



COMUNICAÇÃO
E SOCIEDADE



38

**PUBLIC DISCOURSES ON MIGRANTS, REFUGEES
AND MINORITIES:
THE 21ST CENTURY IN DEBATE**
*DISCURSOS SOBRE MIGRANTES, REFUGIADOS
E MINORIAS NA ESFERA PÚBLICA:
O SÉCULO XXI EM DEBATE*

Editors | *Editores*

Moisés de Lemos Martins, Maria Aldina Marques & Rui Ramos

Journal Editor | *Diretor*

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DISCOURSES ON MIGRANTS, REFUGEES AND MINORITIES IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE: THE 21ST CENTURY UNDER DEBATE

DISCURSOS SOBRE MIGRANTES, REFUGIADOS E MINORIAS NA ESFERA PÚBLICA: O SÉCULO XXI EM DEBATE

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This volume of the *Comunicação e Sociedade* journal is dedicated to various studies on different discursive-textual strategies found in political discourses, the press and social networks about migrants, refugees and minorities, that circulate in 21st century societies.

Since World War II, Europe has not seen a flow of refugees and migrants as high as that registered during the last decade. In the American continent, the flow of migrants has also been the target of special political and media attention. Mass exoduses have become more intense, constituting a new social problem for states and obliging citizens to take a position in this regard. In the public space (in particular in the media and social networks) there are discursive practices that materialise conflicts between those primarily concerned with national security, who appeal to people's insecurities and risk, and more humanitarian voices, who propose effective reception of the refugees, evoking ethical and civilizational values. But people's fears and their reactions to other people, who are different, and cultural confrontations (including linguistic, religious, identity, ethnic-racial confrontations etc), as well as the images that are constructed of *us* and the *other* gain particular relevance within the competing arguments.

As in so many other dimensions of our collective life, this question is strongly conditioned by the public discourses with which we are confronted. In the press, we can identify discourses by "anonymous" citizens, which intersect with those of opinion makers, and recognised agents in the public arena. None of these discourses is neutral, none is removed from its underlying circumstances, and the values and idiosyncrasies of its author. On the contrary, all such discourses necessarily convey a specific vision of the world and try to convince the reader to share it. It is true that within all these

discourses, from the most markedly argumentative to the most (apparently) informative, we encounter

a generalised causative or factual orientation: within which it is surprising to find a more or less subtle, but always operative role by the speaker as an assumed influencer, something that is almost always veiled – a role that ranges from instituting the reader as a witness and/or judge of their beliefs, attitudes or purposes, to trying to foster cognitive, emotional or behavioural changes in this reader. (Fonseca, 1992, p. 238).

However, in the cases in hand, because they are public discourses, that actively participate in the configuration of social life, such productions extend beyond a generalised causative or factual dimension, which shapes the entire discourse. They are strategically configured as vehicles for argumentation, persuasion and manipulation and acquire increased power because they are discourses that (re)configure realities with which the citizen does not have direct contact, but which are mediated by the media (in this case the pleonasm is intentional).

It is therefore important to analyse such discourses, deconstruct them, and provide citizens with instruments and skills that enable conscious and informed reading. This is not necessarily a matter of contradicting any specific discourse, derived from any specific political-ideological universe, in which the researcher adopts a social position of denunciation and confrontation. Such a task can and should be left to citizens, if they consider that the values conveyed by these discourses stand in conflict with their own. But the researcher can and should help reveal the mechanisms of construction of reality achieved by the discourse, as well as the exercise of influence and manipulation. Conscious and alert citizens have increased power to take an active part in the social *praxis*, in a critical and responsible manner.

To achieve such a task, the present studies adopt the theoretical foundations and analytical instruments appropriate for research into discourses. In other words, the studies place importance on the discursive materiality that is woven within the texts/discourses, that have been chosen as objects of analysis. The articles presented in this volume assume a discursive analytical orientation, in some cases with greater relevance than in others, in which they consider that communication operates through contextualized discourses, within a specific social field (Bourdieu, 1982), communicating with non-verbal and other previous or future, factual or potential discourses, as Bakhtine (1930/1981) defended many years ago.

In the first study published in this issue, Maria Aldina Marques and Rui Ramos analyse the linguistic materiality of texts from two leading Portuguese newspapers and one magazine, in order to identify the way that they addressed the migratory flow towards Europe. They situate the *corpus* of texts in a period of intense public visibility of this question (in September and October 2015) and conclude that the way that the question was addressed was strongly polarised in terms of *us versus them* and that the argument

was insistently based on ethical values, that are widely shared by recognised opinion leaders and spokespersons, but not always by “anonymous” participants in the media discussion.

The next paper, by Alexandra Guedes Pinto, analyses political manifestos (from various candidates in the 2016 Portuguese presidential elections), and seeks to identify and describe how these discourses argumentatively codify the issue of the refugees who arrive in Europe. Using a methodological approach similar to that of the previous study, she concludes that the objects of analysis have similarities in genealogical terms, but adopt a diversity of discursive strategies, associated with the different *ethè* of the candidates.

The third study, by Moisés de Lemos Martins and Valéria Marcondes, focuses on another part of the world, but once again featuring characters who repeat narratives of suffering and exodus: using the theoretical and methodological reference of Social Semiotics, the study analyses a feature article published in 2019 by the Brazilian magazine *Veja*, about Venezuelan refugees in Brazil. The researchers also identify and describe strategies for the construction of dichotomies between *us* and *them*, and conclude that the article conveys an exclusive discourse of the *other*, reproducing an official hegemonic, reductionist, conservative and nationalist discourse.

In the next paper, Célia Belim emphasises the fact that, in modern Western societies, people live in a “persuasive sphere”, which means recognising the power of the word in social *praxis*. The author applies Aristotelian concepts of *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* to analyse the rhetoric of public communication campaigns on refugees and migrants. She concludes that, for the success of communication exercises in this field, aspects of credibility of the speaker play a fundamental role – with a strong recourse to the affective dimension; including use of material and verifiable resources.

Like the other researchers who have contributed to this issue, Isabel Margarida Duarte focuses her analysis on journalistic articles (seven chronicles and reports, extracted from the daily newspaper *Público* and the magazine *Visão*) on refugees and migrants. She identifies and describes enunciative mechanisms that generate empathy and that, through empathization of the discourse, seek to foster an approximation between the author and the reader, which will favour the effectiveness of the argumentation. She states that a fundamental strategy of this process is the figuration of migrants/victims themselves as enunciators.

Dora Santos-Silva and Débora Guerreiro analyse the coverage by the Portuguese media of two forced migratory movements, one in 2015, the other in 2019. Based on analysis of news content, these researchers show how our representation of refugees derives from the media’s own narrative. Indeed, media outlets do not just tell us about reality; they also enter into the production process.

Isabel Reboledo Seara and Ana Lúcia Tinoco Cabral analyse a set of comments from Facebook users, to assess the strategies employed in the process of disqualifying migrant refugees in Portugal and Brazil. The study focuses on verbal violence in a digital environment with a specific addressee, in which the authors identify and describe the forms of materialisation of such violence.

In the next study, Fernando Resende and Fábio Ferreira Agra, also address the construction of journalistic narratives about refugees, analysing a *corpus* of articles from the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper (September to December 2015). In line with this issue's other contributors, they consider that refugees are configured as *others*, distinct from Europeans. They emphasise that the journalist is the creator of reality, through his discourse, which is far from being "neutral" and purely referential, and instead enters into the various power games that can be found throughout contemporary societies.

Addressing a partially different *corpus* – articles from Portuguese and German newspapers, published between 2011 and 2017 – Rita Himmel and Maria Manuel Baptista predominantly carry out a content analysis in order to identify, in the discursive construction of their object of analysis, the same dichotomy of *us/them* that the other researchers have recognised in the *corpus* of works that they chose to analyse. In this case, they emphasise the reflection on what defines *us*, *Europeans*, including our defining cultural values.

The set of thematic articles concludes with a study by Patricia Posch and Rosa Cabecinhas, which selects five episodes from the first season of the television news series *Portugal pelos Brasileiros* (Portugal by Brazilians), broadcast in Brazil by Rede Globo de Televisão, in early 2018. They adopt Social Semiotics as their theoretical-methodological framework and the objective is to identify the images constructed by the media discourse of Brazilian immigrants in Portugal. According to the authors, this image is segmented and partial, and homogenises the migratory phenomenon in an elitist manner.

As can be seen, the thematic articles have evident aspects in common, both in terms of the strategies employed from a theoretical and methodological perspective, as well as the conclusions that they draw from their analysis. However, they still present several differences in terms of focus and specific object of analysis – and, in some cases, regarding specific aspects related to the adopted theoretical framework. Although they have been developed autonomously, they intersect in the emergence of several common findings in the respective conclusions.

This volume of *Comunicação e Sociedade* also includes two texts that lie outside the central theme, in the *Varia* section.

The first, by Eduardo Barroso, Rui Estrada and Teresa Toldy, reflects on the power of the image and the use made of it in three historical periods of the 20th century: Nazism, Stalinism and the contemporary era. The authors defend that, rivalling the power of the word, the image assumes different statutes, in function of whether it is a photograph or a painting: while the first can be, and has been, manipulated, with various different objectives, the second cannot be deleted.

The second article in the *Varia* section is by Vincenzo Susca and reflects on the social dynamics associated with the performing arts (the cultural industry), their value as a "commodity" and respective consumption, in particular from the second half of the 20th century.

Finally, the volume features two *Book reviews: Images of immigrants and refugees in Western Europe. Media representations, public opinion, and refugees' experiences*, reviewed by Fábio Ribeiro, and *Empire*, reviewed by Vítor Sousa.

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THEMATIC ARTICLES | ARTIGOS TEMÁTICOS 

MIGRANT SPEECHES: STRATEGIES FOR REPRESENTING US AND THEM IN OPINION JOURNALISTIC DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses the press coverage of the migratory flow towards Europe in a period of intense visibility of this issue in the Portuguese press (September and October 2015), in a *corpus* of opinion texts and titles of other journalistic texts from three generalist reference publications at the national level. It draws on theoretical assumptions and methodological tools of discourse analysis, taken in a broad sense (Adam, 2011; Berthoud & Mondada, 1995; Charaudeau, 1997, Moirand 1999, 2006; Rabatel & Chauvin-Vileno 2006, nomeadamente), to describe and analyse the discursive construction of images of migrants in contrast to those of Europeans, with emphasis on the personal deixis, lexical choices and modalization processes marked in discourses. It concludes that the media discourse was fundamental in the discursive construction of the social event led by the massive arrival of refugees and migrants in Europe. This construction is structured around two groups, *us* and *them*. In the referenciation activity carried out, there is a process of categorization and recategorization that points to the construction of a homogeneous group, *they*, *the others*, around different designations, but mostly around the designation “refugee”. In contrast to such homogeneity, the group formed by *us*, *the Europeans*, is fractured by disagreements about values, often marked in oppositional parallel structures. The ways in which discursive referenciation is constructed, which call for shared knowledge about the war, and the evaluative modality frame the position of the locutors-enunciators involved in the construction of public opinion and give the speeches a strong emotional feature.

