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The representation of refuge and migration in the online media in Brazil and abroad: a Cognitive Linguistics analysis

A representação do refúgio e migração na mídia online no Brasil e no mundo: uma análise a partir da linguística cognitiva

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Abstract: The present study aims at mapping how the situation of refuge and migration is represented metaphorically in the Brazilian online media. From the data collected, we will establish comparisons between the representations that were found. An approach that contemplates the frame study employed in the media allows us to observe that verbal and nonverbal resources, metaphorical sentences and lexical items are constituted into discursive *frames.* We intend todiscuss how the migrant and the refugee are represented in the Brazilian online media. Some questions we will investigate are: What are the discourses on the reception of refugees and migrants? Which discourses on the integration of refugees and migrants are broadcasted? From these questions, we will examine how such categories compose the image of the migrant and the refugee. The corpus used was based on the news of the online newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* from June, 2015, seen as it was in this month that the so called "refugee crisis" occurred in Europe. The gathering and analysis were done with the help of two free softwares: Notepad++, that allows the user to save texts in *txt* format, and Antconc, that enables the analysis of several *txt* files through tools that are used in Corpus Linguistics. The concordance lines obtained by inserting a word of choice in AntConc's concordancer were then analyzed manually through Cameron's (2010) Metaphor-led Discourse Analysis. A larger objective will be to identify which metaphorical *frames* are used in the migrant's and refugee's media representation and what are their social implications. Such frames contribute to organize and potentialize the discourse about the Other (BRUNO, 2016).

Key-words: Metaphor; Cognitive Linguistics; Corpus Linguistics; Refuge; Immigration.

Resumo: Este estudo busca mapear como a situação de refúgio e migração são representadas metaforicamente na mídia online brasileira. A partir dos dados coletados, serão estabelecidas comparações entre as representações encontradas. Uma abordagem que contemple o estudo de *frames* empregados na mídia permite-nos observar que recursos verbais e não-verbais, sentenças e itens lexicais metafóricos são constituídos em *frames* discursivos. Pretendemos discutir como o migrante e o refugiado são representados na mídia online brasileira. Algumas questões que investigaremos são: Quais são os discursos sobre a recepção de refugiados e imigrante? Quais são os discursos veiculados sobre a integração de refugiados e migrantes? A partir dessas perguntas, nós examinaremos como tais categorias compõem a imagem do migrante e do refugiado. O corpus utilizado baseou-se em notícias do jornal online *Folha de São Paulo* no mês de junho de 2015, dado que nesse mês ocorreu a chamada "crise dos refugiados" na Europa. A coleta e análise foram feitas com dois softwares gratuitos: Notepad++, que permite que o usuário salve textos em formato *txt*, e o AntConc, que permite a análise de vários arquivos *txt* através de ferramentas da Linguística do Corpus. As linhas de concordância obtidas ao inserir-se uma palavra de escolha no concordanciador do AntConc foram, então, analisadas manualmente através da Análise do discurso guiada por metáforas proposta por Cameron (2010). Um objetivo futuro será identificar quais *frames* metafóricos são utilizados para representar o refugiado e o migrante na mídia e quais são as suas implicações sociais. Tais *frames* contribuem para organizar e realçar o discurso sobre o Outro (BRUNO, 2016)**.**

Palavras-chave: Metáfora; Linguística Cognitiva; Linguística de Corpus; Refúgio; Imigração.

