lait demi-crème chocolatée stérilisée
- 30 bouteilles de lait entier stérilisé
- 10 boîtes de pasta
- 15 paquets de spaghettis
- 5 pots de pâte de spaguolous
- 20 boîtes de raviolis au poulet
- 10 paquets de riz paddy
- 20 boîtes de riz au lait
- 5 bouteilles de riz au lait
- 10 boîtes de soupes

Ces quantités représentant le maximum de denrées à retirer par personne, chacun est libre de choisir les produits qu'il souhaite et de les retirer au moment qui lui semble le plus opportun. Le Centre de Distribution Alimentaire est ouvert chaque jour de la semaine entre 9h et 16h - et le jeudi jusqu'à 17h.

⁽¹⁾ En Belgique, le seuil de pauvreté est fixé à 966 euros pour un isolé. Ce montant est multiplié par 0,5 par personne de 14 ans et plus faisant partie du ménage (en plus du titulaire) et multiplié par 0,3 pour chaque personne de moins de 14 ans.

Actualités

- Le budget du CPAS
- Le Service de Réinsertion Professionnelle
- Vacances de postes
- Les titres-services - Service de proximité
- Expositions-Neckengat
- Intervention financière
- Exposition du CPAS
- A propos du fonds mazout
- Le Plan Cinqannal
- Service d'Accueil et d'Hébergement des Personnes Agées
- Accueillir chez vous des enfants de 0 à 3 ans?
- Extension des titres-services...
- A propos des "Chèques - Sports"
- Aide sociale
- Nouveau Service de proximité à Uccle
- Des aides - ménagères à domicile
- Patented - frais de santé - logements...
- Le CPAS d'Uccle intervient financièrement dans le coût des activités sportives et culturelles des Ucclois
- Développement des services d'aide et de soins aux seniors ucclois - réalisation pour l'avenir
- Les médicaments génériques
- Organisation d'une coordination sociale à Uccle
- Conseil de l'Action sociale

Services

- Services Médiation de dettes et Prévention
- Services de proximité à Uccle
- Antenne de remobilisation sociale
- Avis aux personnes âgées
- Boutique des 4 Saisons (tel 02/375.77.00)
- Brochures
- Consultations juridiques gratuites
- Gardiennes - accueillantes d'enfants
- Home Brugmann (tel 02/370.62.00)
- Promo-Job Service
- Service Infir-Crédit - création d'une école de consommateurs

« Avril 2013 »

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

Actualités

Avis d'enquête publique - PPA5 n° 66 (Château d'Or-Bourbon-Bigameaux)

12/04/2013

Photos chasse aux œufs 2013

10/04/2013

Examen de recrutement d'Adjoints et d'Assistants administratifs

03/04/2013

Travail de visite Avril 2013

01/04/2013

Avis - Règlement- notulaire pour le droit de place sur les marchés publics

29/01/2013

Evénements à venir

L'impro revient à l'Espace 1180 avec les Fribus Cool !

28/03/2013 - 23/05/2013 — "Espace 1180" - rue Robert Scott 14 (près de la Place Danco)

Je lis dans ma Commune - Lezin in je Gemeente

19/04/2013 - 28/04/2013 — Bibliothèques

Exposition: Eve-Marie Jugener - Couleurs d'été

19/04/2013 - 28/04/2013 — Doyenne - Maison des Arts d'Uccle

10km d'Uccle

05/05/2013 15:00 - 18:00 — Hippodrome de Babart

Parcours d'Artistes UCCLE - LINKEBEEK -

18/05/2013 - 20/05/2013 — Uccle et Linkebeek


Tous les événements à venir...

Envoyer Imprimer

Les droits d'auteurs © 2000 - 2013 du système de gestion de contenu libre Plone® appartiennent à la Fondation Plone. Distribué sous Licence GNU GPL.