KEYWORDS

migrants; refugees; media; deixis; referenciation

DISCURSOS MIGRANTES: ESTRATÉGIAS DE CONSTRUÇÃO DE NÓS E OS OUTROS EM DISCURSOS JORNALÍSTICOS DE OPINIÃO

RESUMO

O presente estudo analisa o tratamento mediático do fluxo migratório em direção à Europa num período de intensa visibilidade da questão na imprensa nacional (setembro e outubro de 2015), num *corpus* de textos de opinião e títulos de outros textos jornalísticos de três publicações generalistas de referência no âmbito nacional. Recorre aos fundamentos teóricos e aos instrumentos metodológicos da análise do(s) discurso(s), tomada em sentido amplo (Adam, 2011; Berthoud & Mondada, 1995; Charaudeau, 1997, Moirand 1999, 2006; Rabatel & Chauvin-Vileno 2006, nomeadamente), para descrever e analisar a construção discursiva das imagens

dos migrantes em contraste com as dos europeus, com saliência para a dêixis pessoal, as escolhas lexicais e os processos de modalização, marcados nos discursos. Conclui que o discurso dos média foi fundamental para a construção discursiva do acontecimento social protagonizado pela chegada massiva de refugiados e migrantes à Europa. Essa construção articula-se em torno de dois grupos, *nós* e *eles*. Na atividade de referenciação levada a cabo, ocorre um processo de categorização e recategorização que aponta para a construção de um grupo homogêneo, *eles*, os *outros*, em torno de diferentes designações, mas maioritariamente em torno da designação “refugiado”. Em contraste com tal homogeneidade, o grupo constituído por *nós*, os *europeus*, está fraturado por dissensos em torno de valores, frequentemente marcados em estruturas paralelísticas opositivas. Os modos de referenciação, que convocam o conhecimento partilhado sobre a guerra, e a modalidade avaliativa enquadram o posicionamento dos locutores-enunciadores envolvidos na construção da opinião pública e conferem aos discursos uma vertente emocional forte.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

migrantes; refugiados; média; dêixis; referenciação

INTRODUCTION

Europe has been confronted with the huge social issue of refugees. Echoes of the social reaction are presented and represented in the press. Images and identities of *us*, the Europeans, and of *others* the “clandestine, then migrants, exiles and, finally, refugees”, as referred by Rui Cardoso (2015, p. 29), are proposed and confronted.

Media discourse is, therefore, fundamental for the construction and diffusion of representations about the world and events that mark society. However, the media do not portray reality, but actively create it (Charaudeau, 1997).

Acknowledging this predominance, it can even be said that the media play a more powerful social role than other institutions in scheduling social life. Nash (2005, p. 18) attributes even greater influence to them than other traditional institutions such as the family, religion or even educational systems.

In particular, in the context of the discursive activity that relates to a specific journalistic genre, the opinion article, the role of opinion makers is highlighted. We took the statement of this centrality of the media in today’s society from van Dijk (2005, p. 37), alongside, as he says, other elite groups, such as politicians, businessmen or teachers. Media power is a “discursive and symbolic” power that influences anonymous citizens, but also the elite.

Assuming that this media relevance is also present in Portuguese society, we aim to analyse how the images of migrants/refugees and Europeans, actors in complex situations with interests that are not always convergent, are constructed in the opinion texts conveyed by the mainstream press. It is a fundamental contribution to the elucidation of the discursive representation of the migrant flow to Europe, “the human being in transit” (Nolasco, 2015, p. 47), which marked the current Portuguese journalism throughout 2015 and 2016 and has, since then, maintained a latent, less marked presence.

The main objective of the study is, therefore, to identify the discursive construction of the images of migrants in contrast to Europe in opinion texts published in Portuguese newspapers during an intense period of media coverage of the situation (September and October, 2015). Writers are part of this; thus, the construction of *us* and *them*, heterogeneous group identities, diversely represented and valued, is under debate in the media. The temporal distance that characterizes the analysis allows for increased objectivity.

In particular, the intention is to identify and analyse the modes of construction in the discourse of the migratory movement of refugees to Europe, represented as *them*, the *others* (and their respective contexts of occurrence); to analyse the discursive construction of Europeans, as *us* (with the various realities in confrontation and convergence); and, finally, to analyse the construction of the discursive relationship established between *us* and *them*.

In order to scrutinize these processes of discursive referenciation of “migrants” and of the Western world, we will give special attention to different linguistic-discursive mechanisms, but with emphasis on personal deixis and the lexical choices made by the locutors.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Concerning the Portuguese context, it is possible to track a significant set of recent investigations claiming to study discursive issues combining migrants and the media (for example, Abdo, Cabecinhas & Brites, 2019; Almeida, 2017; Barbosa, 2012; Costa, 2010; Macedo & Cabecinhas, 2012; Oliveira, 2011; Santos, 2016; Silva, 2017). Several of these associate and analyse the media and migrants and some of them with a particular focus on ethnic minorities or on women’s issues in this context (Cádima & Figueiredo, 2003; Carvalho, 2007; Ferin & Santos, 2008; Galante, 2010; Santos, 2007; Silvestre, 2011; Togni, 2008); however, it should be noted that such studies fall mainly in the fields of Communication Sciences and Ethnology, to the detriment of approaches made from Language Sciences. Apparently, this subject has not been selected as an object of analysis by experts in the field. In fact, the studies identified above mainly carry out content analysis, complemented with some qualitative approach; none of them falls within the theoretical-methodological framework of the pragmatic studies of discourse¹. As van Dijk (2005) says, the analysis of the language in use, that is, in context, focusing on the discursive strategies and complex structures that configure the journalistic texts selected², is important for the understanding of this social phenomenon. This theoretical and methodological framework goes beyond the approach of journalistic pieces taken as linguistically transparent messages according to content analysis focused solely on quantitative methods.

¹ Although several of the studies referred to claim the use of “techniques provided by critical discourse analysis” (Silvestre 2011, p. V) to comply with the qualitative analysis procedures.

² We will use here *text* and *discourse* in the perspective proposed by Adam (2011).

In the context of the discursive-enunciative approach adopted here, discourses are considered as social linguistic practices (Bakhtine, 1984); the attention to their social, cultural, contextual and linguistic construction determines the present analysis. For the analysis of the construction of the selected discourse objects³, we take as fundamental authors Berthoud and Mondada (1995), Cavalcante (2003, 2012), Koch and Cortez (2015); Marchuschi (2006), Moirand and Reboul-Touré (2015), Moirand (2016), Mondada (2001), Mondada and Dubois (1995), and Rabatel and Chauvin-Vileno (2006), among others. Highlighting the referential capacity of language, the referenciation theory inter-relates enunciation and reference, in an extension of Benveniste's proposals, moreover (1970). Berthoud and Mondada (1995, p. 206) return to this question when they state that

each word establishes, at the moment when it is uttered, the universe of which it speaks; it offers objects of discourse, which do not exist before it but which emerge in the act of enunciation and are transformed as it unfolds or as others are linked to it.

Referenciation is inseparable from the locutor's enunciative position and, therefore, from the enunciative responsibility inherent to it (Marques, 2018)⁴.

The linguistic choices made by the locutor in the referenciation process to categorize and re-categorize the objects of discourse, particularly at the level of the lexicon, contribute decisively to the construction of shared cultural beliefs, in the words of Nash (2005).

For the present analysis, opinion texts – opinion articles and editorials – and titles of other journalistic articles were selected from the written press, published in three generalist publications of national reference: the weekly magazine *Visão*, the daily newspaper *Público* and the weekly *Expresso*, taken as representative of the “global media power” (van Dijk 2005, p. 37) in Portuguese society. These data are for the months of September and October 2015, a period of particular intensity in the production of news about refugees arriving in Europe. The frightening numbers of drowning deaths and the unexpected and shocking image of a dead child on a clandestine embarkation beach in Turkey in early September 2015 heightened the mediatic importance of this problem due to their emotional effects.

Data selection involved the identification of all occurrences of the lexemes *refugee*, *migrant* and *immigrant* in opinion articles and editorials. To link these occurrences to the information journalistic texts, the same words were collected in the headlines and subtitles of the news, with emphasis on the occurrence on the first page of the publications.

³ It is about “propose a way to construct and discursively structure a world in an intersubjective space” (Berthout & Mondada, 1995, p. 206)

⁴ “It is the enunciative responsibility inherent to the fact that the locutor is at the origin of the enunciation, of the discourse in which he participates, because he must make choices and outline discursive strategies, within the necessarily regulatory framework of genre, interlocutors, objectives and institutional space in which he is integrated. He must (...) manage the discourse. In particular, he has to structure it, and determine which voices to call, as well as where and how to make them heard. In the important function of referenciation, he must choose the words to designate the discourse objects” (Marques, 2013, pp. 147-148).

The lexicon interests us as part of the global unity that is the discourse. Therefore, attention to the co-text of the occurrences is necessary in order to show the construction of these discursive objects.

THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHERS: “THEM, REFUGEES, MIGRANTS ...”

POLITICAL-SOCIAL FRAMEWORK

With daily visibility, the drama of refugees fleeing to Europe remained on the media agenda over the months under analysis – September and October 2015. Such a time span highlights the importance it assumed and its impact on Portuguese society. In fact, it should be taken into account that this subject coexisted with a very relevant Portuguese political agenda in social and media terms, with the end of the electoral campaign for the Portuguese parliament and the respective elections, with the post-electoral political crisis (formation of the government, its fall, formation of a new government supported, for the first time in the history of Portuguese democracy, by a parliamentary alliance of the parties of the left), with the end of the presidential term and the beginning of a new electoral campaign for the presidency of the Republic. Attentions and social concerns focused on internal issues, especially economic ones, at the end of a period of external financial support and a severe setback in the income of Portuguese families, alongside a period of austerity that generated many problems in individuals, companies and the state. More than enough conditions were in place for the problem of migrants/refugees to be quickly pushed into marginal spaces in relation to the centrality of articles dealing with the internal political struggles and the professional and personal concerns of the Portuguese. Even so, over the period under analysis, the issue of refugees arriving in Europe received permanent and prominent media treatment (in front-page titles, accompanied by photographs, highlights, opinion articles and individualized publication spaces).

MEDIA FRAMING

In terms of media coverage, there was an event that aroused a peak of public interest on the issue of refugees: the publication, on social networks and in the media, of the photograph of a child, Aylan⁵, three years old, drowned and thrown by the sea onto a Turkish beach. The photograph of the child shocked public opinion and generated an intensification of all media coverage, which was reflected in multiple articles of different genres⁶.

Media coverage of the refugee issue has benefited from the participation of multiple social actors (namely, journalists, columnists, politicians, human rights activists,

⁵ Aylan or Alan – the first is the name in Turkish, the second is in Kurdish.

⁶ In its September 03 edition, *Público* published the photograph of Aylan on the front page. Given the controversy generated by the media's diffusion of the photograph, the newspaper needed to justify the fact in its editorial on page 44. On page four, it published another photograph of the child being carried by a police officer. A first page title (“Why we publish this photo”) refers to the editorial where this justification is presented. *Expresso* was resume the first image in a cartoon on the front page in its September 12 edition.

university professors). It can be said that a heterogeneous discourse was produced on the subject, in terms of discursive genre typology and discourse-producing agents.

