

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected UP Diliman Freedom Wall Posts on the UP *Burgis* Identity

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Abstract

Is UP a *burgis* university? This study explores this question by shifting the critical gaze to “everyday discourses” surrounding the “UP burgis” phenomenon. It examines discursive constructions of the UP burgis from selected UP Diliman Freedom Wall (UPD FW) posts, a Facebook page that facilitates dynamic and anonymized conversations about the university. Using Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Bucholtz and Hall’s semiotic processes of identification, the study maps the characterization, legitimization, and criticism of the UP burgis by UPD FW users. The analysis reveals (1) preliminary indexes of the UP burgis (socioeconomic, cultural, and attitudinal markers), (2) metadiscourses that critique and interrogate these indexical constructions, and (3) dominant ideologies about class and privilege in the discourse of the UP burgis. These findings not only contribute to existing scholarship on the discursive construction of eliteness but also highlight the affordances of “unofficial platforms”—such as freedom walls—where representations of eliteness circulate freely, remain less regulated, and tend to be more candid and anonymous. Ultimately, the study shows how “everyday discourses,” although often taken for granted, can be equally valuable and constitutive of social reality as “official discourses.”

Keywords: UP burgis, freedom wall, everyday discourses, elite identity, ideology

Introduction

Background of the Study

“It’s no longer true [that UP is *burgis*...] 56% already come from public high schools,” said University of the Philippines (UP) President Angelo Jimenez last October 2024.¹ Recent university admissions demographics indicate otherwise, with only 29% of qualifiers from public high schools,² and data from the 2025 UPCAT noting that 55% of qualifiers were from public high schools, with 31% from non-science public high schools.³ This indicates “a chronic underrepresentation of students from public schools [...] in rural and underserved communities,”⁴ which contrasts with notions that UP is to serve less privileged demographics, considering its mandates and admissions systems, such as RA 10931 (Universal Access to Quality Tertiary Education Act) and programs such as the Excellence-Equity Admissions System.⁵

UP admissions systems attempt geographic and socioeconomic diversity while maintaining its academic standards. However, these systems contrasted with the shifting student demographics in UP begs the question of its *burgis* status. The term has since become

¹Maila Ager, “UP is no longer ‘burgis,’ says prexy,” *Inquirer.net*, October 2, 2024, <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1988973/up-is-no-longer-burgis-says-prexy>.

²Vyan David Abella, “Only 1 in 5 UPCA 2023 Passers Came From Public General HS,” *Philippine Collegian*, January 5, 2024, <https://phkule.org/article/1083/only-1-in-5-upca-2023-passers-came-from-public-general-hs/>.

³Fred Dabu, “UPCAT results show higher number of qualifiers from public schools; UP hikes support for incoming first-year students,” *University of the Philippines*, April 25, 2025, <https://up.edu.ph/upcat-results-show-higher-number-of-qualifiers-from-public-schools-up-hikes-support-for-incoming-first-year-students/>.

⁴Philippine Daily Inquirer, “Quo vadis, UP?,” *Inquirer.net*, June 27, 2024, <https://opinion.inquirer.net/174756/quo-vadis-up>.

⁵Francisco N. de los Reyes, “UP’s excellence-equity admissions creed,” *Inquirer.net*, September 2, 2022, <https://opinion.inquirer.net/156604/ups-excellence-equity-admissions-creed>.

increasingly prevalent in discussions relating to UP, often carrying pejorative connotations tied to socioeconomic privilege, colloquially and historically.⁶ As this is frequently perceived as contradictory to UP's commitments, the presence of these attributes can lead to criticism. Such was the case with UP student-athlete Bethany Talbot, who was criticized for being a “burgis in UP” due to her middle-class background.⁷ However, this also brings into question nuances involved with the “burgis” label.

As such, this paper examines the discursive constructions of the UP burgis via selected posts from the UP Diliman Freedom Wall (UPD FW), a Facebook page that facilitates dynamic and anonymized conversations about topics relating to the university. Using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Bucholtz and Hall's semiotic processes of identification, the research aims to answer the question: “How does the UPD FW discursively construct the identity of the UP burgis?” and dissect it further with the following sub-questions:

What linguistic and semiotic features characterize the selected posts in constructing the UP burgis?

What themes/patterns emerge from these constructions?

How does this discourse reflect UPD FW users' ideologies about class and privilege in relation to the university's commitments/mandates as a state institution?

⁶Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, “From The Communist Manifesto” in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2018), 664.

⁷Kristofer Purnell, “Model-athlete defends self from ‘burgis sa UP’ comment,” *The Philippine Star*, September 15, 2024, <https://www.philstar.com/lifestyle/on-the-radar/2024/09/15/2385253/model-athlete-defends-self-burgis-sa-up-comment>.

Review of Related Literature

The Discursive Constructions of Eliteness

Elites have historically been defined by socioeconomic affluence and their ability to maintain this out of preference, privilege, or necessity. Late-1900s Philippine elite groups have been colloquially referred to as the *burgis*, embedding the term in contemporary parlance with ties to its earlier definitions. These categorizations would spur discourse about if these groups “faithfully mirror[ed] the realit[ies] of the country,”⁸ reinforcing the links elitism has to class, privilege, and socioeconomic status. Later discussions of elitism would begin trends of resemiotization,⁹ viewing elitism beyond socioeconomic affluence.

Elitism is defined as a “claim to exclusivity and superiority” based on status, knowledge, taste, or wealth, justifying a higher moral, aesthetic, intellectual, or material standing.¹⁰ Elitism as performed can also function as “a claim or bid for an enduring identity position that requires constant, momentary, and interactive enactment”—a distinction from its passive embodiments.¹¹ One such example is Reyes’¹² and Garvida’s¹³ “conyo [elite]”: A “figure of personhood” defined by performance and lifestyle choice, where their assimilative language (“Taglish”) can be viewed as a “complex interplay of economic advantage and symbolic

⁸José S. Arcilla, “The Origin of the Philippine Political Elite,” *Illes i Imperis* 8 (2006): 134.

⁹Crispin Thurlow and Adam Jaworski, “The discursive production and maintenance of class privilege: Permeable geographies, slippery rhetorics,” *Discourse & Society* 28, no. 5 (2017a): 533.

¹⁰Adam Jaworski and Crispin Thurlow, “Taking an Elitist Stance: Ideology and the Discursive Production of Social Distinction,” in *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 196.

¹¹Jaworski and Thurlow, “Taking an Elitist Stance,” 196.

¹²Angela Reyes, “Inventing Postcolonial Elites: Race, Language, Mix, Excess,” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 27, no. 2 (2017): 213, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45278587>.