1 Introduction

Nowadays migration is talked about as a 'wave' or a 'tsunami', using a metaphorical frame of NATURAL DISASTERS (CHARTERIS-BLACK, 2004; MUSSOLF, 2011; HART, 2015). Another frame used is WAR, for instance people talk about an 'invasion' according to which the migrants are those who occupy a new space - they are portrayed as 'invaders'. The way through which the media represents refugees and migrants plays an important role in the reception and perception of this group in the new country. Migration and refuge are usually forced by adverse conditions, such as wars or meteorological phenomena, and those groups need protection and integration in their new countries. There are currently twenty forced displaced refugees perminute in the world and there are 65 million and 600 thousand refugees worldwide. In Brazil there were officially about 10,000 refugees in 2016 but unofficially these figures could reach 35,700. However, this number is about to increase with the political and humanitarian crisis in Venezuela. According to a recent UN report, the number of "citizens of interest for international protection" in Brazil has reached 68,000 people, that is, it has doubled in 2017. Haitians are not considered refugees in Brazil but since the 2010 earthquake they receive a humanitarian visum and can stay and work legally in Brazil[1] . Apart from refugees from Venezuela, Cuba, Angola, 1 Syria and Congo, Brazil has also a considerable group of African immigrants from Senegal in the Southeast and South who are shaping the community life.

The goal of this study is to map how the situation of refuge and migration is represented metaphorically on the Brazilian media in the case of *Folha de São Paulo*, one of the most important daily newspapers in the country, through metaphoric frames. Using this data, we intend to draw a comparison among these representations. Thus, we intend to discuss how migrants and refugees are represented in the Brazilian online media. Some questions we intend to address are: Which frames appeared on the media about the arrival of refugees and migrants? Which metaphorical frames are employed in the representations of migrants and refugees in the online media in Brazil? Why and what are their implications? Departing from these questions, we intend to examine how such categories compose the migrant's and the refugee's representation. This is a quali-quantitative study, the data has been collected manually in Brazilian media and treated with support of corpus linguistics methodology.

Corpus linguistics allow us to collect a large amount of data with the use of specific tools (DEIGNAN, 2005), in this case we used the tool AntConc. The results of a search using corpus linguistics methodology are examples of language in use which allow us to make generalizations about how language works in order to conceptualize a phenomenon.

The gathering and analysis were done with the help of two free software: Notepad++, that allows the user to save texts in *txt* format, and Antconc, that enables the analysis of several *txt* files through tools that are used in Corpus Linguistics. Afterwards, we examined the concordance lines with the data using Metaphor-led Discourse Analysis (CAMERON et al. 2009), through which metaphors and metonymies are analyzed manually.. An approach that addresses the study of frames used by the media allows us to observe that verbal and nonverbal resources, i.e. images, metaphorical statements and lexical items are constituted into discursive *frames* (RITCHIE, 2010; RITCHIE; CAMERON, 2014; HART, 2015), which mostly reflect circulating stories and stereotypes in society. An analysis of the experiential domains (LAKOFF; JOHNSON, 2003) found in the data has been performed, focusing on verbal metaphors.

2 Metaphors and metaphorical frames

We assume that by using metaphorical frames the media discourse can contribute to the construction of a determined discursive representation of a certain social group. We intend to investigate which frames

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[1] http://bit.ly/2ktEcAo

are these and what representation they will contribute to, e.g., if representations of positive or negative polarities. As an example when it is said 'rescue an immigrant' and 'capture a refugee', the speaker is automatically assigning a positive polarity to the immigrant and a negative polarity to the refugee. Our hypothesis is that a liberal policy towards migrants and refugees follows the model of the 'nurture parent', while a policy that restricts the entrance of refugees and migrants is guided by the 'strict father', proposed by Lakoff (2002).

2.1 FRAMES AND METAPHORS

Meaning is embodied (GIBBS, 2006; LAKOFF, 1987; GIBBS/ FERREIRA, 2011), motivated by our experiences in the environment we live in. Our experiences guide the way we act in the world and, consequently, our language use. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory, widespread from the 1980 *Metaphors we live by* book by Lakoff and Johnson, presents the idea that thought is structured, in great part, by metaphors. Therefore, metaphorical and metonymic processes hypothetically motivate cognitive and cultural models that structure individual and shared behaviors.

Metaphor/metonymy is the result of the speaker's interaction with the surrounding environment and of the way in which his sensory-motor system interacts with objects and people in the world, that is why it is socio-culturally situated (ROMANO, 2014). We must conceive language usage in the form of metaphors, metonymies, image schemas and gestures, as elements that integrate complex systems in which neurophysiological, psychological, ecological and sociocultural factors interact dynamically (GIBBS/ CAMERON, 2008).