With regard to the authors of opinion and editorial texts⁷, the following tables make it possible to identify the voices that were expressed in the publications under analysis.

NAME	PROFIL	TEXTS
Acácio Pereira	President of the Union of Investigation and Inspection Career of the Foreigners and Borders Service (SEF)	1
Álvaro Vasconcelos	Researcher	2
Carlos Coelho	PSD deputy in the European Parliament	1
Carlos Nolasco	Sociologist	1
Cláudia Semedo	Ambassador of the European Year for Development in Portugal	1
Domingos Lopes	Lawyer	1
Ester Mucznik	Specialist in Jewish affairs	1
Frei Bento Domingues	Friar	3
Guilherme d'Oliveira Martins	President of the National Culture Centre	1
Gustavo Cardoso	Sociologist	1
João Ferreira da Cruz	Economist	1
João Miguel Tavares	Journalist	2
José Manuel Diogo	Information and communications specialist	1
Manuela Niza Ribeiro	President of the SEF Employees Union and university professor	2
Maria João Rodrigues	Vice-President of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament	1
Paul Schmidt	Ambassador of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg to Portugal	1
Paulo Mendes Pinto	University professor	1
Paulo Rangel	European deputy (PSD)	1
Pedro Góis	University professor and researcher	1
Raquel Varela	Historian	1
Ricardo Cabral	Economist, university professor	1
Rui Zink	Writer	1

⁷ In *Público* and *Expresso*, the editorials are not signed and, therefore, were not considered in the tables below.

Sigmar Gabriel and Frank-Walter Steinmeier	German Minister of Economy; German Minister of Foreign Affairs	1
Teresa Sousa	Journalist	2
Vasco Pulido Valente	Columnist	1

Table 1: *Público* opinion articles

NAME	PROFIL	TEXTS
Augusto Küttner	Citizen	1
Carlos Coelho	European deputy	1
Daniel Oliveira	Regular columnist	1
David Owen	International journalist	1
Diogo Oliveira	Citizen	1
Elisabete de Oliveira	Citizen	1
Elisabeth de Oliveira	Citizen	1
Fernando Carneiro	Citizen	1
Henrique Raposo	Regular columnist	2
Maria de Belém Roseira	Portuguese presidential candidate	1
Mário Jesus	Citizen	1
Martim Avillez Figueiredo	Regular columnist	1
Miguel Monjardino	Regular columnist	3
Miguel Sousa Tavares	Regular columnist	1
Rui Cardoso	Journalist	1

Table 2: *Expresso* opinion articles

NAME	PROFIL	TEXTS
Augusto Küttner de Magalhães	Citizen	1
João Garcia	Director	1

Klára Breuer	Ambassador of Hungary in Lisbon	1
Mafalda Anjos	Deputy director	1
Maria da Silva Jesus	Citizen	1
Pedro Camacho	Regular columnist	1
Pedro Norton	Regular columnist	2
Thomas Piketty	French academic	1
Vítor Ângelo	Regular columnist	3

Table 3: *Visão* opinion and editorial articles

These tables present intense discursive activity involving a wide range of individuals, among regular collaborators whose function is to comment on the national and international situation. Among them are journalists and politicians, but also anonymous citizens to whom the directors of the publications decide to give visibility, publishing their “Letters to the director” in the respective section.

Two types of thematic organization stand out: alongside a framework on general geopolitical, historical and cultural issues, there is sometimes a framework based on the opinion maker’s particular and personal cases, in life experience narratives, which serve as a starting point for further generalizations.

It should be noted that, as we will see, the Portuguese media clearly assume a favourable position on the reception of refugees, marked by the evaluative modality⁸ shown in the texts, but also give some visibility to who argue for rejecting the refugees. Regarding Portugal, these positions of rejection are manifested only in the letters to the director, through the voice of ordinary “anonymous” citizens (in terms of social notoriety, only, since the authorship of the letters is indicated). The rejections in terms of positions taken in the European space are mainly conveyed in informative articles and titles. We put it as an explanatory hypothesis that this attitude, identified in the three publications under analysis, may be due to the fact that opinion makers assume an attitude of “responsibility”, in the sense that Moirand (2006) speaks of it, that is, marked by ethics and morality. As such, they are unable to reject or propose the refusal of people who are fighting for their survival and fleeing a war scenario, in which they are in a position of helpless victims. Only persons who are less socially committed, such anonymous citizens who decide to write “letters to the director”, manifest a countercurrent and a position which is less committed to ethics. However, the newspaper decides to give them a voice, out of respect for the exercise of freedom of expression.

⁸ On the theoretical discussion around the concepts of modalization, modality and modalizer, see Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1983), Vion (2004) and Monte (2011), among others.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE DISCOURSE OBJECT “REFUGEE, MIGRANT, IMMIGRANT”/”THEM” QUANTIFICATION OF OCCURRENCES

The collection of occurrences of the lexical items under analysis, *refugee*, *migrant* or *immigrant* (referring to individuals from the Middle East or Africa moving to Europe) in opinion texts, which guided the analysis, shows the results presented in the following table.

PUBLICATIONS	EDITIONS (TOTAL)	EDITIONS (INCLUDING THE LEXICAL ITEMS ANALYSED)	EDITIONS (DATE)
<i>Público</i>	61	46	September: 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 October: 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29
<i>Expresso</i>	9	7	September: 5, 12, 19, 26 October: 2, 10, 31
<i>Visão</i>	9	8	September: 3, 10, 17 October: 1, 8, 15, 22, 29

Table 4: Quantification of occurrences

It stands out that, in the period under study, and considering only the newspaper *Público*, 75,4% of the copies contain opinion articles where the words *refugee*, *migrant* or *immigrant* occur. Regarding the weekly *Expresso*, the percentage is 77,7% for the same words. In *Visão*, the percentage is 88,8%.

Finally, considering the two months under analysis, *Público* is almost obsessive about this subject during the month of September, with occurrences of the three lexical items in opinion texts in all editions throughout the month. In the month of October, the incidence decreases, but even so there are occurrences registered in more than half of the editions.

In the other two publications, the incidence is also very high in almost all editions of the analysed period. In addition, especially in the weekly *Expresso* and the magazine *Visão*, in several cases all editions contain several opinion articles that deal with the subject in question.

Thus, these words will function as designations of specific individuals or groups but also as “mots-événements” (Moirand, 2006), that is, expressions that evoke certain events or frames, appealing to the reader’s interdiscursive memory.

THE CATEGORIZATION OF THE DISCOURSE OBJECT AS “REFUGEE”

The search for the proper designation of discourse objects is one of the dimensions of the referenciation process. Journalists and other columnists themselves highlight this importance.

Analysis of the selected articles shows that the designation “refugee” is clearly the most frequent, given the various options that occur to designate these “human beings in

transit”. According to the frequency of occurrences, the term had the capacity to impose itself in relation to the remaining terms that co-occur to designate the same object of discourse⁹.

But other lexical items or constructions also evoke the circumstances of refugees. These include, for example, terms such as “displaced”, “asylum seeker”, “exile”, “clandestine” or “fugitive”, all, however, with far fewer occurrences, but fundamental choices for categorization of the discursive referent.

In some cases, the combination “refugees and migrants”, probably because this is the formula recommended by UNHCR – the United Nations agency for refugees –, amalgamates different discourse objects in the same compound designation, a divergent process from the point of view of the governmental organizations, in particular¹⁰.

The option for “refugees” selects war as a framing topic (with the procession of refugees that it provokes, also associated with painful memories of World War II) to the detriment of the topic of the economic crisis (which generates movements of migrants in search of better living conditions). The social valorization of war as a situation of extreme danger manifests and creates a more favourable environment for the image of individuals than a representation of economic problems would, as it is a more productive strategy in generating the *pathos* necessary for a movement of compassion and acceptance, which the various opinion texts aim at.

Throughout all of the analysed data, the referential expression used does not require specifications and, therefore, is always referred to as “the refugees” (with definite determinant) or just “refugees” (with zero determinant). In other words, given the contextual salience of the object, no author shows the need to specify that it is the refugees who arrive in Europe from the Middle East or Africa. In some cases, an adjective is added, as in the noun phrase “the Syrian refugees”, establishing discrete and specific distinctions in the human multitude that the expression designates, but not without consequences in terms of the meanings of the discourse. Adjectives distinguish prototypical refugees and give them prominence in the ongoing drama.

Concerning the occurrence of the defined determinant or the zero determinant, two complementary explanations can be listed. On the one hand, the analysed texts are opinion articles, dialogical discourses that come into relation with other texts present in the same edition of the publication, which they evoke, reproduce, or comment on, and to which they move closer or further from, but to which they refer, in an anaphoric chain built in the physical space of the newspaper. The informative texts, first in the

⁹ It should be stressed that these designations have a higher visibility and consistency in the media discourse than those that the analysis of the opinion texts may suggest, since there are also numerous occurrences in articles belonging to other journalistic genres. As an example, it can be mentioned that, in the weekly *Expresso*, of the nine editions analyzed, six present the word “refugee” in the respective first pages and in the information articles of objectified enunciation (Moirand, 1999), there are 206 occurrences in body texts and 13 in titles.

¹⁰ The word “migrant” is sometimes hyperonym, sometimes co-hyponym for “refugee”, as in: “our look at the migratory flow has changed through the perception that it is, to a large extent, from Syria devastated by the Islamic state. Television images of the long march of migrants, first across the sea and then on land, mean that Europe’s inhabitants have to take an individual position on whether or not they are against receiving these refugees” (*Publico*, 9/12/2015, p. 12).

newspaper's physical space, give rise to the relevance of categorizing the referent as "refugee", in relation to which coreference relations are established in opinion texts.

On the other hand, the opinion texts refer to a mediatic interdiscourse that circulates in the public sphere (Moirand 1999, 2006), even though it is occasionally not present in the same edition of the publication. Addressing the topic of refugees, at that time and in the national public space, dispensed additional clarifications on the object of discourse, such was the presence and capacity for social imposition of the evoked issue.

CATEGORIZATION AND QUANTIFICATION

The use of quantifiers¹¹ of superlative value also produces drama, a strategy aiming to attract the reader and keep their interest and surprise or thrill them. Often, events or states of things associated with refugees are thus modified through the use of quantifiers. These can be divided into two groups.

The first group contains the exact quantifications. These frequently occur in the opinion articles analysed, pointing to extreme situations, even though it is not easy for readers to have an accurate picture of what they mean.

One should note that, given the genre characteristics, opinion articles are not expected to use these strategies. On the contrary, informative articles would be more expected to present such quantifications. Opinion articles, which reflecting on the situation evoked in those, would emphasize other aspects. Nevertheless, the use of such procedures is frequent, which in fact creates drama, which runs through all the articles, due to the large numbers, as evidenced in the following examples:

the UN estimates that *380 thousand people* have crossed the Mediterranean since January, of whom *three thousand* have died or disappeared. Two new fronts have opened in recent weeks: the Greek island of Lesbos, with *20,000 refugees* from the Turkish coast (equivalent to *a quarter of the local population*), and the Hungarian border with Serbia, where *20,000 people (half of whom* arrivals in the last three months) were taken over the weekend. (*Expresso*, 12/09/2015, p. 29)¹²

Between *800,000 and 1.5 million refugees* are expected to arrive in Germany this year, pushing the German administrative mechanism to the limit. Just to integrate the children in school, for example, *about 25 thousand additional teachers* will be necessary, as estimated by associations mentioned by *The Economist*. (*Visão*, 29/10/2015, p. 29)

¹¹ Moirand (2016, p. 1027) also identifies in the press discourse (French, in this case) "expressions of quantity" relevant to the configuration of the topic of migrants.