¹³Mignette Marcos Garvida, ““Conyo Talk”: The Affirmation of Hybrid Identity and Power in Contemporary Philippine Discourse,” *Lingue e Linguaggi* 8 (2012): 32, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/41168118.pdf>.

manoeuvring.”¹⁴

Discussions of elitism in relation to the UP burgis are inherently multidimensional, culling from the term’s roots in socioeconomic affluence while considering resemiotized phenomena by virtue of the avenues through which the UP burgis is most prominently discussed.

Freedom Walls as Sites for Discourse

Freedom walls (FWs) are popular avenues for personal discussion and self-expression.¹⁵ Popular Facebook-based FWs tend to center around academic institutions, integrating academic discussions with those of “personal experiences and opinions.”¹⁶ FWs also capitalize on how “[social media discourse] can inform policy recommendations and shape public opinion on various issues.”¹⁷ This leaves room for non-“productive discourse” by enabling “breeding ground[s] for hatred”¹⁸ and/or “omnipotent watcher[s].”¹⁹

Metadiscourses about FWs have begun to pinpoint “the reality that anonymous posting [on these platforms] can bring individuals real-life

¹⁴Thurlow and Jaworski, “The discursive production,” 539.

¹⁵Kim Czaccei Dacanay, “On school spirit, freedom walls, self, and knowing the difference,” *TomasinoWeb*, September 20, 2023, <https://tomasinoweb.org/post/1695192300000-6b183de4-On-school-spirit-freedom-walls-self-and-knowing-the-difference>.

¹⁶Ramon L. Rodriguez, Jay Rhald Padilla, Myron Darrel Montefalcon, Mideth Abisado, and Rodolfo Raga, “The Post Behind Anonymity: A Thematic Discourse Analysis of Facebook Posts from Confession Pages in different Universities in the Philippines,” *11th International Conference on Information and Education Technology (ICIET)* (2023): 533.

¹⁷Rodriguez et al., “The Post Behind Anonymity,” 529.

¹⁸Maya Tuviera, “Do ‘freedom walls’ set us free?,” *The Philippine Star Life*, December 2, 2022, <https://philstarlife.com/news-and-views/434003-do-freedom-walls-set-us-free?>

¹⁹Nyx, “Are freedom walls locking you up?,” *Inquirer.net*, September 16, 2024, <https://opinion.inquirer.net/176844/are-freedom-walls-locking-you-up>.

consequences” while contrasted with the “afforded moments of catharsis through [these] posts.”²⁰ Thus, when situated in an engagement-driven medium that enables informal but strong ideological discourse, it coincides with the framing of sites for “everyday discourses,” where these FWs—and especially the UPD FW—become a “nurturing ground and a source of inspiration and information for normative discourse, such as law or political discourse [...] and a site where ideologies are naturalized.”²¹

Burgis/Elite Discourse in UP Diliman

Discourse relating to the UP burgis indexes skewed admissions demographics in the university, such as the noted disproportionate advantage towards higher-income applicants to the university.²² Data in this ilk has become foundational to discussions that correlate these demographics with admissions systems in the university, such as debates on the validity of the methodologies and resulting demographics of the UPCAT vs. UPCA,²³ which is juxtaposed with the perceived mandates of the university, which is to prioritize non-burgis students.

In identifying the UP burgis, previous indicators (e.g., socioeconomic

²⁰Paolo Buenaseda, Malaika E. Paculan, and Gerard Ignacio, “Writings on the wall,” *The GUIDON*, May 8, 2021, <https://theguidon.com/2021/05/writings-on-the-wall/>.

²¹Simo K. Määttä, Karita Suomalainen, and Ulla Tuomarla, “Everyday discourse as a space of citizenship: the linguistic construction of in-groups and out-groups in online discussion boards,” *Citizenship Studies: Language, Everyday Citizenship, and Community* 25, no. 6 (2021): 774, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2021.1968715>.

²²Sarah Lynne Daway-Ducanes, Elena Pernia, and Vincent Jerald Ramos, “On Income Advantage in University Admissions and College Major Choices: Evidence from the University of the Philippines,” *Munich Personal RePEc Archive (MPRA)* (2018): 11–13.

²³The UPCAT (University of the Philippines College Admission Test) is a standardized test whose admission score (“UPG”) is comprised of a “composite of [applicants’] grades in Grade 8 to 11” and other “socioeconomic and geographic factors” (University of the Philippines Office of Admissions n.d.). The UPCA (University of the Philippines College Application) was implemented in lieu of the UPCAT due to COVID-19 quarantine restrictions and an “admission score model” based on applicants’ high school grades (Lontoc 2022).

affluence, social markers) continue to be referenced, as was the case with the controversy with Bethany Talbot. Markers specific to UP are also indexed, such as descriptors of conyo elites/language as being “generated by urban, elite private school-educated youth.”²⁴ Here, the UP burgis are framed negatively, with discussions revolving around affluent students “tak[ing] away slots” from other students despite “hav[ing] the financial means to attend other prestigious universities.”²⁵ These controversies reinforce the tensions between the perceived UP burgis and UP as an institution.

Frameworks

Theoretical Frameworks

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach that draws from theories of language and of society,²⁶ thus bringing social analysis into the realm of language studies. This approach to discourse studies is critical as practitioners “take an explicit position and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately challenge social inequality.”²⁷

In Fairclough’s CDA, discourses are “semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world” which can “generally be identified with different positions of different groups of social actors.”²⁸ Texts are understood as “socially mediated” and “dialectically constructed.” This dialectical-relational orientation holds that while discourse is “shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, it also shapes them.”²⁹ Fairclough’s

²⁴Reyes, “Inventing Postcolonial Elites,” 215.

²⁵MJ Villanueva, “Is UP fulfilling its mandate?,” *Inquirer.net*, September 16, 2024, <https://opinion.inquirer.net/176845/is-up-fulfilling-its-mandate>.

²⁶John Flowerdew and John E. Richardson, “Introduction” in *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

²⁷Teun A. van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Analysis,” in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2015), 466–467.

²⁸Norman Fairclough, “Critical discourse analysis” in *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 11–14.

²⁹Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak, “Critical Discourse Analysis” in *Discourse as Social Interaction - Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Volume 2*

CDA visualizes this model through three interrelated levels of analysis: the descriptive phase/micro level (the text's structural features), the interpretation phase/meso level (the text as reproduced, distributed, and consumed), and the explanation phase/macro level (the text vis-à-vis broader social conditions that mediate the ways that these discursive practices take place).

While the model seems to be skewed from top-down, these layers are actually interactional because there is constant shifting between macro-level power relations and social structures, mediating discursive practices, and micro-level linguistic construction.³⁰ Thus, Fairclough's CDA provides the necessary critical orientation to study how discourse in UPD FW posts constructs eliteness despite being outside institutional sites of power, while grounding the analysis in the context of social, political, and cultural conditions.