In order to identify metaphors and metonymies in interaction, words or phrases with incongruent meaning were selected, their meaning being deductible through context[2]. The 2 vehicles, and mainly incongruent expressions, are called

metaphorical vehicles. The present study also intends on mapping metaphorical framing mechanisms (RITCHIE/ CAMERON, 2014) that emerge on the discourse produced by the media.

Ritchie (2010) and Ritchie/ Cameron (2014) discuss how metaphorical frames are used in conversations about how people think and speak on the topic of public security in a community located in Portland (OR) in the US. Results pointed to a vision of Portland's police as incompetent and with low commitment that, according to Ritchie (2010), compose the discursive frame of the "crime victim". According to this data, Portland's african-american community members feel threatened when they encounter the police in different contexts since a woman in the community was shot to death during a police control operation (RITCHIE/ CAMERON, 2014). By inviting the authorities to speak to the community in an informal meeting with the police, the authors showed how this meeting failed due to the usage of contradictory and conflicting frames in the discussions. One speaker (Pastor Hardy) rejects a racial framing of the events being discussed and favors a human rights frame (RITCHIE/ CAMERON, 2014: 210). The pastor's speech reveals how questions related to social status, such as economic status and the area where the victims live in Portland, for instance, if it is a poor neighborhood or not, are important elements that can make a victim more vulnerable to police violence.

The whole idea of refugees and migrants trying to cross the borders and enter a territory as Europe presupposes a security metaphor (SECURITY AS CONTAINMENT), it also presupposes that EUROPE/ AMERICA IS A CONTAINER and that Europe should secure its borders. Mussolf (2011) explains that in the debate on immigration in general, specially in western countries, it is common to find the idea of migration as a natural disaster (the image of the 'wave' and the 'tsunami'), as an invasion of enemies, i.e. a metaphorical framing of WAR, an epidemic or the dissemination of parasites that spread diseases. Therefore, it is not surprising that such metaphorical frames occur in the media in several languages (cf. GRUBER, *in print*).

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[2] It's a procedure to identify metaphors from vehicles, adapted by Cameron (2010) from the Metaphor Identification Procedure developed by the Pragglejaz group (2007).

In a previous study on metaphors about refugees in the newspaper Folha de São Paulo for the years 1994 and 1995, Ferreira/ Flister (2017) were able to identify mainly vehicles such as NATURAL DISASTER, GOODS, and CRIMINALS employed in order to describe the target concept of REFUGEE, as for example:

(1) Serbia can use the <u>stream of **refugees**</u> to populate the region[3] (NATURAL DISASTER);

(2) The US is <u>sending **refugees**</u> back to Haiti if they cannot prove they have a right of asylum[4] (GOODS);

(3) After WWII Argentina received many **refugee** <u>nazis</u> from Eichman to the latest captured recently in Bariloche (Ernst Priebke) [5](Mapping: REFUGEES ARE CRIMINALS)

On the other hand, WATER metaphors imply that the immigrants are inanimate and do not have motives, intentions and volition. It also means that the territory, also a CONTAINER metaphor, where the flow is streaming to has a limited capacity of storage (HART, 2002).

In line with Lakoff/ Johnson´s statement that 'we define our realities in terms of metaphors' (1980: 158), the immigration debate often presents an ideological side where the immigrants and asylum-seekers are represented through mental images with similar properties to natural phenomena and diseases, which can be disseminated and harm the local population, such as a virus or a contagious disease. It is not a coincidence that right wing movements use metaphorical expressions such as 'parasites' to delegitimize immigrants with the argument that they live on state money and profit of the welfare system.

3 Methodology

The use of mixed methodology, that is of corpus linguistics methodology (qualiquantitative), and metaphor-led discourse analysis (qualitative), allow us to gather evidence on how the media represents such a complex and to some extent abstract phenomenon.