¹² In this example, as in the ones that follow, the italic is ours.

Juncker proposes redistributing over 120,000 *refugees* across the EU. (*Público*, 04/09/2015, p. 2)

The second group of quantifiers includes expressions that evoke approximate quantities. These expressions, categorizing (and recategorizing) the discourse object under construction, as well as the exact quantifications, are also at the service of the superlativization of the event, from the recurrent explanation of the quantity, extreme and overwhelming, perhaps even uncontrollable, in the perspective of the locutor/enunciator (S/E): *wave, flow, billow, tide, exodus, surge, explosion, millions of* are among the most salient, as the examples below illustrate:

these *human surges* flee misery, hunger, to cherish the hope that they can continue to live. (*Público*, 14/09/2015, p. 47)

Oblivious to these games of power are *millions of human beings* who struggle to survive and seek an exit from the stages of war, which they neither understand nor seek to understand. (*Público*, 04/09/2015, p. 53)

Managing the *massive and unexpected flow of refugees* fleeing war and helping people who have lost everything is a huge challenge. (*Público*, 13/10/2015, p. 47)

The alternatives would be the continuation of the shattered lives, death, destabilization of the region, *exodus* and the expansion of terror, barbarism and crimes against humanity and historical heritage. (*Visão*, 17/09/2015, p. 74)

I refer to the *migratory explosion*, the corridors of human misfortune that rend the Mediterranean and combine hope and despair, trafficking and violence, shipwrecks and images of children walking along the railways. (*Visão*, 03/09/2015, p. 77)

The last week made it possible to change the course of the discussion on *the wave of refugees and migrants* arriving in the European Union. (*Expresso*, 12/09/2015, p. 8)

The waves of refugees knocking desperately at the doors of Europe, fleeing the war and barbarism installed in their countries of origin, are brutally challenging us. (*Expresso*, 19/09/2015, p. 35)

These expressions that quantify the objects of discourse in a superlative and metaphorical way do not trace euphoric scenarios. On the contrary, they collaborate in the creation of strongly dysphoric scenarios, in which they are aided by other referential

expressions that frame them, in the service of creating a dramatic, emotional and pathetic discourse (“corridors of human misfortune that rend the Mediterranean”; “at the doors of Europe”).

As mentioned above, war is the social framework framing the migratory movement always referred to in the discourse by dysphoric expressions. Even without proceeding to an exact quantification of the occurrences, it is noticeable that, across the three publications, the expressions “refugee crisis” and “refugee drama” impose themselves. Not exhaustively, we list, below, from opinion articles extracted from *Público*, eight expressions that we can consider in relation to textual synonymy and respective occurrences:

1. “the tragedy of dozens of refugees” (six occurrences);
2. “the refugee crisis” (28 oc.);
3. “the refugee problem” (two oc.);
4. “the refugee drama” (nine oc.);
5. “humanitarian chaos” (one oc.);
6. “refugee issue” (four oc.);
7. “human drama” (one oc.);
8. “Everyday tragedy” (one oc.).

In the case of *Expresso*, one can also point out as an example the use of other similar dysphoric expressions:

1. “hell” (five oc.);
2. “humanitarian tragedy”/“human tragedy” (two oc.).

Finally, in the case of *Visão*, the same outlook emerges:

1. “storm” (one oc.);
2. “barbarism” (one oc.);
3. “unspeakable drama” (one oc.).

In this way, modalization (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1980; Monte, 2011; Vion, 2005) is also marked by the enunciator, who finds a strategy of attractiveness for their text in dramatization, while building for themselves an image of a sensitive and human being.

As is characteristic of some media discourse, the metaphorization of the discursivized real is associated with the spectacularization of states of things, to shock, to attract the reader or to thrill.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE DISCURSIVE OBJECT “THE EUROPEANS” – WE

THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONTRASTING DICHOTOMIES: US AND THEM

Media texts often operate a dichotomous treatment between *them*, the refugees, and *us* Europeans, drawing different profiles, actions and responsibilities for each other.

The issue of referencing refugees as *them*, as *different people* or *foreigners/strangers* is addressed in the newspapers. At various occasions, in more or less discrete modalization processes, opinion articles represent refugees on their escape route, the dangers

and risks they experience, the suffering they endure and their expectations and hopes. Criticisms are rarely made or frames constructed in which they assume negatively connoted roles. Whether intentionally or not, there is in this process of showing the *other* a dimension of humanization and, therefore, of affective approach, which is oriented towards defending reception of the refugees, marked in dysphoric linguistic-pragmatic processes of nominalization, adjectivation and metaphorization:

they are not immigrants (or migrants as it is simpler to call them) since they do not choose to leave their countries, but rather displaced, *pushed by wars* that the West, in general, and Europe, by complete omission, have fuelled. (*Público*, 04/09/2015, p. 53)

Political refugees from Syria, *fleeing horror and barbarism*, are more important than the Roman ruins of Palmira destroyed by the same monsters in human form (...). Going to the concrete, which is what interests those *disinherited from the land*, ... (*Expresso*, 05/09/2015, p. 7)

Refugees are not like sardines. (...) Ana Macedo was uncomfortable that the refugees had also started to be treated as numbers. *With their destination drawn on Excel sheets*.

What you hear most are discussions about quotas, it all comes down to quotas. Of sardines, of milk... of refugees. (*Visão*, 10/09/2015, p. 16)

There is a homogenization of the group in the preference for the designation of “refugees”, unlike government entities, which insist on the distinction between refugees and migrants, with important perlocutory consequences.

In contrast, “the Europeans”, the group in which the locutor is integrated and is therefore referred to as *us*, are configured on the other side of the barricade, or the border, or the wall, in a world of abundance and peace, attractive to the *others*. Despite the in-group function of the pronoun *we*, there is an explicit detachment, mediated by a negative evaluative judgment, from the various locutors/enunciators in relation to what they consider to be the existence of an atavistic or defensive attitude, when not hypocritical, which is not ethically acceptable:

our security, *our* economy, *our* demography, *our* democracy, *our* culture are being challenged by *our* responses to this humanitarian crisis. (*Público*, 02/09/2015, p. 46)

Aylan died dressed sweetly, in the semi-foetal position, in which we saw *our* children fall asleep reassured. And *we* all cried. (*Público*, 11/09/2015, p. 48)

Today we *discuss*, and we *discuss*, and we *discuss*, and we again *discuss* the division of 120,000 refugees across the four corners of a *Europe that has become as rich as it is selfish and xenophobic*. (*Visão*, 01/10/2015, p. 46)

THE CONSTRUCTION OF DIFFERENT “EUROPES”

In fact, Europe is not configured as a uniform whole, as the reaction to the arrival of refugees is different in different countries. This was and still is a controversial issue, which divided and still divides Europe, or rather the European Union, for various reasons. The words *divide*, *division*, *divided*, associated with Europe, occur with some insistence throughout the corpus, as in the following examples:

the *European division* on refugees is seen in the thousands who have taken to the streets. (*Público*, 13/09/2015, p. 32)

Europeans, unable even to deal with the refugee crisis, are in danger of being *divided* if there is no American leadership. (*Público*, 02/10/2015, p. 29)

First, to restore unity and trust among member states. (...) Donald Tusk knows that *divisions* can jeopardize Schengen and compromise *European cooperation*. (*Visão*, 15/10/2015, p. 82)

Austria threatens to close another border of divided Europe

The EU is dangerously divided. There are more and more verbal walls and aggressions – in this scenario of solidary countries and hard countries, there is still no solution... (*Público*, 29/10/2015, p. 2)

The focus on the European division, repeatedly affirmed, highlights the creation of two geographical, but also civilizational, blocks:

that is to shatter Europe and give arguments to *countries like Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland* (...). Hungary, which has erected a barbed wire fence on its border with Serbia, threatens to use the army to keep refugees at bay. (*Visão*, 03/09/2015, p. 35)

The European Union is slowly *dividing into two blocs, Western Europe and Eastern Europe*. (...). Yes, the European Union is increasingly like the Roman Empire *divided* between western Rome and eastern Byzantium. And the curious thing is that the *dividing line* is in almost the same place. (*Expresso*, 19/09/2015, p. 35)

It is relevant to point out that the contrasts established are never neutral, but strongly marked by the evaluative modality (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1980; Monte, 2011; Vion, 2005), which allows the position of each locutor-enunciator (L/E) to be clearly identified in relation to the question. The choice of words, and in particular adjectives, in expressions such as “the sinister spectacle”; “without all those abject things that are being done in Hungary”; “evoking the sinister days of Auschwitz” or “Europe is confronted with its worst ghosts” show a negative evaluative judgment that, regarding the division of Europe in relation to the reception of refugees, positions the S/E in divergence with this cruel, inhuman block. The tension created by the internal division is also assessed negatively by the S/E: “the EU is *dividing* dangerously”. *Us* is, in fact, a group fractured by multiple differences.

SYNTACTIC CONSTRUCTIONS AT THE SERVICE OF CONTRAST

The welcome and the rejection that characterize the different groups are also marked in syntactic structures of contrast (relations established by connectors *but*, *and*; syntactic parallelism) and in lexical structures linked by antonym relations, which we can see in the following table, with texts from *Público*.

WE, THE EUROPEANS	THEY, THE EUROPEANS
German Chancellor reinforces call for Europe to <i>welcome</i> more refugees. France aligns with Germany, which will <i>accept</i> 800,000 asylum applications this year,	<i>but</i> countries like Hungary and Slovakia <i>reject</i> quota system. (<i>Público</i> , 01/09/2015, p. 1)
Merkel wants to maintain <i>openness to asylum</i> ,	<i>but</i> the EU is divided and resists. (<i>Público</i> , 01/09/2015, p. 3)
Among Merkel's humanitarian appeals	<i>and</i> the <i>worrying signs of rejection and xenophobia</i> , Europe will have to decide. And to act. (<i>Público</i> , 01/09/2015, p. 44)
As declared solidarity,	side by side with <i>fear</i> (less stated), not of refugees, but of what could become uncontrollable in this torrent, starting with the <i>violence</i> of those who are <i>inciting hatred and xenophobia</i> . (<i>Público</i> , 04/09/2015, p. 50)
Cameron, Merkel and Hollande promise to give more asylum,	others turn their backs. (<i>Público</i> , 08/9, p. 4)
On the European Council's agenda they refer to “increasing cooperation with the Middle East”,	<i>but</i> it will always be <i>insufficient</i> . (<i>Público</i> , 21/9, p. 44)

Table 5: Syntactic structures of contrast

These options of discursive organization intensify contrasts and build cohesive bonds that make reading easier, as they trigger the predictability of meanings. These

are lines of reading that are relevantly integrated in the media interdiscourse that characterizes the articles under analysis and that sediment from text to text, influencing the discourse of the public sphere.