Fairclough's CDA is integrated with Bucholtz and Hall's semiotic processes of identification,³¹ which views identity as a fundamentally social phenomenon, as language constitutes a complex semiotic system employed in defining and redefining identities. Bucholtz and Hall note four overlapping and interrelated semiotic processes in identity construction: practice, performance, indexicality, and ideology. The study focuses on the latter two: Indexicality is the use of linguistic or social signs to signal association with specific identities, whereas ideology involves power as a social phenomenon that entrenches beliefs/perceptions.³² These are deeply tied with identity-making, as the semiotic elements associated with the UP burgis identity are mediated by dominant or competing ideologies of class and privilege in UP.

These frameworks enable the analysis of how UPD FW users discursively construct identities of the UP burgis and which indexical aspects are reinforced or contested, especially in the context of the

(London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 1997), 258.

³⁰Flowerdew and Richardson, "Introduction."

³¹Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, "Language and Identity" in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

³²Bucholtz and Hall, "Language and Identity," 379.

perennial problem of admissions inequality represented by shifting university demographics. Scrutinizing the dialectical relationship between the discourse on the UP burgis and its social, economic, and political context reveals how UPD FW users negotiate and challenge the identity of the UP burgis while addressing broader issues of class and privilege.

Conceptual Framework

Figure 1 illustrates the three levels of CDA as applied to the UP burgis discourse.

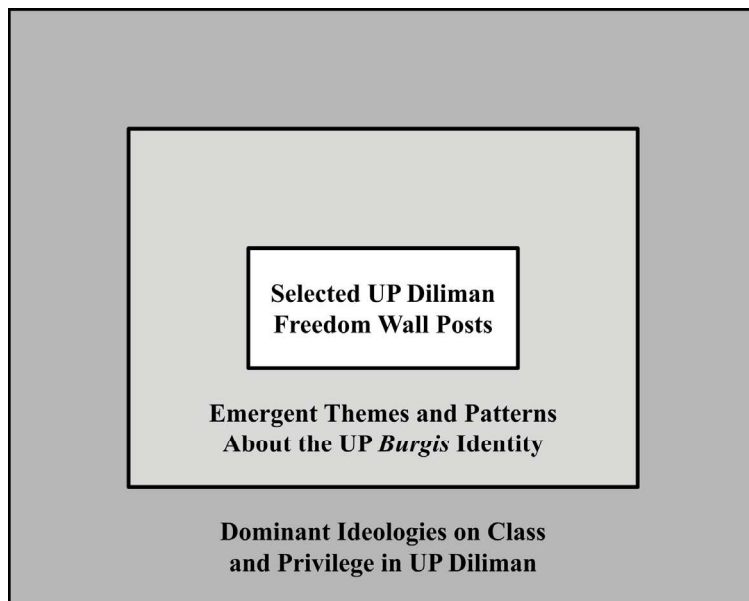


Figure 1. Layers of Discourse on the UP Burgis.

In the innermost level of the figure, UPD FW users participate in constructing the UP burgis identity, and this is textually/linguistically ascertained and analyzed via selected posts from the UPD FW. The second layer details emergent themes and patterns about the UP burgis identity from the previous textual/linguistic analysis. Lastly, the outermost layer considers the perceived context of a continuously-increasing UP burgis population and contrasts it with broader discussions of class and privilege.

Methodology

Data Selection

The research uses a qualitative design, as the data in focus is iterative in nature since they “are not separated in time, [but] occur simultaneously” such that each data point can cyclically inform one another.³³ As such, 88 posts from the UPD FW were selected based on timeframe and textual/discursive relevance. Posts from September to December 2024 were selected, due to the increase in search queries and discussions about the keyword “burgis” based on Google Trends. In line with this, textual/discursive relevance was based on if posts contained the keyword “burgis.” Manual sweeps of UPD FW posts corroborate the uptick in relevant posts, with September (7 posts), October (35), November (25), and December (22) yielding the highest number of posts.

Due to Facebook search functionality being confounded with personalization algorithms,³⁴ the following step-by-step methodology was utilized in obtaining the posts: (1) access the UPD FW page (facebook.com/updilimanFW); (2) locate the “Posts” division above the feed/timeline and adjust the “Filters” fields for Year, Month, and Day (2024; September, October, November, December; 1–30/31) and manually select posts with the keyword “burgis”; and (3) repeat per day/search query. Once posts were gathered, the full transcription was kept in a text file and sorted according to its identifier hashtag/number.³⁵

Data Analysis

The study’s step-by-step methodological process for data analysis, adjusted for Fairclough’s CDA and Bucholtz and Hall’s semiotic processes of identification, is as follows:

³³Monika Grochalska, “Research Practices in Critical Discourse Analysis: Constraints and Challenges,” *Kultura i Edukacja* 2, no. 128 (2020): 102.

³⁴Yee Lee, “How Facebook Search Works, in Under Two Minutes,” *Meta*, November 30, 2018, <https://about.fb.com/news/2018/11/inside-feed-how-search-works/>.

³⁵The UPD FW sorts posts by a unified hashtag format #UPDilimanFreedomWall[post number].

Micro-Level CDA (Description): This step functions as a form of initial familiarization of the posts, where preliminary themes, patterns, and phrases are aggregated. In line with this, discursive and linguistic elements are also examined; this specific analysis is aided by Machin and Mayr's semiotic toolkit,³⁶ where discursive strategies (word connotation, overlexicalisation, lexical suppression, and structural opposition) are identified.

Identification of Indexes: Indexes and perceived/projected identifiers of the UP burgis' identity are identified as a baseline for the following levels of analysis.

Inductive Coding and Thematic Clustering: From the previously-identified indexes and patterns, posts with certain themes and keywords will be aggregated via Braun and Clarke's method of thematic analysis.³⁷ This aids in systematically identifying, organizing, and interpreting the unearthed patterns, via an inductive/ "bottom up" approach of coding, where themes are extracted from the data, including semantic (explicit) and latent (implicit) meaning.

Meso-Level CDA (Interpretation): The posts are then broadly analyzed via how they situate themselves within the UP burgis discourse on the UPD FW, taking into account further implicit post attitudes and attributes.

Macro-Level CDA (Explanation): From the previous level of analysis, these implicit attitudes and attributes are correlated with broader themes of class and privilege.

³⁶David Machin and Andrea Mayr, *Analysing Semiotic Choices: Words and Images*, in *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2012), 32–42.

³⁷Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Thematic analysis" in *APA Handbook of Research Methods in Psychology* (Washington: American Psychological Association, 2012).