Metaphor-led discourse analysis (CAMERON/ MASLEN, 2010; CAMERON et al., 2009) aims at eliciting how the discursive representations of concepts that are central to the theme, such as the concepts of refuge and migration, are portrayed on the online media. Metaphor-led discourse analysis is not inductive, from the bottom-up, considering only linguistic metaphors; it is also not deductive, from the top-down, a procedure that presupposes that metaphors are in thought, that is linguistic expressions licensed by conceptual metaphors. This is a qualitative study, the data was manually retrieved using Corpus Linguistics as a support methodology, more specifically the software AntConc[6] . Afterwards, the procedure of 6 metaphor-led discourse analysis (CAMERON et al. 2009) was used, through which metaphors and metonymies were analyzed.

In order to perform the study using Corpus Linguistics as a support methodology, we employed Stefanowitsch´s (2006) research method, whose first step starts with researching the lexical item that represents the target domain. The researcher's methodology follows the steps: 1) Choosing a lexical item that refers to the target domain that is being investigated; extracting a sample of occurrences of this item; identification of the metaphorical expressions in the sample; grouping similar mappings to try to identify the metaphorical frames.

3.1 Data collection

The data collection from online media was conducted in the daily newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* website *(FSP)*, due to the easy access to this website. Besides being easily accessible, the online newspaper *FSP* offers an advantage that is the access to all editions through a simple search interface. Thus, we consider that our corpus is

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[3] "a Sérvia pode usar o <u>fluxo</u> de **refugiados** para povoar a região." (*FSP* , 11.08.1995)

[4] "Os EUA estão <u>devolvendo</u> ao Haiti os **refugiados** que não têm como provar que têm direito a asilo político." (*FSP* , 07.01.1995)

[5] After WWII Argentina received many **refugee** Nazis from Eichman to the latest captured recently in Bariloche (Ernst Priebke) (Mapping: REFUGEES ARE CRIMINALS)

[6] http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/

composed by all online newspaper editions in the month of June 2015. It is a corpus available online for subscribers of *FSP* online.

3.2 Analysis procedures

We used the tool AntConc, that enables the analysis of several files in a .txt format through Corpus Linguistics tools – such as a concordancer. Seen as our research is made based on a data bank built from a search of the expressions refug* and migr* in the online corpus of FSP, we chose Stefanowitsch's (2006) methodology, starting with the search of the words that belong to the target domain. From this search, the concordance lines were observed in a window of 75 tokens. The collocates were then analyzed, in order to identify any incongruities, using the Metaphor Identification Procedure (PRAGLEJAZ, 2007). From this point on, the meaning of the word can be investigated by its context, seen as AntConc allows the user to view the whole file through a mouse click. The analysis of concordance lines enable us to assemble similar metaphors with the searched terms in order to find out what are the framing metaphors that build the metaphorical discursive frames of the concept of 'refugee' and 'refuge', for instance. Ferreira/ Flister (2017) were able to identify source domains as UNDESIRED LIQUID and FELON with the target domain REFUGEE employed in newspaper reports published in Brazil (Folha de São Paulo) from 2010 to 2015. Those metaphors of natural phenomena and crime appear in the media narrative worldwide with the aim of delegitimizing and stigmatizing the status of migrants and refugees, generating a feeling of instability and intolerance among the local population.

Thus, metaphors and metonymies were grouped in order to find systematycities in speech and identify metaphorical frames. This study employed a mixed methodology with support of Corpus Linguistics that allows a quantitative research through the analysis of a large amount of data (DEIGNAN, 2005). Those results based upon a systematic metaphorical occurence in a large amount of data allows us to make reliable assertions on language use. However,

the analysis of the metaphors is done with the help of qualitative methodology. In this case, we chose to use Metaphor-led Discourse Analysis adapted by Lynne Cameron (2010) that will examine the metaphorical vehicles. This method works with metaphorical language, specifically, it works with metaphorical vehicles (metaphorizing terms that lead to the construction of metaphorical concepts on the topic) that emerge in discourse. Linguistic metaphors are extracted, identified and coded. Then, systematicity patterns are identified. As the patterns for metaphor use are identified, it is necessary to find ways to keep the context active. This is important so that the detection of metaphorical patterns that emerge in the discourse dynamics can be achieved (GIBBS/ CAMERON, 2008).