PORTUGAL'S ROLE IN THE REFUGEE CRISIS – THE EMERGENCE OF VALUES

As the object of particular interest and the opinion expressed by the authors of the articles, Portugal, in some way, reflects the European situation. If the government and all institutions are in a position of solidarity, even if it is not always effective, situations, especially of an individual nature, that reflect feelings of xenophobia and fear¹³ regarding refugees are nevertheless commented on and repudiated:

Portugal is ready to *receive 3000 refugees*. (*Público*, 04/09/2015, p. 4)

Portugal should take this opportunity to take a firm and clear political position: that it is a *supportive and humanist country* and, consequently, will actively collaborate in the required effort. (*Expresso*, 19/09/2015, p. 35)

Let us *not let indifference* reach the level of the supermarket queue. (*Público*, 01/09/2015, p. 48)

But beware, that the costs of *fear*, despair and destruction are incomparably higher, in addition to being *morally* and *politically* unacceptable. (*Visão*, 17/09/2015, p. 74)

The reactions (of an individual character, as mentioned above) of xenophobia, fear or inhumanity occur, above all, in the voice of those who are not recognized journalists or columnists, but “anonymous people” who find expression and media space in the “letters to the director”, from the most radical to the most thoughtful.

These “Letters”/“Letters to the Director” occur, respectively, in the newspapers *Expresso* and *Público*.

Expresso gives voice, in its “Letters” section, to some opinions clearly opposed to the reception of refugees, who outline dysphoric future scenarios, or who express concerns about worrying scenarios:

Germany has opened its arms and Hungary is preparing to close its borders. However, how will the peaceful absorption of so many people that continue to arrive every day be done? (...) If some are *white, Syrian, educated, some Christian, many others are Sub-Saharan, poor, uneducated, Muslim, terrorists perhaps*. (*Expresso*, 12/09/2015, p. 36)

¹³ The issue of fear in the face of refugees is dealt with stress in Moirand (2016).

Why don't you *clean up our home first*?

I have kept silent about the *probable invasion* which Portugal will have to face, with refugees who have fled, especially from the Syrian Arab Republic (...). Portugal (...) *whose people are also going through enormous difficulties* and (...) which is by nature very kind, always very friendly and very hospitable to the outsiders with hands open wide, but only for others, because for *locals*, they only give us unemployment, tax increases... (*Expresso*, 26/09/2015, p. 36)

In *Público*, the existence of these attitudes is indirectly witnessed, in reports of other speeches, since all expressions of opinion evoke values and are favourable to the reception of refugees. These are opinions that are generally aligned with the official position of Portugal and the criticism focuses on dispersed, dissonant, but always collective and anonymous voices:

today we see on social and other media, countless *selfish, xenophobic and racist manifestations* in relation to the unfortunate ones who are fleeing the *terror of the war* that is destroying their countries. Like Syria, Iraq, and Libya. And what is sad is to see *people who claim to be Christians* and always mentioning God take actions so contrary to the religion they profess. (*Público*, 17/09/2015, p. 44)

It is inconceivable that *many of the Portuguese who speak out against the arrival of migrants and refugees to Europe*, are those who were *repatriated and that came back to Portugal after the 25th of April and the end of the colonial war*. They have already forgotten the suffering and the resident population discrimination when they were looked at askance, considered invaders and job-seekers. Another very pious species are those who say that “we must help our people first”. (*Público*, 05/10/2015, p. 44)

One should note that, if the opinions expressed in the “letters to the director” belong to their authors, and not to the newspaper, it is no less true that it is the editorial board that chooses to give visibility and media space to some of them and not to others. Editorial responsibility exists, and it is up to the newspaper.

The relationship between *us/Europeans* and *they/refugees* is, as has already been shown, guided by ethical values, which support the ancient European culture. Pluralism, positively viewed, emphasizes the mutual benefits of opening up to other cultures, to other communities, advocating in favour of a process that they present, however, as demanding:

I do not want to be naive, nor to disguise the problems that reception entails. But the question “what did you do for your brother?” is one of the most beautiful and oldest in our culture. (*Público*, 01/09/2015, p. 48)

They bring with them their *culture, traditions and religion* because these qualities are part of them as they are part of us. (*Público*, 02/09/2015, p. 46)

The humanitarian emergency we are experiencing is, unfortunately, not new despite the proportions now felt by us, but the current wave of solidarity has the merit of facing it. *We cannot* let it fade. (...)

But it *is not enough to remedy* the present; *we must* also take care of the future. (...) Solutions have been ahead of everyone for too long. But the European Parliament *cannot* implement it alone. (...)

Parliament *will not shirk* its powers, and this time, too, the Council *will have* to act! (*Público*, 11/09/2015, p. 49)

We are experiencing the biggest refugee crisis since the Second World War and Europeans are rising to it. In the last few days the actions of many have reminded the world of *the solidarity and humanist spirit of the European peoples*. (*Público*, 11/09/2015, p. 49)

It is, of course, the European vision of refugees and the relationship that Europe wants/should establish with them. In a perspective of solidarity or rejection, which the division of Europe raises, Europeans are the agents and refugees/migrants are the object of this action. In syntactic-semantic terms, the subject's place is preferably occupied by *us*; the object place is preferably occupied by *them*. *They* only seem to be agents in a context of escape and experiencing pain, suffering, and risk. The verbs chosen are also decisive in building this relationship. *We*, divided Europe, *we* welcome, *we* harden ...; *they* leave, *they* run, *they* scream ...

We particularly find these structures in the titles:

Cameron *promises to welcome* "a few thousand more" refugees. (*Público*, 05/09/2015, p. 1)

Hungary *hardens* action against refugees. (*Público*, 05/09/2015, p. 2)

Civil society *mobilizes to support* refugees. (*Público*, 20/09/2015, p. 21)

Massive invasion of people *fleeing* war scenarios. (*Público*, 04/09/2015, p. 53)

Refugees *continue to enter* Hungary. (*Público*, 11/09/2015, p. 1)

Thousands *leave on foot from Budapest to Austria*. (*Público*, 05/09/2015, p. 2)

Portugal *welcomes*. (*Visão*, 17/09/2015, p. 54)

CONCLUSIONS

The media discourse was fundamental for the discursive construction of the social event led by the massive arrival of “human beings in transit”, particularly in the period from September to October 2015.

In terms of the Portuguese newspaper discourse, information articles and opinion articles converge in this construction. It is a plurilocutor discursive event, in circulation in the Portuguese public space, but also throughout the European space. The discursive construction is structured around two groups, *us* and *them*.

In the referencing process carried out in the opinion articles, a process of categorization and recategorization stands out that points to the construction of a homogeneous group, *they*, *the others*, using different labels, but mostly the label “refugee”. The choice of this word activates implicit meanings of a war scenario to the detriment of other scenarios, of an economic nature, in labels such as “(im)migrant”.

In contrast to the mentioned homogeneity, the group formed by us, the Europeans, which the different locutors are part of, is fractured by dissent around values, marked in oppositional parallel structures.

The referencing options, which call for shared knowledge about the war, and the evaluative modalization frame the position of the locutors-enunciators, involved in the construction of public opinion and give the discourse a strong emotional aspect. This is in line with the position expressed by Moirand (2016, p. 1031), when the author states that

the media treatment of events is indeed a privileged place for the recording of emotions. (...) This inscription, shown or suggested, plays a role in the names of events (...) but also in the discursive construction of events, in the lighting of the object of discourse and in the argumentation.

Translation: Dave Tucker

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REFUGEES IN PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL MANIFESTOS: BETWEEN SILENCING AND GIVING A VOICE

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ABSTRACT

The crisis of migrants and refugees in 21st century Europe has created new disagreements on the old continent that pose difficult challenges for the construction of European identity. Already classified as the most massive post-war humanitarian and migratory crisis, the reality of migrants and refugees has revealed a Europe unable to respond to the problem with a joint solution. In addition to the humanitarian aspect, often of dramatic contours exploited by the media, the phenomenon is also a source of friction between the institutions and the Member states of EU, threatening to become the trigger for a European political crisis and a new balance of forces between States. Given the centrality it has gained, the refugee crisis may also be viewed as a means of pursuing strategic advantage by different political factions, which extract significant dividends for their territorialisation from the issue. Europeanist discourses of tolerance and acceptance, based on the ideals of solidarity of the European project, coexist with extremist, xenophobic and anti-integration discourses. In the present reflection, we analyse how the electoral political discourse, of the textual genre *political manifesto*, encodes argumentatively the refugee question, focusing, for this purpose, four of the electoral manifestos of the candidates for the Portuguese presidential elections of 2016. Following the proposal of Adam (2001, pp. 40-41) for the characterisation of a genre (in semantic, compositional/structural, enunciative, pragmatic, stylistic and phraseological, metatextual, peritextual and material components), we confirm that there is unity and diversity in the analysed specimens. On the one hand, unity that enables recognising the different texts as manifestations of the same genre; on the other hand, diversity that translates/produces effects in the *ethè* and discursive/political strategies of each candidate. The refugee crisis is precisely one of the topics whose management diverges substantially from manifesto to manifesto, revealing specific discursive and political strategies.

KEYWORDS

refugees crisis; political manifestos; textual genre; *ethos* construction; discursive and political strategies

OS REFUGIADOS EM MANIFESTOS POLÍTICOS PRESIDENCIAIS: ENTRE SILENCIAR E DAR VOZ

RESUMO

A crise dos migrantes e refugiados na Europa do século XXI originou novas divergências no velho continente que colocam desafios difíceis à construção da identidade europeia. Classificada já como a maior crise migratória e humanitária do pós-guerra, a realidade dos migrantes e refugiados revelou uma Europa incapaz de responder ao problema com uma solução conjunta. Para além do aspeto humanitário, muitas vezes de contornos dramáticos explorados pelos *media*, o fenómeno é também motivo de fricções entre as instituições e os Estados-membro da União Europeia, ameaçando tornar-se o gatilho de uma crise política e de um novo equilíbrio de

forças entre os Estados. Dada a centralidade que ganhou, a crise dos refugiados pode também ser perspectivada do ponto de vista do aproveitamento político por parte de diferentes facções, que dela extraem dividendos importantes para a sua própria territorialização. Discursos europeístas, de tolerância e aceitação, baseados nos ideais solidários do projeto europeu, coexistem com discursos extremistas, de tendência xenófoba e anti-integração. Na presente reflexão, analisamos a forma como o discurso político eleitoralista, do género textual *manifesto político*, codifica argumentativamente a questão dos refugiados, focalizando, para esse efeito, quatro dos manifestos eleitorais dos candidatos às eleições presidenciais portuguesas de 2016. A partir da caracterização do género seguindo a proposta de Adam (2001, pp. 40-41) das componentes semântica, composicional/estrutural, enunciativa, pragmática, estilística e fraseológica, meta-textual, peritextual e material, confirmamos que existe, simultaneamente, unidade e diversidade nos exemplares analisados. Por um lado, uma unidade que permite reconhecer nos diferentes textos manifestações de um mesmo género; por outro lado, uma diversidade que traduz/produz efeitos na construção do *ethos* e nas estratégias discursivas e políticas de cada candidato. O tratamento da crise dos refugiados é justamente um dos temas cujo tratamento diverge substancialmente de manifesto para manifesto, revelando estratégias discursivas e políticas específicas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

crise dos refugiados; manifestos políticos; género de texto; construção do *ethos*; estratégias discursivas e políticas

INTRODUCTION

The crisis of migrants and refugees in Europe at the beginning of the 21st century opened the door to new differences on the old continent that pose difficult challenges to the construction of European identity.