Results and Discussion³⁸

Preliminary Indexes of the UP Burgis

Any discussion on the UP burgis discourse begins with clarifying how UPD FW users construe the identity of the UP burgis. Central to this is Bucholtz and Hall's semiotic process of indexicality, wherein UPD FW users create chains of associations that link practices and affordances to identities. This process of indexing attributes is likewise mediated by the ongoing discourse and the ideological underpinnings of these discussions. Since language can be understood as a set of semiotic resources, textual choices reveal important clues regarding ideology. The analyzed UPD FW posts yielded three major clusters of discursively constructed indexes of the UP burgis: socioeconomic, cultural, and attitudinal.

Socioeconomic Indexes

The most intuitive way the UP burgis identity is indexed by the UPD FW is through semiotic markers of socioeconomic status/class. Textual analysis of these posts delineates two major trends in how the UP burgis is constructed in the socioeconomic realm: the physical ownership and use of items associated with wealth; and the perceived ability of individuals to afford lifestyles, specifically private education, expected from affluent backgrounds.

³⁸This chapter will reference specific posts from the UPD FW. Each post is categorized with a hashtag #UPDilimanFreedomWall[post number] (e.g., #UPDilimanFreedomWall12345). To condense formatting, posts will be referred to by hashtag and post number (e.g., #12345).

Ownership: High-End Gadgets	#22414 — Yes, i can say na I'm from a rich family, nagmamaneho ako ng kotse papuntang school at meron akong sariling iphone at ipad, but not super rich ha barya lang samin ang tuition sa ateneo or lasalle. #22685 — kapag ba may apple na gadget burgis na? hindi ba pwedeng pinaghirapan ng magulang para <u>regaluhin</u> sa anak? #23617 — Hiii help this girlie hereeee, so may nakausap po ako sa chatkool, chem student po first yr, burgis po hehe naka macbook and iphone (joke lang don't attack him) #24008 — ! AIT IS LITERALLY THE LIVING PROOF NA MARAMING BURGIS SA UP ! [...] Macbook or iPad. Sobrang bihira na may nakita akong laptop na walang mansanas sa likod.
Ownership: Luxury Goods	#22485 — bat lahat kayo naka longchamp hm? #24008 — May narinig din ako sa CR na magkaibigang nag-uusap na Dior ang gamit niyang makeup at pabango at paubos na raw kaya bibili siya ng bago. Yung ID lace at pantalon nila, may mga susi ng sasakyan at <u>yung</u> mga balikat ay may nakasabit na longchamp bags! Kapag lunch, makikita mo rin na ang daming <u>dumadating</u> na Grab at <u>Food Panda</u>! 🍱 #25355 — just say my classmate <u>buy</u> a 60k pair of shoes <u>sa hermes</u> during my polsci class. when they say UP burgis, I didn't expect THAT level of burgis omg
Ownership: Private Vehicles	#21399 — how can you tell if a <u>up</u> student is burgis? besides having a car! ano pa #23561 — Funny how some students go on and on about hating 'burgis' people with their cars on campus, yet always seem to find a seat in their friend's ride when it's time to go home.

Figure 2. Trends and Sample Posts.

Data relating to indexes of physical ownership shows three levels of item ownership and use. The first subtype highlights high-end gadget use, with emphasis on the brand Apple, whereas the second subtype involves the purchase and consumption of luxury goods. The last subtype here involves the use and ownership of private vehicles, specifically cars. Car-centricity issues are ongoing conversations in UP Diliman³⁹ as they demonstrate how mobility is a privilege in Metro Manila, thus pointing at

³⁹Abella, “Only 1 in 5 UPCA 2023 Passers.”

how it can be construed as eliteness. Posts often use structural opposition where only one part of a binary is mentioned, which implies “differences from qualities of its opposites without these being overtly stated.”⁴⁰ This consequently prompts evaluation of whether these markers seem out of place within UP through a comparison against an implicit model/ideal of UP students, framing these socioeconomic indexes as inappropriate.

Private Education	#22061 — burgis daw ako kasi I drive a car to UP. Kaya ko naman daw pala iafford ang private univs #22637 — it kinda irks me to know na afford naman ng family niya magstudy in UST or Ateneo pero ayun :((#23570 — Even a "burgis" who can afford to go to a private university has the right to apply and enroll in UP if they are eligible
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Figure 3. Trends and Sample Posts.

For posts involving the affordances in lifestyles, the most frequently attributed index was the ability to afford undergraduate education at expensive private universities, specifically Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU) or De La Salle University (DLSU). Importantly, this extends into how eliteness is construed in terms of exclusivity, specifically the capacity to afford what others cannot. Through structural opposition, the ability to afford private education is seen as an anomaly in the country’s premier state university, and ties back to discussions about UP’s mandate towards equitable admission.

Notably, posts which index the UP burgis socioeconomically often lack direct quantifications of wealth, suggesting a pattern of suppression or lexical absence, where classes of words, normally expected to be present in a discourse, are not present.⁴¹ Some posts also use overlexicalization by chains of markers of class through the overuse of synonymous lexical items that signal anxiety regarding the discourse and its controversiality.⁴²

⁴⁰Machin and Mayr, “Analysing Semiotic Choices,” 39.

⁴¹Machin and Mayr, “Analysing Semiotic Choices,” 38.

⁴²Machin and Mayr, “Analysing Semiotic Choices,” 37.

This indicates that the UP burgis identity is now indexed more so in how affluence translates into perceivable markers of wealth that they experience or interact with. This observation echoes Piketty’s (2013)⁴³ claim that eliteness is “akin to a lifestyle choice rather than something we are born into,” which moves away from the notion of eliteness as a passive embodiment of class. The resemiotization and the fluidity of elite identity therefore further contribute to the difficulty in demarcating who the UP burgis are.

Cultural Indexes

Economic capacity often intersects with the social sphere of lifestyle and practice as it structurally enables what individuals can access. UPD FW users leverage these tangible manifestations of eliteness in how they index burgis identities, yielding the following major sub-indexes: affiliations; self-presentation and desirability; and cultures of spending and lifestyle.

Affiliations with “Elite” Organizations	#22758 — What’s IE Club? And bakit lahat ng Burgis napasok sa IE club? Genuinely, is it an echo chamber for Burgis ideas?
	#23552 — Daming hanash about up golf club
	#23796 — ibang level na talaga mga students ng cba, may nakita kami ng friends ko na matangkad na guy may dalang electric portable scooter
	#23916 — paki tag po yung cute na burgis ng jfa
	#25565 — Unpopular Opinion: orgs like aiesec prove how burgis UP is now

Figure 4. Trends and Sample Posts.