Réalisé avec Plone & Python

Administration Communale - Place Jean Vander EHL 20 - 1180 Bruxelles
 tel 02/348.65.11 - fax 02/343.59.49



Watermael-Boitsfort

Plan du site | Accessibilité | Contact

Commune

Loisirs

Démarches administratives

FR NL

Commune

Vie politique

Services communaux

Autres services

Asbl communales

CPAS >

Zone de police

Fabriques d'église

Communications officielles

Histoire

Offres d'emploi

CPAS

Centre Public d'Action Sociale de Watermael-Boitsfort

- Administration centrale: rue du Loutrier 69, T. 02.663.08.00 - Fax : 02.663.08.19
- Service social: drève des Weigélias 8 (face à la gare de Watermael), T. 02.663.08.00, 02.663.08.69, 02.663.08.68
- Maison de repos: rue du Loutrier 69, T. 02.663.08.00

Responsables : M. David Leisterh (Pat) - M. Pierre Pardon (Secr)

Missions générales

Le Centre Public d'Action Sociale a pour mission d'assurer aux personnes et aux familles l'aide due par la collectivité afin de permettre à chacun de mener une vie conforme à la dignité humaine. Cette aide peut être matérielle, sociale, médicale ou psychologique. Les services du Centre Public d'Action Sociale sont à la disposition de l'ensemble des habitants de la commune et ses travailleurs sociaux ont pour mission toute particulière de tenter de répondre à tout problème social qui pourrait se poser et de rechercher la solution la plus adéquate.

Aides Financières

L'aide financière consiste généralement en l'octroi du revenu d'intégration sociale à ceux qui sont dépourvus de toute ressource. Une aide financière peut aussi être octroyée lorsque les ressources sont momentanément insuffisantes. Elle peut également être accordée à titre d'avance sur allocations de chômage, allocations familiales, pensions, allocations d'handicapés ou indemnités de mutuelle lorsque l'organisme chargé d'en assurer le paiement n'est pas en mesure de remplir ses missions aussi rapidement que souhaitable. Elle peut enfin se concrétiser par la prise en charge des frais d'hospitalisations, des frais médico-pharmaceutiques ou des cotisations obligatoires à l'assurance maladie-invalidité. L'octroi d'une aide financière est toujours conditionné par une enquête précise afin de bien définir quel est l'état de besoin qui justifie la demande.

Hébergement

Le Centre Public d'Action Sociale prend les dispositions requises pour assurer l'hébergement des personnes âgées en maison de repos. Pour assurer cette mission il dispose notamment de sa Résidence pour Seniors, 69 rue du Loutrier / 50 Av. des Hannetons, qui héberge en permanence 133 pensionnaires valides, semi-valides ou non-valides. Sur rendez-vous, T. 02.663.08.25.

Aide à domicile

Le Centre Public d'Action Sociale veille à assurer l'aide à domicile tout particulièrement des personnes âgées. Dans ce but, il organise la distribution de repas chauds à domicile et il collabore avec le service d'aide aux familles l'Asbl «Vivre chez soi», T. 02.660.58.71.

Logement Seniors

Le Centre Public d'Action Sociale dispose de 34 logements spécialement conçus et équipés pour les personnes âgées 120-122 Heiligenbom, et réservés prioritairement aux habitants de la commune. Les demandes éventuelles sont à introduire au siège du CPAS, T. 02.663.97.60.

Médecine préventive

Cette année la campagne de vaccination antigrippe sera axée sur les groupes les plus à risques. Si vous appartenez à une des catégories suivantes :

- a) vous avez 50 ans ou plus ;
- b) vous avez une des maladies chroniques suivantes: affections cardiaques, pulmonaires, rénales, diabète, hémoglobinopathie ou souffrant d'immunodépression, situations qui les prédisposent particulièrement à des complications de la grippe ;
- c) vous appartenez au personnel soignant en contact direct avec les personnes à risque accru de complications ;
- d) vous êtes enceintes après le 1er trimestre de grossesse ;
- e) vous vivez en institution ;
- f) vous avez entre 6 mois et 18 ans et vous êtes sous thérapie à l'acide acétylsalicylique.

demandez une prescription à votre médecin généraliste mentionnant le vaccin qu'il souhaite vous administrer ainsi que la mention TPA (tiers payant applicable). La pharmacie de votre choix, pour autant qu'elle soit localisée sur le territoire de la commune vous délivrera GRATUITEMENT le vaccin. Il ne vous restera plus qu'à vous rendre chez votre généraliste pour qu'il vous administre l'injection.