Already classified as the biggest migratory and humanitarian crisis in Europe after the Second World War, the reality of migrants and refugees has revealed a Europe unable to respond to the problem with a single and joint solution. In addition to the humanitarian aspect, often with dramatic outlines explored by the media, the phenomenon is also the cause of friction and fissures between the institutions and the Member states of the European Union, threatening to become the trigger of a European political crisis, leading to a new balance of forces between States.

Given the centrality it has gained, the refugee crisis can also be seen as a means of pursuing strategic advantage by different political factions. Europeanist speeches, of tolerance and acceptance, based on solidarity ideals of the European project, coexist with extremist, xenophobic and anti-integration tendencies.

In the present reflection, we analyse how the electoral political discourse, of the textual genre *electoral political manifesto*, argumentatively encodes the refugee issue, focusing, for this purpose, the electoral manifestos of the candidates for the 2016 Portuguese presidential elections¹.

¹ It should be noted that, despite the time gap between the date of the manifestos under analysis and the date of publication of this work, these are the most recent Portuguese presidential elections and they took place at the height of the refugee crisis.

CONTEXTUALISATION

Starting with a very brief historical contextualisation of the speeches under analysis, we recall that the presidential elections under study were the ninth elections for the Presidency of the Portuguese Republic, since the Revolution of April 25, 1974, which restored the constitutional democratic regime in Portugal. They took place on January 24, 2016, and decided the successor of the President to date, Aníbal Cavaco Silva.

Of the 10 candidates competing in these elections, only five disputed more directly the access to the position, namely: Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, António Sampaio da Nóvoa, Marisa Matias, Maria de Belém Roseira and Edgar Silva, since the rest obtained less expressive voting.

Among the most voted, Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, who ended up winning with an absolute majority of 52%, and António Sampaio da Nóvoa, who was in second place with about 23% of the votes, stood out. These two most voted candidates initially proposed themselves as independent. However, they ended up getting the support of two of the main Portuguese central political parties, designated as “Bloco Central” (PSD and PS, respectively). The other three most voted candidates were Marisa Matias, representative of “Bloco de Esquerda” (“Left Block”), who received 10% of the votes; Maria de Belém Roseira, a socialist activist, competing as an independent, with 4.24% of the votes; and the communist candidate, Edgar Silva, who obtained 3.95% of the votes².

Although, at the time of the elections in question, Portugal was no longer under the supervision of the Troika’s financial assistance program³, the country was still facing the effects of a deep economic and social crisis, with challenging goals to meet with creditors and some very susceptible austerity measures, which have indelibly marked the context of this plebiscite. Almost all of the analysed manifestos reflect their context of production, namely through the strong denunciation of the state of the country; the expression of discontent and revolt at the state of affairs; the attack on the social actors held as responsible and through various overcoming and change proposals.

TYPE OF DISCOURSE AND TEXT GENRE

Another relevant aspect in the characterisation of these texts is their inclusion in the respective type of discourse and text genre.

Using Adam’s proposal (2001, pp. 40-41) for the delimitation of text genres (according to semantic, compositional/structural, enunciative, pragmatic, stylistic and phraseological, metatextual, peritextual and material components), a brief

² The electoral results were consulted on the page: <https://www.eleicoes.mai.gov.pt/presidenciais2016/resultados-globais.html>

³ “Troika”, in this context of use, was a term popularised during the eurozone crisis to describe the group formed by the European Commission, the International Monetary Fund and the European Central Bank as the group of creditors that imposed austerity measures on European states indebted – such as Ireland, Portugal, Cyprus and Greece – in exchange for the financial bailouts provided.

characterisation of the genre *presidential political manifesto* within the type of *political discourse* is outlined in this study⁴.

A *political manifesto* is a document in which a candidate or a party identifies their political positions and strategies and defines their proposals for action and future legislation, in case they win enough votes to come to power. It is a public statement of principles and intentions, designed to mobilise a community to join a political project. It therefore has stable pragmatic purposes, which are to declare the speaker's political positions, to commit him/her to the future execution of specific actions and to win the audience's support.

From a compositional point of view, the manifesto has variable dimensions and a relatively free structure, but with some standard components. It always comprises an opening sequence with a title graphically highlighted⁵, which identifies a central semantic-pragmatic axis of the candidate's proposal, the "campaign motto", followed by one or more greeting acts and expressive acts of thanks, whose occurrence is optional; it also includes a closing sequence, with directive acts of incitement to vote and the closure, with the identification of the place, date, and signature(s) of the author(s), similar to what happens with a letter⁶. The development is always divided into macrostructures identified through subtitles. These subdivisions correspond to the identification of the main semantic-pragmatic sections of the text, which vary from case to case, but always include two major parts: the part in which the candidate characterises the current state of affairs and the part in which the candidate formulates the principles and the proposals defended. Taking into consideration the textual sequences suggested by Adam (2008), the dominant textual sequences are, prototypically, the expository and the argumentative.

The speaker in a presidential political manifesto leaves traces of his/her presence on the discourse surface, either through the use of *I* or *we* (non-inclusive and inclusive)⁷, declaring himself/herself as a political actor, and changing, hence, his/her status from an ordinary citizen to a presidential candidate⁸. In this context, the construction of the speaker's *ethos* becomes particularly relevant, being done, prototypically, by alterity, that is, in opposition to another actor – the *other* – which *I* uses to build a qualified identity. In this context, utterances of polarisation arise opposing *I/we* to *they/the other* that the speaker criticises and moves away.

In linguistic terms, these speeches contain strong marks of modalisation and subjectivity, related to the implication of the speaker and also strong marks of argumentation, related to controversy and persuasion, typical of this text genre.

⁴ It is possible to consult a characterisation of the genre *presidential political manifesto* according to the proposal of Adam (2001) in Pinto, Pinho and Teixeira (2017). It is also possible to review some of the characteristics of this genre in Pinto (2012).

⁵ The title is usually accompanied by an image of the candidate, in the case of presidential election manifestos.

⁶ The classification of the dominant illocutionary acts in the political manifestos under study follows Searle's model (1969).

⁷ Benveniste (1966) stated that *we* is a junction between *I* and *non-I*. This *non-I* can be *you* or *they*, distinguishing the inclusive form (*I+you*), which includes the interlocutor, from the exclusive form (*I+they*), from which the interlocutor is excluded. The occurrences of *we* in the presidential manifestos under analysis are distributed in cases of the inclusive *we*, in which *I* and *you* merge, and in cases of non-inclusive *we*, in which *we* implies *I+others*, "other party members I represent" or "other supporters of my candidacy".

⁸ See Pinto, Pinho and Teixeira (2017, p. 39).

From the metatextual point of view, these documents are usually identified by their authors as “manifestos”. There are, however, some variations in these metatextual references. António Sampaio da Nóvoa, for example, renames his manifesto as “Letter of principles”⁹; Edgar Silva, as “Declaration of candidacy”¹⁰; and Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa¹¹ does not identify his text with any metatextual label¹².

From the peritextual and material points of view, these texts circulate both in printed mode, distributed eventually in the candidacies’ public presentations, and in digital mode, uploaded on the candidacies’ web pages and, eventually, on the supporting parties’ web pages. Both on printed and digital modes, these texts border other texts, such as the candidates’ photographs, the identification of related links, among others. In the current case, the dimension of the manifestos varies from a shorter version, such as Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa’s manifesto, with 1.400 words, to a more extended version, such as Edgar Silva’s manifesto, with 3.929 words.

THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL MANIFESTOS

From what was exposed in the previous section, it becomes clear that an area of prototypicality is drawn among the analysed manifestos, with the salience of some regular and shared aspects, at the levels predicted by Adam for the delimitation of a genre (2001). These aspects enable us to accept the design of a specific text genre, within the type of political discourse: the *presidential political manifesto*.

On the other hand, although the inclusion of the texts in a text genre allows us to anticipate some of the manifestos’ organisational axis, the truth is that there is also an area of specificity in each of them, with semantic-pragmatic, stylistic and enunciative differences, which result from, and simultaneously produce effects in, the construction of the *ethè* and the discursive and political strategies of each candidate. The approach to the topic of refugees/migrants is precisely one of the aspects in which the presidential manifestos under study differ.¹³

⁹ Available at <http://www.sampaiodanovoa.pt/principios/>

¹⁰ Available at <https://edgarsilva2016.pt/declaracao>

¹¹ Available at <https://www.juntosporportugal.pt/>

¹² It should also be noted that the official statement of Marisa Matias, identified as “manifesto” was available on the official page of her candidacy for the 2016 presidential elections, at the link: <http://marisa2016.net/candidata/manifesto.html>. This page, however, is no longer accessible, and the declaration can be checked in an audiovisual version (EsquerdaNet, 2015).

¹³ For this study, 2016 most voted five presidential electoral manifestos were compared. In this process, it was confirmed that Maria de Belém Roseira’s manifesto did not contain any explicit or implicit mention to the issue of migrants or refugees, which is why it was not considered. The study focused, therefore, on the remaining four more voted presidential manifestos, namely, those of Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, António Sampaio da Nóvoa, Marisa Matias and Edgar Silva.

I COME FROM A FAMILY OF EMIGRANTS: THE EMPATHIC *ETHOS* IN MARCELO REBELO DE SOUSA'S MANIFESTO

Among the four manifestos confronted, Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa's is the least prototypical one. This candidate, who started advantageously in the polls and ended up winning the elections, was professor at the Faculty of Law of the University of Lisbon and had a long political career, having assumed several ministries in successive constitutional governments. The candidate also collaborated as a political commentator on the radio and two generalist television channels, having acquired a significant mediatic influence thanks to this public exposure. It is possible that this mediatic advantage allowed him to build an atypical discursive strategy.

While, in general, political manifestos are characterised by a discursive construction based on a polarisation of the *self* towards the *other* ("positive self and negative other presentation", Wodak, 2001, p. 73), creating two antagonistic axes, summarised in $I = \textit{good} \textit{ versus other} = \textit{bad}$, the presidential manifesto of Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa moves away from this semantic and enunciative organisation, focusing his discourse on the characterisation of the *self*, through a biographical narrative that highlights his life path, his professional and personal successes, the positions in the public and private sectors, as well as some very general future commitments, without resorting to disqualification of the *other* for self-affirmation.

As an example of this non-prototypical strategy, it is possible to check the following excerpt, in which the candidate praises his opponents: "considering all this, as well as the announced candidates, all of which deserve my greatest consideration, and also considering the national situation after the elections for the Republic Assembly, I had to make a choice" (MRS's manifesto¹⁴).

Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa's manifesto is also the least programmatic manifest of all, insofar as the candidate does not take an exact position concerning practically none of the topics covered by the other candidates. His manifest essentially bets on the explicit construction of the image of the *self*, in a kind of autobiography, in which the proponent selects those aspects of his identity and his life story that seem most relevant to characterise him and to build a relationship with the audience. It is through his biographic narrative, which sometimes takes on a confessional tone, of great proximity to the hearer, that he shows himself as experient, reliable, empathetic, supportive and worthy of the Presidency.

The politician only indirectly takes a stance on the sensitive issue of migrants, again in a co-text of autobiographical report, by showing that, coming from a family of emigrants, no one else but him knows this reality well and accepts it as structural in our society. It is, therefore, in a non-programmatic context, but rather in a confessional, affective autobiographical account, that Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa insinuates his position of tolerance and acceptance in this matter, rehearsing a strategy of audience appeal.

The passage below, in which the candidate characterises his family as a family of emigrants, is an excellent example of what has been mentioned:

¹⁴ From this moment on, the excerpts taken from the manifestos under study will be identified through the initials of their proponents. MRS corresponds, thus, to Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa.

I am the father of two children and the grandfather of five grandchildren. Most of this family of mine lives in Brazil, continuing an enterprise that my grandfather, my parents and one of my brothers embodied as emigrants. I know, like countless Portuguese, what it costs to be away and what it's worth to be a homeland scattered around the world since many of our best had to leave because they couldn't find the conditions to stay among us. (MRS's manifesto)

Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa's manifesto is a manifesto made up mostly of assertive acts. Directive acts, in which recommendations or appeals could be expressed, and commissive acts are almost totally absent, contributing thus to the absence of an authoritarian *ethos*. One of the few commissive acts performed by the speaker in his manifesto is the following one appearing in the end of his speech:

it was to say that I will fulfil my moral duty to pay Portugal what Portugal gave me that I came here and that I am here. I will be a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic of Portugal, for all of the Portuguese citizens. (MRS's manifesto)

The scarcity of this type of illocutionary act, characteristic of political discourse and electoral manifestos, due to the formulation of the so-called "political promises", also marks the differentiation of this candidate. Later called "president of affections", the motto of his candidacy could be summed up as "I am one of you", since this strategy of empathy is the most potent strategy he uses to assert himself.

THE RETURN TO EUROPE'S IDEALS OF SOLIDARITY AND PEACE: THE GENERAL DISCOURSE ON MIGRANTS IN ANTÓNIO SAMPAIO DA NÓVOA'S MANIFESTO

Full Professor at the Institute of Education of the University of Lisbon, where he had already held the position of dean, Sampaio da Nóvoa applied for the 2016 presidential elections as an independent. However, he had the support from centre-left political forces and former Presidents, such as Mário Soares, Jorge Sampaio and Ramalho Eanes.

Sampaio da Nóvoa's manifesto has a more explicit programmatic content than Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa's, revealed in the frequent commissive constructions of the text, exemplified by the following segments:

I will defend pluralism, diversity, open discussion of national problems. (...) I will fight against amorphism, indifference, resignation, passivity, conformism and unique thinking. (...) I will not be a passive President. (...) I will use the word, the intervention and the influence magistracy that the President, and only the President, has. (ASN's manifesto)

The directive acts are present in several moments of his speech, being expressed by diverse linguistic structures, all with the presence of deontic modality, either positive or negative¹⁵, as can be seen in the following examples:

this is, it has to be, again, our time (...). We cannot accept that the expectations of those who have worked a lifetime are called into question. (...) We cannot pit Portuguese against Portuguese, break the solidary bonds that should unite generations. (...) We cannot accept the shame of youth unemployment and precarious work, which are permanent factors of corrosion, crimes against the dignity of each and the future of all. (ASN's manifesto)

In some of these acts, deontic modality intersects with appreciative modality of criticism, producing hybrid acts. However, in these sequences, the criticism does not arise explicitly. The instruction is accomplished through the negative deontic structure *we cannot x* in which the candidate also verbalises a set of adverse situations in the past/present, pointing to the changes he proposes to carry out. The construction of *I* as opposed to the *other* is available in this semantic-pragmatic context.

The only moment when the candidate makes a more direct allusion to the problem of emigration is in the following excerpt:

the tensions of recent years have jeopardised Europe's political cohesion and demand an urgent debate on the democratisation of the EU. (...) The alternatives are, in large part, in return to the European ideals of solidarity, peace and convergence, ideals for which a President must fight, courageously. (ASN's manifesto)

Through this example, we confirm that there is no explicit reference to the theme of migrants or refugees in this speech contrary to what we will watch in the manifestos of the left-wing candidates, Marisa Matias and Edgar Silva. In Sampaio da Nóvoa's manifesto the framing of the theme is more general, set in the basis of Portugal's relationship with Europe and Europe's return to its original ideals of solidarity, peace and convergence. This moderate position takes place through the generalisation and abstraction of the theme to the sphere of values and ideals. It serves to preserve the positive face of the candidate, who is not overexposed, concerning a sensitive and fracturing issue.

THE TERRIBLE SCOURGES OF REFUGEES: HYPERBOLISATION IN EDGAR SILVA'S MANIFESTO

Edgar Silva, born in Funchal, graduated in theology and served as a Catholic priest. In 1996, he became a deputy in the Legislative Assembly of the Autonomous Region of Madeira and, since 1998, a member of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), renouncing his religious career. In the manifesto that marks his

¹⁵ We rely, in this work, on previous contributions to the study of modality in Linguistics, such as those by Oliveira (2003, 2013) and by Campos (1991, 2004).

candidacy for President, Edgar Silva builds an *ethos* that is based, above all, on the sense of duty and mission towards the Portuguese.

In compliance with a more prototypical political manifesto model, referred to in section two, the *self* in Edgar Silva's candidacy is construed in confrontation with the *other*. To this end, the author uses linguistic structures such as positive and negative deontic structures and a lexicon with a marked axiological dimension.

In addition to sequences of evaluative assertive acts, expressive acts of criticism and praise and directive acts of recommendation, we find, in his speech, long lists of explicit and non-explicit commissive acts, where the candidate explains his program, as the following examples illustrate:

I commit myself to the cause of liberation from the bonds of poverty, seeing it as the duty of the President (...). I am committed, among other objectives, to promoting civic and political participation and dialogue with the representative structures of the Diaspora (...). I assume and will undertake the preferential option for the poorest, the exploited. (...) It is a commitment that has guided my whole life. (...) As a candidate or as President, I will adamantly defend the liberating ideals of April. (ES's manifesto)

The image of *I/we* (supporters and potential supporters¹⁶) is constructed through an euphoric lexicon that aims to enhance the face of the speaker and the political and civic movement that he represents. In contrast, the construction of the *other* is accomplished through lexical expressions with negative value¹⁷. In addition to the use of dysphoric lexicon, the image of the *other* is also constructed through the use of the negative deontic modality in structures of the type *we cannot x*, exemplified below, similar to the ones seen in the manifesto of António Sampaio da Nóvoa,

we cannot be accomplices in the attack on the National Health Service and the Public School. (...) We cannot agree with the cut in social benefits, with the theft of income, with the brutal fiscal injustice, with unemployment, precariousness, the violation of rights, while refining the protection and support to big capital, which does not stop increasing its colossal profits. (ES's manifesto)

Through these negative deontic structures, the candidate confirms his critical stance (as defended by the movement he represents) contrary to an opponent stance, identified in the object of the clauses under analysis, where dysphoric states of affairs are listed, ("the attack on the National Health Service and the Public School"; "the cut

¹⁶ Inclusive *we* appears in the manifesto as a way of building an *ethos* in which the boundaries between *I* and *you* blur, configuring an *ethos* of belonging to a collective force: "thus, this is our candidacy, ours, of an extensive and profound transformative energy. This is, and will be, our candidacy for President, ours, of a broad vital movement" (ES's manifesto).

¹⁷ See, for example, the excerpts: "this is a time when, in Portugal, after decades of governance in confrontation with the values of April, social injustices and exploitation deepen"; "social degradation is multiplying. Environmental wounds are accentuated and the problems of workers are worsening and poverty is spreading, all as a direct result of the absolute dominance of the great economic groups" (ES's manifesto).

in social benefits”;" the theft of income"; "the brutal fiscal injustice"; "unemployment"; "precariousness"; "the violation of rights"). The speaker disqualifies, thus, the image of the *other*, responsible for the described states of affairs and distances himself from him, rejecting policies of the past and committing to do differently in the future:

this candidacy that I assume expresses this demand for a profound rupture and a turning point in relation to the political orientations that so much disorder and regression imposed on our country (...). I argue that another Portugal is possible. With a mixed economy that defends national resources and production, employment, that promotes science and technology, that develops and modernises national productive capacities, that develops the sea economy and supports fishers, that supports and encourages micro, small and medium-sized enterprises. (ES's manifesto)

In passages like the previous one, the argument is supported by the use of the present subjunctive referring to a potential world, different from the current world criticized by the candidate. The construction combines an illocutionary complex of criticism over the past/present and proposal for the future. The two realities, past+present *versus* future, are the target of antagonistic axiological positions, the first seen as highly negative and the second as highly positive, in a polarised configuration of the real¹⁸.

The construction of a negative image of the *other* helps the construction of a positive image of the *self*. The sequences in which the candidate disqualifies the *other* are sequences of criticism with strong expressive illocutionary force, as shown in the examples below:

nowadays, the country is being plundered and destroyed by speculators, and those responsible for governance have decreed the subordination of Portugal to the markets (...). Policies in recent years have further aggravated social inequalities and poverty. An economic model based on low wages and low levels of qualification, the growing lack of accountability of the State for its social functions, the sharp increase in unemployment, the containment of incomes, cuts in pensions. (ES's manifesto)

The reference to the phenomenon of migration appears, precisely, in one of these sequences of criticism and denunciation transcribed below:

this is a time when, in the world, a perverse economic inequality grows between individuals and between countries. Social degradation multiplies. Environmental wounds are accentuated and the problems of workers are worsening and poverty is spreading, all as a direct result of the absolute dominance of the large economic groups. In this way, the unjust international order based on the despotic logic of the markets, which reigns

¹⁸ For a complete analysis of the discursive strategies in Edgar Silva's Presidential Manifesto to the 2016 Portuguese presidential elections, cf. Pinto, Pinho and Teixeira (2017, p. 35-68).

over the Peoples and the States, appropriates all decisions and choices, multiplying foci of tension and war, spreading the terrible scourges of migrations, forced labour and refugees, unemployment, hunger and misery, which plunge a large part of humanity in unspeakable needs and intolerable suffering (...). This is an unacceptable course. (ES's manifesto)

It is, therefore, in a long sequence of blaming, materialised in semantically negative names (*inequality, degradation, problems, wounds, tension, war, scourges, unemployment, hunger, misery, needs, sufferings*); highly dysphoric adjectives (*perverse, unfair, despotic, terrible, forced, unspeakable, intolerable, unacceptable*) and syntactic parallelisms (*x grows; x multiplies; x increases; x spreads*) that Edgar Silva refers to the refugee crisis, showing that it stems from the same source as the other social scourges (unemployment, hunger, misery ...), against which he and his party fight. The source is “the absolute dominance of large economic groups” and “the despotic logic of markets that imposes an unjust and unacceptable international order”. The stance is clear, with many marks of subjectivity as mentioned above¹⁹. ES presents a supportive, charitable and discontent *ethos*, ready to fight to change the international order that generates the scourges.