The first cultural trend revolves around affiliations with organizations or colleges within and outside of UP: students from the School of Economics (#22914), the College of Business Administration (#23916; #24417), the Industrial Engineering Club (#22758), or AIESEC (#25565) are targeted as burgis by tapping into community stereotypes. Some posts expressed shock at how, during a UAAP basketball match between UP and ADMU, attendees on the UP side of the stadium sang the ADMU hymn (#22053; #22098). This leverages structural opposition by presenting it as an anomaly for members of the UP community “[in]

⁴³Thurlow and Jaworski, “The discursive production and maintenance,” 533.

maroon” to sing the ADMU hymn in a manner where “[they’re even proud of it].”

Presentation of the Self	#22199 — lahat nalang sinasabihan nyong burgis di ba pwedeng sadyang fresh lang kami at di kagaya nyo na mukhang maasim #22331 — nakakalungkot na simula <u>nagviral</u> ang "mga burgis sa UP" issue sa tiktok parang nagkaroon din ng witch hunt against UP students na active sa socmed, calling them burgis agad-agad just bc they look put together #23592 — <u>i'm</u> like a seriously rich guy, how come no one tells me that I should go to <u>ateneo</u> or <u>disu</u> ? <u>is it</u> because those people who call us "burgis" are too cowardly to tell it in front of our beautiful clinically-cared faces?
Eliteness as Desirability	#23141 — nagwowork po ba ateneo x up 😊 di po ako burgis pero sha oo (taga up ako) #23919 — feel ko mga galit sa burgis, na-reject lang ng mayaman na crush nila. aminin niyo na. #25114 — ang solusyon para umangat tayo ay jowain tayo ng mga burgis [...] hindi ba kayo nanonood ng mga teleserye na ang mayaman ay para sa mahirap

Figure 5. Trends and Sample Posts.

The second cultural trend concerns self-presentation, indexing physical attributes such as having “clinically-cared faces” (#23592), “look[ing] put together” (#22331), “fresh” (#22199), “cute” (#23916), or even “[handsome]” (#23796). This overlaps with descriptions of the conyo elite as “light-skinned” and “high-maintenance.”⁴⁴ Eliteness then is also construed through the body and connotes desirability, which hints at how the political economy of desire intersects with the construction of the UP burgis identity. Posts like #25114 also comically suggest to “jowain” (get them as a partner) the UP burgis in order to “umangat” (rise up the socioeconomic ladder). This characterization constructs eliteness akin to a ladder of social mobility for the non-burgis, but also reframes desirability/exclusivity in both physical and socioeconomic terms.

⁴⁴Angela Reyes, “Ontology of Fake: Discerning the Philippine Elite,” *Signs and Society* 5, no. S1 (2017): S105, <https://www.hunter.cuny.edu/english/angela-reyes/repository/files/Reyes%202017%20SAS.pdf>.

Culture of Spending	#22098 — Para kanino ka ba talaga, UP? Bakit nung admu vs up, ang daming up attendees na kumanta ng ateneo hymn? O, puro burgis lang ba nanonood live ganern... #23494 — ang funny ng mga nagde-deny na marami nang burgis sa UP because why did i just see a bunch of people wearing UP lanyards eating at cibo uptc hahahahaha #23596 — Yung uneasy moments 'pag nag-aayaan yung tropa mo sa mga expensive gala na like it's nothing for them and you have to make an excuse dahil wala kang pera
Culture of Convenience	#22602 — what boils my blood about the burgis getting into UP phenomenon is these rich kids aren't going to at least contribute to the country after grad. bibigyan kita sana ng benefit of the doubt if mayaman ka, nag-UP ka, pero may balak ka talagang mag give back. but no, these rich kids take free education, and then abandon the country to go work abroad or at top corporations. #22914 — Now, how do you think all the burgis kids of UPSE be an economist for the peopl? Ekonomista ng bayan my ass. Ekonomista ng corporation ni mommy at daddy. 🌻❤️🌻 #22998 — LOL UP STUDENT HATID SUNDO TAS NAKA-RED PLATE WITH MATCHING APPLE ECO SYSTEM, TRAVEL THE WORLD, AND EVERYTHING DI MO DESERVE SA UP #25317 — Must be nice not to commute—my burgis classmate just casually asked me how much the ikot jeep fare is these days ͇(๖_๓๖)͇

Figure 6. Trends and Sample Posts.

The third cultural trend looks into markers of privileged lifestyles toward the UP burgis identity, which yields two main perceived UP burgis sub-cultures. First, spending culture targets dining at expensive places (e.g., #23494 observes students with “UP lanyards” eating at Cibo) or engaging in “expensive gala” as if the cost means “nothing for them” (#23596). Second, convenience culture builds on the notions of ownership of private vehicles and how the political economy of mobility translates into eliteness.⁴⁵ Some UPD FW posts target those who benefit from the practice of being “[chauffeured to and from school]” (#22998)

⁴⁵Crispin Thurlow, “Liquid power: reading the infinity pool as a global semioscope,” *Visual Communication* 21, no. 1 (2021).

or being unaware of the cost of an IKOT (jeepney) ride, implying the lack of need to commute (#25317). These indexes also extend towards convenience regarding social mobility. Posts such as #22914 deride the burgis as inheritors of the corporations of their “mommy and daddy” or for simply taking free UP education to “go work abroad or at top corporations” (#22602).

Cultural Shifts in UP Diliman	#22364 — Ito ngayon Burgis univ na UP since matapobre ang mga students. #23596 — Aside from the <u>burgis</u> taking away opportunities that people from the lower-class could benefit from, can we also talk about how the increasing number of rich people in the campus is slowly creating a burgis-centered lifestyle/culture? [...] But now, it's quite disappointing how I can still see traces of the unspoken <u>elistism</u> sa campus [...] Yung uneasy moments <u>pag</u> nag-aayaan yung <u>tropa</u> mo sa mga expensive gala na like it's nothing for them and you have to make an excuse <u>dahil</u> wala kang pera [...] I know this has something to do with personal insecurity din but the environment of UP shouldn't have made this insecurity be possible in the first place. #25669 — wdym no burgis allowed sa UPD? It is basically budget Ateneo
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Figure 7. Trends and Sample Posts.

Extending from the construction of the UP burgis as lifestyle, the last pattern of cultural indexes sees them as the catalyst for UP’s pivot to a “burgis-centered lifestyle/culture” and a turn to “unspoken elitism” where less privileged students feel alienated from their well-off counterparts (#23596), indicated by claims of UP becoming a “[b]urgis univ[ersity]” (#22364) that is “basically budget Ateneo” (#25669). These developments coincide with the increase in affluent students⁴⁶ and the rapid commercialization of UP; i.e., the establishment of UP Town Center, Gyudfood, and Dilimall, which have displaced local vendors and mom-and-pop stores.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Daway-Ducanes, Pernia, and Ramos, “On Income Advantage,” 11–13; Ager, “UP is no longer ‘burgis.’”