The discursive analysis and the cognitive analysis are done aiming at the categorization of different metaphors and metonymies that emerge in the text (LAKOFF/ JOHNSON, 1980/2002, 1999; CAMERON et al, 2009). Through this analysis, we seen to describe the socio-discursive representations of the refugees and migrants that emerge in the media.

4 Results and corpus analysis

Results with the search of REFUG*

Mapping: REFUGEES ARE GOODS

(7) migration" which demanded of members of the union to **share**[7] 40,000 **refugees** according to **7** [64] etermined **quotes** . The idea of **quotes** was quickly (FSP- 27.06.2015)[8]

(8) stabilising quotes of asylum seekers for the **distribution of** refugees for the next two years [...] (FSP- 26-06-2015b)[9]

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[7] Metaphorical expressions are in bold and underlined.

[8] Migração", que pedia aos membros da união que **partilhassem** 40 mil **refugiados** , conforme cotas predeterminadas. A ideia de cotas foi rapidament (FSP- 27-06-2015.txt)

[9] o estabelecimento de cotas de asilo para a **distribuição** dos **refugiados** durante os próximos dois anos e se comprometeram a concretizar (FSP- 26-06-2015b.txt)

(9) of poverty. They do not fulfill the requirements to be classified as **refugees** and will be **sent back** to their countries of (*FSP* , 06.06.2015b)[10]

In the example above refugees and immigrants are conceptualized in terms of GOODS according to a capitalistic view, that regards refugees/ immigrants as a group which costs money for the host state and can be used with the objective of gaining something in exchange, such as political power in elections or some financial compensation for receiving the group, for instance. If we look at the political debate which preceded the 2017 elections in Germany, there is enough evidence to state this point. The data presented above corroborates previous evidence discussed by authors as Mussolf (2011) and Hart (2015).

Mapping: MIGRATION IS NATURAL DISASTER

Still in line with Mussolf´s findings, we were able to identify the conceptualization of MIGRATION AS NATURAL DISASTER in the Brazilian newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* . This way of conceptualizing MIGRATION and REFUGE has been previously discussed by different metaphor scholars (MUSSOLF, 2011; HART, 2015; GRUBER, *in print*) in the literature using data from different languages (English, Spanish, Italian, German). We have gathered here some examples from Brazilian Portuguese, as it appears in the examples below:

(10) are left waiting." Their family is part of the **wave of migrants** from Bangladesh and Mianmar that try to escape poverty e, (FSP- 06-06-2015)[11]

(11) European Union for its lack of solidarity concerning the **migratory stream** through the

Mediterranean. "If this is your idea of Europe, stay (FSP- 26-06-2015d)[12]

As mentioned above, the fact that migration and refuge are described in terms of a **wave** and a **stream** reveals a force, which has no volition and is unidirectional, driving it, usually into a container which is, in this case, the country.

On the other hand, crisis is employed literally in the experiential domain of DISEASE (HOUIASS, 2001, p. 872). As refuge, migration is also conceptualized in terms of CRISIS meaning an extreme situation with negative polarity.

(12) western, have this capacity. Europe faces its own **migratory crisis**. More than 1.700 migrants from Africa and the Middle East died (FSP- 06-06-2015b)[13]

What is new in our findings?