— Imprimer — Envoyer —

<p>Commune</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Services communaux o Le Collège o Le Conseil communal o Autres services o Communications officielles o Histoire de la commune 	<p>Loisirs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Culture o Activités sportives o Activités jeunes o Centre de vacances de Netinne o Activités seniors o Marché, foires, brocantes 	<p>Démarches administratives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Documents o Déménager - occuper la voirie o Vos déchets ménagers o Mobilité o Carte de stationnement
--	---	--

Administration communale de Watermael-Boitsfort - 1 Place Gibon, 1170 Bruxelles - Tél. 02 674 74 11 - Fax : 02 672 52 19 - information1170@wb.kinet.be

Created and hosted by CIRB

ST. GILLES
CENTRE PUBLIC D'ACTION SOCIALE
OPENBAAR CENTRUM VOOR MAATSCHAPPELIJK WELZIJN

Accueil NL

- Le CPAS de Saint-Gilles
- Domaines d'activités
- Partenaires
- Coordination de l' Action sociale
- Maison de Repos "Les Tilleuls"
- Travailler au CPAS de Saint-Gilles
- Liens
- Contacts

Accueil

CPAS de Saint-Gilles
Siège Central
rue Fernand Bernier 40

1060 BRUXELLES
Tel : 02/600.54.11

CPAS de Saint-Gilles
Antenne de quartier
Chaussée de Charleroi 123a

1060 BRUXELLES
Tel : 02/541.89.70

L'actualité du CPAS

25-04-2013 | Expo Portraits Croisés [\(En détail\)](#)

20-07-2012 | Relevé social de Saint-G... [\(En détail\)](#)

[Voir toutes les actualités](#)

Les heures d'ouverture
Du lundi au vendredi
De 8h00 à 12h30 et de 13h00 à 16h00

Pour nous contacter
Tel : 02/600.54.11
Fax : 02/600.54.19
cpas@cpasstilles.irisnet.be

Afin de nous permettre de vous répondre
Veuillez remplir le champ " **votre adresse email** "
Ensuite laissez-nous votre message dans la case en dessous

Votre adresse email*

Laissez nous un message*

Accueil	Le CPAS de Saint-Gilles	Domaines d'activités	Partenaires	Coordination de l' Action sociale	Maison de Repos "Les Tilleuls"	Travailler au CPAS de Saint-Gilles	Liens
RELEVÉ SOCIAL DE SAINT-GILLES 2012	Missions Les organes Nos infrastructures	Logement Energie Emploi Insertion socioprofessionnelle Santé Surendettement Culture et sport Jeunesse Le bel âge Agenda 21	CAFA CEMO Resto du Coeur	Membres de la Coordination sociale Les groupes de travail Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur Relevé social de Saint-Gilles	La séniorité résidence service Le projet de vie		Contacts

Le CPAS d'Ixelles

Information Demande Aides Services Liens Intranet Faq

Recherche [] Rechercher

seulement dans le dossier courant NL FR

PLAN DU SITE ACCESSIBILITÉ CONTACT

Vous êtes ici : Accueil > Bienvenue sur le site du CPAS d'Ixelles

Bienvenue sur le site du CPAS d'Ixelles

Pour nous contacter :


Guichet d'accueil
Rue Jean Paquot, 63b
1050 Ixelles
Tél. : 02/641.54.59
Fax : 02/641.54.74

Heures d'ouverture :
Permanence tous les jours ouvrables
de 8h00 à 11h45 et de 13h15 à 15h30

Attention :
Les « premières demandes » sont traitées de 8h00 à 11h30 et de
13h15 à 15h30 tous les jours sauf le jeudi après-midi.

Siège Administratif
Chaussée de Boondael, 92
1050 Ixelles
Tél. : 02/641.54.59
Fax : 02/641.55.55


Téléchargez Action Sociale, le guide complet du CPAS d'Ixelles



le cpas d'ixelles recrute


- Un Conseiller en prévention et gestionnaire de chantier
- Un assistant social d'accueil et référent langues
- Un infirmier (Résidence les Heures Douces)

pratique !




Téléchargez le plan d'accès, les horaires et contacts de tous les services du CPAS d'Ixelles

service de médiation et de gestion des plaintes



téléchargez la note de politique générale 2013

découvertes culturelles n°2



Téléchargez le deuxième numéro du Journal du Comité Culturel 1

Identifiant []

Mot de passe []

Se connecter

Mot de passe oublié

CPAS Ixelles - Chaussée de Boondael 92, 1050 Ixelles Tél:(+32.2) 641.54.59 © 2009 CIRB