⁴⁷Josemari Luis Lagman, “Sketching the Trajectory of Development in a Gentrified UP,” *Philippine Collegian*, November 27, 2023, <https://www.phkule.org/article/1042/sketching-the-trajectory-of-development-in-a-gentrified-up/>.

Attitudinal Indexes

Personality Traits Linked to Elitism	#22364 — Ito ngayon Burgis univ na UP since matapobre ang mga students. #22440 — Yup, burgis ako, is that what you call it? I can afford tuition sa mga private schools, pero hear me out first [...] I did my best to make up for it(?). Nag-volunteer ako, sumali sa rally, I donate—name it, nagawa ko na. But now, the term 'burgis' is all over social media again, and honestly, I don't know what to feel anymore. #23596 — But anyways, I really hope that the rich people that are already here in UP can be more sensitive regarding sa financial situation ng iba dito. Stop throwing around statements showing how you consider someone's whole allowance as 'petty cash'. #25616 — burgis here na nairita sa mga burgis din hi ang nagenroll kayo sa up by choice btw so act like it. lowkey insensitive w no regard for others 😊 my brother in christ this is a state uni
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Figure 8. Trends and Sample Posts.

Building off cultural indexes are attitudinal indexes, which yield two main trends. For the first trend, personality traits associated with eliteness are projected, such as a perceived disconnect with their environment and attitudes that are rooted in entitlement. The UP burgis are described as “matapobre” (#22364) or financially insensitive, as if treating someone else’s allowance as spare change (#23596). Others suggest that the UP burgis feel entitled to their slots (#22742; #22395), tying into the perceived merit and entitlement heralded by the UP burgis.

Political Attitudes	#22364 — Mga UP students talaga burgis kasi kung titignan mo wala na sa kanila ang activist environment na naabutan ko dati. #22742 — There wouldn't be a systemic issue in the first place if there weren't <u>burgis</u> students like you who are indifferent, or worse, entitled to being qualified for UP. #22395 — real talk lang ha nakita niyo ba ever sumama sa rally or <u>nagshare</u> <u>manlang</u> ng political posts mga kaklase niyong burgis? hindi dba kasi mga wala namang pake sa lipunan mga yan. tapos they claim na deserve nila spot sa UP? #23856 — Pero do you honestly think na kung burgis ka, gets mo? HINDI NILA GETS. The *true* burgis are ridiculously unaware of how society and poverty work. Kung mahirap ka, they'll just say tamad or magastos ka. They might even ask "ba't di ka kasi mag-ipon or <u>magstart</u> ng business?" 'Yan ang burgis. #22604 — nakakahiya na <u>aktibismo</u> ang itinuturing na pride ng UP pero yung mga isko, hindi man lamang maintindihan kung bakit maraming galit sa mga burgis sa unibersidad. pilit niyo kasing sinasara ang utak niyo sa kritisismo para makatakas kayo sa guilt. paulit-ulit nang ganito ang pinag-uusapan pero hindi pa rin kayo natuto. Shame #22816 — "<u>lagi't</u> lagi para sa bayan" sabi ng burgis #22328 — <u>i do</u> understand where the frustrations are coming from as it takes away the opportunities from less fortunate students who have no other options but study in state <u>univs dahil</u> libre nga ang tuition.
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Figure 9. Trends and Sample Posts.

The second trend focuses on perceived political attitudes. The UP burgis are described as “indifferent” (#22742), apolitical, detached from the “activist environment” of UP (#22364), or “ridiculously unaware of how society and poverty work” (#23856). These operate on structural oppositions wherein burgis politics is seen as out-of-place and “nakakahiya” (shameful) in a school with a history of activism (#22604). These are contingent on perceived “ideals” for UP students, noting the UP burgis are inherently incompatible with UP’s mandates (#22816), having no intention to “give back” or “contribute to the country” (#22742; #22602), while also “tak[ing] away the opportunities from less fortunate students” for “free education” (#22328; #22602).

These indexes show that elitism is not a static embodiment derived exclusively from class-driven and socioeconomic affordances. Eliteness has also been discursively constructed through cultural and attitudinal indexes that are seen to be associated with the UP burgis identity tying back to its resemiotization⁴⁸ in terms of the perceived lifestyle of the UP burgis. The resemiotization of elite categories such as the UP burgis suggests the crucial role that processes such as practice and performance play into how UPD FW users perceive and discuss eliteness.

This, in turn, mediates what attributes are indexed to the UP burgis identity when discussed in the UPD FW, as noticeable in how socioeconomic indexes are now usually construed as a practice of consumption instead of an empirical quantification of wealth. Moreover, because practice and performance are embedded in the social experience, ideology becomes important in the authentication and contestation of identity within the discourse. Since the UPD FW is a site of ideological skirmishing about the UP burgis, this further emphasizes how the construction of the said identity remains iterative.

Metadiscourse Surrounding the UP Burgis

Targeting the UP Burgis

With the affordances of the UPD FW as a platform, users may feel compelled to substantiate or nuance value judgments shared by others, as is the case with numerous metadiscursive posts regarding the UP burgis. These posts constitute an important part of the UPD FW's creation of an identity for the UP burgis, as they seek to clarify, nuance, and contest preceding discourse. This also necessarily indexes aspects of the prior-perceived UP burgis, thus potentially reinforcing these aspects and leading to a cyclical fossilization of certain aspects, making them inextricably—or sometimes *negatively*—linked to the UP burgis.

As the UP burgis label is indexical and iterative, it inherently leads to imprecise boundaries about what demographics are being discussed or even being “targeted” (i.e., containing a more negative, pejorative connotation). These clarificatory posts and responses may be done in good faith, but they may also function as a preventive measure: As

⁴⁸Crispin Thurlow and Adam Jaworski, “Introducing elite discourse: the rhetorics of status, privilege, and power,” *Social Semiotics* 27, no. 3 (2017b): 243–254.

indexing identity relies on externally-perceived associations, it runs the risk of affecting a portion of the population who may align with certain associations tied with the UP burgis, but are not necessarily well-off. Though, this in itself can reinforce and emphasize certain aspects of the UP burgis, thus reinventing “target” demographics.