Mapping: MIGRATION AS FORCE

Migration described as a FORCE which can act creating pressure into something as a CONTAINER. Such **pressure** acts in one direction, that is, into the country (idea of CONTAINMENT cf. JOHNSON, 1987), as it appears in the example as follows:

(13) leaders consider that this countries already stand a strong **migratory pressure**, said the president of the european council, Donald Tusk. The 28 coun (FSP- 26-06-2015b)[14]

The data collected in the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* in June 2015, that is in the peak of the so called 'migration crisis' in Europe, describes MIGRATION with negative polarity, for instance when migrants are treated under the same conditions as

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[10] da pobreza. Eles não cumprem os requisitos para serem considerados **refugiados** e devem ser **enviados de volta** ao seu país de (FSP- 06-06-2015b.txt)
[11] Sua família faz parte da **onda de migrantes** de Bangladesh e Mianmar que buscam escapar da pobreza e, (FSP- 06-06-2015b.txt)

[12] ficam à espera." União Europeia por sua falta de solidariedade diante do **fluxo migratório** pelo Mediterrâneo. "Se essa é sua ideia da Europa, fiquem (FSP- 26-06-2015d.txt)
[13] ocidental, tem essa capacidade. A Europa enfrenta sua própria **crise migratória** . Mais de 1.700 migrantes da África e do Oriente Médio morreram (FSP- 06-06-2015b.txt)
[14] líderes consideraram que esses países já suportam uma forte **pressão migratória** , disse o presidente do Conselho Europeu, Donald Tusk. Os 28 paí (FSP- 26-06-2015b.txt)

criminals. This is verbalized through the use of metaphorical expressions in the sense that immigrants are kept (detained) in detention centers, as follows:

(14) Canberra's executive has a tough policy against illegal immigration which includes forcing vessels to return to their embarkation points and the **detention of immigrants** in third countries while their asylum solicitations are being processed, which, if accepted, entails a relocation to a third country but not to Australia. (*FSP* - 01-06-2015)[15]

(15) idered "vulnerable" and placed under city hall's protection. Another 46 **immigrants**, however, were taken to **detention centers** and must be (*FSP* - 09-06-2015)[16]

(16) dos]", explains Assunção. The co-founder also highlights the difficulties of **immigrants** being **reinserted** into society. Despite having mastered the language (*FSP* - 12-06-2015)[17]

All in all, the data presented here, which have been collected with support of corpus linguistics methodology, reveal how migration and refuge are portrait in the Brazilian online media, in this case in the daily online edition of the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*, as a phenomenon with negative polarity which has some specific characteristics: it has its own driving force gearing it and it cannot be stopped.

5 Final remarks

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The goal of this study was to give a contribution to the field of metaphor studies from a Brazilian perspective and also to shed some light on the phenomenon of migration and refuge in Brazil and worldwide. In the newspaper Folha de São Paulo in

June 2015 we gather some evidence that migration and refuge are described in terms of GOODS, NATURAL DISASTER, and migrants are described as CRIMINALS. They are represented in groups as an object that can be sent somewhere and distributed into different places. Both immigrants and refugees are conceptualized as natural phenomena with a negative image which can damage the environment such as a wave and a flood. In a worse case scenario, refugees and migrants were conceptualized as criminals, especially because the lexical items employed to refer to the way the governments treat them is the same, so refugees and migrants are detained in detention centers and distributed into different places. The use of those lexical items could reveal how are the conditions under which refugees are kept when they finally arrive at the safe destination in Europe.

Beyond contributing to an approach on the theme of migration and refuge from a linguistic perspective, this study also aims at having a social impact, since, by analyzing the discursive representation of the migrant and of the refugee in the online media through the use of metaphorical frames, we are also contributing to enlighten the various perspectives and intentions of each political position represented by these discourses.

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[15] O Executivo de Canberra tem uma ferrenha política contra a imigração ilegal que inclui obrigar as embarcações a retornar a seus pontos de embarque e a **detenção dos imigrantes** em terceiros países enquanto se processam suas solicitações de asilo, que, se forem aceitas, implica uma realocação em um terceiro país, mas não a Austrália. FSP- 01-06-2015

[16] iderados "vulneráveis" e colocados sob a proteção da prefeitura. Outros 46 **imigrantes**, porém, foram levados a **centros de detenção** e devem ser (FSP- 09-06-2015.txt)

[17] dos]", explica Assunção. O cofundador também ressalta as dificuldades dos **imigrantes** serem **reinseridos** na sociedade. Apesar de ter dominado a língua (FSP- 12-06-2015.txt)

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