Interrogating the UP Burgis

Posts that target the UP burgis come with others that directly respond to these posts through clarification and sentimental indexing. For example, #22414 seeks to clarify the poster’s standing as “not burgis” despite having markers that subjectively indicate that the poster might be such: “I’m from the higher class but I don’t consider myself as burgis. [...] I’m from a rich family.” Other posts also trail into discussing the “worthiness” of the UP burgis’ enrolment into the university, veering into discussions of “deserving” to study in UP; e.g., #22328 pointing out the negative connotations of the term “burgis”: “imagine getting told [that] you don’t deserve to study in UP all because you have a gadget and money to buy things for yourself.”

However, as seen with these previous samples, other clarificatory discussions still reinforce socioeconomic factors, such as with #22685 (which notes the “true burgis” are in the “top 1% [of socioeconomic brackets] and opt to study overseas”), #23640 (which alludes to the idea that the UP burgis are often conflated with the “middle class”), and #22483 creating another structural opposition within perceived burgis groups: “[Some are actually burgis, while others are working students or maybe they have an independent source of income].”

The prevalence of negative sentiments is aptly summarized by #21596: “I can really feel the bitterness [when] someone says the word burgis.” Thus, a subsection of posts recognizes this by sharing their class guilt because of the perceived (if not incredibly delineated) negative sentiments of those posts: e.g., #22440 (“I want to apologize [because I was *mangmang* (ignorant)] before entering UP. I didn’t think about it [as a means of saving] money, [all I know is that I want to study in UP]. So what should I do, everyone? Should I hate myself because of this?”), and #24915 (“All these burgis posts [are] affecting me too much. [I don’t

know] if I have the right to study in the university [...] We aren't poor nor are we rich.").

Critiquing the Burgis “Witch Hunt”

The UP burgis discourse has been seen as “kakasawa” (sickening) (#22685) or “LOUD and embarrassing” (#23741), emphasizing the repetitive and potentially misleading/harmful nature of the discourse, dovetailing into discussions of socioeconomic issues in UP. Other posts are more dismissive, calling the discourse a “witch hunt” founded on a “court of public opinion” not any better than the “UP admission system” (#22331). Word connotation functions to delegitimize the discussion as misdirected frustration, with “witch hunt” implying an irrational project of persecution, and “court of public opinion” suggesting a contradiction between *logical* court proceedings and *volatile* public standings.

The value of these metadiscourses lies in how they necessarily entail interpretations of the UP burgis: They are indicators of how UPD FW users understand the UP burgis, while making their own value judgments from information from the same platform. Akin to prior discussions on indexes that identify the UP burgis beyond socioeconomic affluence, the related clarificatory and derogatory metadiscourse further nuances this, acting as an implicit quantifier of wealth. These posts argue that comfort and affluence need not be a necessary condition for a burgis classification, but may also reinforce how they are intrinsically linked to that classification in the first place. This demonstrates how the discourse can be self-correcting, which is necessary to ensure it retains its critical edge by not being blunted through its own imprecision.

Thus, these discussions bring to light the level of variance and potential communicative discrepancies that can occur despite much of the information yielded and produced by the same platform and cyclical manners of discourse. The intricacies of this metadiscourse add another layer of nuance in identifying and propagating an “identity” of the UP burgis, by virtue of its own self-referential nature.

The UP Burgis vs. Ideologies of Class and Privilege

The Nebulous UP Mandate

Discussions on the UP burgis often conclude that the presence of these groups is inherently contrary to UP's commitments and mandates. Pertinent aspects of UP that lead to these conclusions include its status as a state institution functioning “para sa bayan” (for the nation) and/or “para sa masa” (for the people). These are exemplified by the implementation of certain admissions systems (RA 10931, EEAS) in the pursuit of ensuring a fair but diverse, non-homogenized demographic of students—i.e., not skewing to a burgis demographic. However, these mandates do not exist on a formal/institutional level, and are results of cyclical discourse.

University documentation does not explicitly indicate these ideals. They are instead culled from various facets of the university, then frequently championed by actors, participants, and stakeholders in the UP sphere, with the UPD FW becoming another key actor on this front, even implicitly: e.g., #22602: “[W]hat boils my blood about the burgis getting into UP [...] is these rich kids aren't going to at least contribute to the country [i.e., indexing the commitments to the nation] after grad[uating].”

These discussions then bring to light new insights about these mandates, as they are now regurgitated by posts that specifically tout structural oppositions and binaries. #23403 touts a “pang-burgis vs pang-masa” (for the burgis vs. for the masses) tagline because the implicit mandate is frequently (if not necessarily) discussed in tandem with the UP burgis; they are profiled against/in comparison to the perceived mandate. While not limited to the UPD FW, various discussions on the topic also occur elsewhere,⁴⁹ though the UPD FW may be one of the more prominent regurgitators of such.

Here, the UP mandate functions as a placeholder for the ethos of UPD FW users who skew derisive towards the UP burgis: It becomes

⁴⁹Ager, “UP is no longer ‘burgis;’” Villanueva, “Is UP fulfilling its mandate?”

the baseline through which contradictions are ascertained in identifying the UP burgis, as many of their indexes are frequently contrasted against said mandate. As such, the UPD FW reflects and resists class ideology with UP's mandate as a baseline ideology and reference point, with the UP burgis becoming a corollary and reinforcement of these discussions. This becomes inextricably linked with Bucholtz and Hall's (2004, 388) notion that "the raw material of identit[ies] do not exist apart from the ideologies and practices through which they are constructed."

The UP Burgis vs. the UP Mandate

The inherent contrasts between the UP burgis and UP's mandates are emphasized by discussions on the UPD FW, revealing how committed its users are to keeping the (perceived) democracy of UP as a state institution intact, by preventing it from becoming a breeding ground for individuals who may essentially *other* the perceived majority of participants in the institution. This recalls the idea of burgis/elite groups being unable to "faithfully mirror the realit[ies] of the country,"⁵⁰ as these discussions create a political microcosm of the university: the institution being the land which houses the masa (masses), which UP supposedly caters to, and the elite—the UP burgis—which has (more) power over it.

In the pursuit of preserving "democracy" within the institution, dissuasions of the UP burgis function as defense mechanisms: If stakeholders of the university (and/or its democracy) are anchored onto groups that have power over everyone else, their freedom becomes jeopardized. Posts that other the UP burgis aim to prevent non-burgis participants from being othered themselves. The inherent otherness of the UP burgis is also aligned with Bucholtz and Hall's note about how individuals congregated into groups of exclusivity "are driven not by some pre-existing and recognizable similarity but by agency and power,"⁵¹ hence persistent discussions of the contradictory nature of burgis/elite groups in an institution meant for those who may not have "agency and power" in society.

⁵⁰Arcilla, "The Origin of the Philippine Political Elite," 134.

⁵¹Bucholtz and Hall, "Language and Identity," 371.

These discussions foreground populist ideologies permeating users of the UPD FW, emphasizing the structural oppositions between the common people (*masa*) and the elites (the UP *burgis*). Marxist ideals come into play here, as the ideals of the bourgeoisie “resolv[ing] personal worth into exchange value” and “subject[ing] the country to the rule of the[ir] towns” situate this political microcosm into the Marxist oppositions of the “hostile camps [of] Bourgeoisie and [the] Proletariat.”⁵² These beliefs are exemplified by discussions that situate the UP *burgis*—both positively and negatively—in relation to personal grievances.

These discussions may target the potential for othering on the part of the UP *burgis*, who may be perceived to marginalize non-*burgis* groups by virtue of their perceived grandstanding. Pejorative posts may thus be strategically masked under the guise of the projected university mandates. In line with this, discussions that target merit and equity are also plentiful, especially when taking into account the perceived institutional/administrative-level favoritism towards more privileged students.⁵³ Hence, these ideas are juxtaposed with the notion that the UP *burgis* use their privilege “incorrectly,” especially when it comes to discussions of admissions and student slots in the university.

Select posts seek to aid the UP *burgis* in how they use their privilege, but may cycle back to using these sentiments as motivations for disparaging the UP *burgis*, as evidenced by discussions on merit and student slots. Aligning with prior discussions about socioeconomically affluent students “tak[ing] away slots” from other students,⁵⁴ posts that disparage the UP *burgis* for matriculating into the university ultimately recognize that there is an inherent privilege possessed by the UP *burgis* such that they may ostensibly enroll elsewhere (e.g., specific posts tackling how the UP *burgis* could have enrolled at private universities instead).

⁵²Marx and Engels, “From The Communist Manifesto,” 662.

⁵³Daway-Ducanes, Pernia, and Ramos, “On Income Advantage.”

⁵⁴Villanueva, “Is UP fulfilling its mandate?”

Thus, these varying discussions of the contradictory and nebulous nature of the UP burgis are twofold: In recognizing the UP burgis' inherent privilege—especially socioeconomic affluence which affords cultural and attitudinal indexes—UPD FW users seesaw between viewing privilege as a marker of potential positive change or an impediment that makes the UP burgis incompatible with the university's mandates and commitments. This privilege supposedly makes them incapable of sympathizing with non-burgis UP groups: the “masa” (masses). However, this also reveals how certain participants of the UPD FW view the university as inherently irreconcilable with privilege (i.e., posts that deliberately stave off the burgis/elite from UP), which, in itself, becomes a way of marking their “exclusivity,” and points to the tensions and contradictions embedded in the politics of the burgis discourse.

Conclusion

Summary of Findings

Through CDA paired with analyses targeting semiotic identification processes, the UP burgis has been discursively profiled in a variety of different ways that coincide with, contradict, and/or expand on historical definitions of the “burgis” identity. At a baseline, the UP burgis is profiled and identified through socioeconomic indexes that can be narrowed down to three subtypes: high-end gadget use, purchase and consumption of luxury goods, and ownership of private vehicles such as cars. The UP burgis discourse is also a site of ideological discussion, with the tensions regarding the perceived increasing prevalence of the UP burgis and their socioeconomic and political stances appearing to be inherently at odds with the university's commitments and mandates.

These discursive constructions reveal a conflicted negotiation of UP's identity as a public institution. Anonymous contributors share frustrations, mockery, or defenses relating to the presence of the UP burgis, all while operating with both implicit and, at times, explicit awareness of the tension between UP's mandate to democratize education and the lived class realities of its students. While some users reproduce elitist assumptions of the UP burgis, others aim their critiques at the

institutional or systematic level. Ultimately, the presence of the UP burgis is framed by many as a symbol of contradiction that may undermine or even threaten the progressive values and integrity the university claims to uphold.

Through these discussions, the creation and establishment of ideology regarding the UP burgis and its mandate are solidified, and builds off the perceived identities of the UP burgis as it is contrasted with the university's politics. This creates discourse that naturally emphasizes the "other(ed)" nature of the UP burgis and the accompanying negative connotations the term might have among some users.

Implications

One of the most significant implications of this research is the uncovered potential for fossilizing identity and ideology in spaces like the UPD FW (and freedom walls in general). FWs have been characterized as spaces for "everyday discourses," serving as tools for "transforming the perception and representation of social reality" and acting as "nurturing grounds and sources of inspiration and information for normative discourses," ultimately enabling the naturalization of ideologies.⁵⁵ Despite its informal and non-institutional nature, the UPD FW has enabled discussions that further the significance of "everyday discourse" in discourse studies and sociolinguistics, shedding light on how language functions as a mechanism for both uncovering and fossilizing identities and ideologies.

The UPDFW also nuances discussions on the identity of the UP burgis, enabling a more intersectional and multi-dimensional understanding of this group. It anchors their identity not just in socioeconomic affluence, but also in a wider range of cultural and attitudinal indexes. The UP burgis is not only reframed but also confirmed as a multi-faceted, intersectional construct that is context-dependent. Identity, as demonstrated, is not static; it is subject to continuous reframing and resemiotization,⁵⁶ and

⁵⁵Määttä, Suomalainen, and Tuomarla, "Everyday discourse," 774.

⁵⁶Thurlow and Jaworski, "The discursive production;" Thurlow and Jaworski, "Introducing elite discourse."

is heavily dependent on context. This reflects the notion that identity-formation is “initiated by innate tendencies towards active exploration of physical and social affordances,” ultimately leading to a “dynamic set of [identity-driven] relationships which persist through being enacted.”⁵⁷

Limitations & Recommendations

The study has methodological constraints, as it is limited to posts that contain the keyword “burgis.” With implicit attitudes and attributes in these posts that target broader discussions of class and privilege, future studies could expand on the exploratory nature of the study to provide more comprehensive analyses of how markers of privilege are discussed in relation to the UP community. Although, these future studies would also have a similar textual concern to the current study, i.e., complications of interpretation, where conclusions drawn by this study may possibly reproduce constructed discourses tethered to the UP burgis.

With many posts tied to users’ opinions regarding the discourse, future studies may also conduct qualitative interviews with students or stakeholders related to the UP burgis. This would yield lived interpretations and situated viewpoints of the UP burgis while also offering perspectives from various contexts. Alternatively, different data sources and timeframes may be utilized in tandem with the study’s data analysis procedure. As exemplified by the study, its data, and the selected frameworks, discourse of this kind is incredibly context-dependent, and, as such, other platforms (e.g., Twitter/X, TikTok, Reddit) and/or timeframes may either corroborate, contradict, or further nuance discussions of the UP burgis from the UPD FW.

⁵⁷John Pickering, “The self is a semiotic process,” *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 6, no. 4 (1999): 31–47.

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