The hyperbolisation of the theme is achieved by the employed enunciative-pragmatic structures, with particular emphasis on the highly dysphoric lexicon and the expressive acts of strong criticism.

It is also relevant to mention the syntactic form of referencing the processes (through passives and the Suj-V inversion in the Portuguese original version of the text: “*Multiplica-se a degradação social. Acentuam-se as chagas ambientais e agravam-se os problemas dos trabalhadores e alastra a pobreza*”) focusing on processes and not on agents / objects. This strategy enables the attribution of all states of affairs described in the propositions (the social problems) to the same cause, referenced through Nominal Groups of generic and ideological value: “the absolute dominance of the great economic groups” and the “despotic logic of the markets”, those who are the real enemies to be destroyed. The rhetoric of this discourse, therefore, places emphasis on the dispute between the people, the victim of the social scourges, and the powerful elites, identified with the large economic groups and the market.

RISKING THE LIVES OF CHILDREN IN PAPER BOATS: PATHEMISATION IN THE MANIFESTO OF MARISA MATIAS

Marisa Matias, PhD in Sociology and European deputy for the Portuguese left-wing political party “Bloco de Esquerda”, was the candidate for the Presidency of the 2016 elections in Portugal who devoted more attention in her manifesto to the issue of refugees.

With an equally prototypical manifesto, from a rhetorical and enunciative-pragmatic point of view, Marisa Matias resorted frequently to criticism, evidenced by linguistic mechanisms such as the lexicon, selected to confer dysphoric attributes to the target

¹⁹ We refer here to a linguistic sense of subjectivity, understood as the presence of the enunciator in his utterance, as defended by authors such as Benveniste (1966) and Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1980).

entities, as well as metaphors and syntactic parallelisms. In pragmatic terms, several linguistic acts coexist, serving the main purposes of the text: expression of discontent with the present situation; criticism and disqualification of the *other*, identified as responsible for the state of affairs; suggestion of changes for the future; commitment to action and appeal to the cause. The segments below illustrate this variety.

Starting with the declarative acts of the candidacy's confirmation, we can note the following utterances:

I am running to bring a popular alternative to these elections, convinced that, in a Republic, it is the votes that decide who will be in charge of the State. (...) I apply to help defeat this project of the elites. (MM's manifesto)

Commissive acts are also present, as expected: "in a world full of injustice and wars, with me no one doubts that Portugal will always be, always, on the side of justice and peace" (MM's manifesto).

Expressive acts of criticism are frequent and forceful, due to the linguistic mechanisms mentioned above:

the Right is desperate as we have never seen it before, great interests consider themselves at risk and, together, they have a project: where hope grows, fear spreads; where union is formed, they sow blackmail; where there are signs of change, they try to maintain the *status quo*. (...) The Right presents itself with a more civilised face, with a more modern and tolerant air, but make no mistake: anyone who tried to make television a springboard in the service of his immense political ambition will be willing to sell everything and its opposite to achieve his goals.²⁰ (MM's manifesto)

The directive acts are also frequent, marking sequences of direct invocation of the hearer. In many text segments, this interpellation is accomplished by the construction *we cannot x*, already described above, working as an expressive/directive illocutionary complex of criticism and appeal, in which the lexical and syntactic repetitions increase the act's illocutionary force.

In a "Palácio de Belém"[official residence of the Portuguese president] that smells of mould, we will have to open the windows to get fresh air. It is the strength of democracy that will open them up. It is your strength. (...) We cannot have a President indifferent to the destruction of workers' constitutional rights. We cannot have a president indifferent to poverty and unemployment. (...) We cannot have a President indifferent to the destruction

²⁰ It would be relevant to verify, in these excerpts, how the objects of discourse are linguistically referenced and what are the characteristics and qualities that are attributed to them. The use of the name "Direita" (Right, corresponding to right-wing forces) is one of the interesting cases to highlight. However, we will not be able to follow this analytical trail as it is outside the more restricted scope of the present work.

of our agriculture and fisheries in the name of multinationals' right to the competition.²¹ (MM's manifesto)

Of all the studied manifestos, Marisa Matias' is the strongest in terms of the illocutionary strength of the linguistic acts used: the promises are bold; expressive acts of criticism are blunt; the remaining expressive acts, in which the candidate expresses her psychological state over the described propositional content, are strong acts, with the mobilisation of emotions such as disgust, deep solidarity, affection, among others.

With regard to the sequence dedicated to refugees, this manifesto does not escape this rule and bears the strongest sequence of all the previously analysed, as can be seen in the excerpt below:

the indifference of the Portuguese institutions in the face of the scandalous drama of refugees is only understandable because we have government officials and representatives who never bothered to go directly to the places and speak directly with those who suffer and know what deep reasons lead someone to decide to abandon their land, to go to the sea and to cross Europe on foot, to push their mother's wheelchair or to bring a newborn baby subject to bad weather and other risks. No mother or father risks their children's lives on paper boats if those boats are no safer than the ground they stepped on before. Whoever fails to understand this is not worthy of occupying the Portuguese Presidency. (MM's manifesto)

In the speech of Marisa Matias, the refugees' situation is the subject of a dramatisation, in a sense proposed by Trčková (2014, p. 87) "an adoption of mythical themes and schemas in narratives about victims, a selection of emotionally-loaded victim stories". In fact, this candidate represents the situation in a highly evaluative way, a fact confirmed by the expression "scandalous drama of refugees", showing her conceptualisation of the issue, through the referencing of the object by the name "drama", and its qualification, by the adjective "scandalous". In addition to this axiologically marked conceptualisation, the candidate also particularises, in her argument, specific actors and situations involved in these dramas, almost constructing life stories and associated visual images, with which the audience can easily identify. A populist strategy to approach the audience through the exploration of *pathos* is at stake.

Hence, the candidate speaks of someone who decides to abandon their land, to go to the sea and to cross Europe on foot, to push their mother's wheelchair or to bring a newborn baby, subject to the bad weather and other risks. The contrast between the fragility of the actors brought to the scene (the mother in a wheelchair and the newborn baby) and the violent processes they are subjected to (abandoning their land; going to the sea; crossing Europe on foot; facing the elements and other risks; risking one's life)

²¹ We note what was mentioned above about the hybrid character of these acts of deontic modality in the form of *we cannot x*, which have already been analysed in the other manifestos under study, except for Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa's manifesto. These are illocutionary complexes, which combine two associated values: recommendation and criticism.

accentuates the dramatic character of these mini-narratives embedded in argumentative sequences. As Trčková indicates:

the contrasts are usually based on binary oppositions (the dimmed lights in the normally effervescent neighbourhood; climbing the hill in these dark days is to move between death and life, sorrow and hope; haven quickly becomes an ordeal), which are rudimentary tools in people's conceptual systems, helping people to impose clear-cut categories on the reality, but also simplifying and schematizing it. (Trčková, 2014, p. 88)

In the passage of Marisa Matias' manifesto on refugees, the "paper boats" metaphor stresses, through the salience of the victims' frailty, the emotional charge of these hybrid sequences, that combine the narrative and argumentative prototypes. In fact, construed as social types, the characters of these narratives intend to symbolise thousands of authentic people who experience these same situations, themselves reduced to typified and symbolic action schemas (abandoning their land; leaving to the sea; crossing Europe on foot; facing bad weather and other risks; risking their life). Through these discursive dramatisation resources, it becomes clear that the candidate chooses a more emotional (*pathemic*) way of building empathy with the audience. Due to this dramatisation, these sequences gather a derived illocutionary value of condemnation of the political opponents, identified as responsible for the drama. This strong disapproval is explicit in the statement that closes this sequence, in which the candidate concludes, in a deeply judicative tone: "whoever fails to understand this is not worthy of occupying the Portuguese Presidency".

This sequence ends with a discourse of exclusion, where *I* and *they* are polarised. On one side, those who understand and are concerned with the refugees' situation, group that includes the candidate; on the other side, the *others*, who do not understand the situation, who, eventually, do not even recognise it and who lack the essential quality of empathy and solidarity, being therefore not worthy of conquering the Portuguese Presidency. The closure of this argumentative sequence configures thus an authoritarian *ethos*, invested with strong moral power that enables such judicial statements of high deontic value.

CONCLUSION

Returning to the Aristotelian idea that *ethos* is built on and by discourse, Maingueneau (2005, 2008) recalls that there is no pre-established *ethos*, but, instead, that it is built during and from discursive activity. Giddens (1991, p. 54) also highlights the importance of the "narrative of the Self" in the construction of personal and social identity:

a person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor – important though this is – in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going. The individual's biography, if she is to maintain regular

interaction with others in the day-to-day world, ... must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing “story” about the self. (Giddens, 1991, p. 54)

The construction of a credible *ethos* on the part of political candidates is one of the most critical strategies in the conquest of power. We were able to verify, from the brief comparative analysis of the political manifestos of four presidential candidates to the 2016 Portuguese elections, that the style of doing politics differs substantially among the candidates. The semantic-pragmatic and discursive processes studied seem to contribute in an integrated way to the construction of silencing strategies or direct referencing of the subject under analysis and the consequent political strategies for conquering power. A strong rhetorical construction, with a lexicon of high negative semantic polarity and syntactic parallelisms, found, for example, in the manifestos of left-wing candidates, Edgar Silva and Marisa Matias, configures texts in which the expressive illocutionary acts of regret, criticism and condemnation and the correlative appreciative modality gain particular relevance, serving the clear construction of opposition political projects. In the manifestos of the other two candidates, from centre-left and centre-right political wings, the moderation of political proposals is reflected in an equally moderate selection of lexicon, linguistic acts and modalisation strategies.

We confirmed, therefore, that the management of the refugee crisis in the presidential election manifestos reflects and contributes to the construction of the *ethè* and the respective political strategies. The two most moderate candidates in the range of the most voted – Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa and António Sampaio da Nóvoa – chose not to refer directly to the refugee issue in their manifestos. Instead, they used a more general framing, mentioning emigration in correlation to Portugal’s integration in Europe and European ideals. Silence is also a strategy, one of the conclusions we can draw is that choosing not to name and not to take an exact stance on this fracturing issue is a prudent political position, for those who want a less marked political *ethos* and a broader constituency. We also proved that Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa approached the issue in a more empathic and affective way, by presenting himself as an emigrant. He eliminated thus the potential distance between him, the object of discourse (the emigrants, the refugees) and the audience. In this way, he implements an ambiguous strategy, which enables him to refer to the issue without assuming a political stance.

On the other hand, the two left-wing candidates represent and evaluate the refugee problem in a marked way, in the context of an ideological construction that opposes an *I/we* to an *other/others*, worthy of criticism and disapproval, thus contributing to an *ethos* and political strategy of opposition and social combat. In these manifestos, the victimisation of refugees and schematisation of their life story, with strong dysphoric lexicon, are appealing strategies that increase drama and *pathos*. The dramatisation encompasses a populist approach. Refugees, built as “round” type characters that represent thousands of real people acting in schematised/simplified situations signal an emotion activation strategy that includes sympathy, revolt, indignation and, consequently, the will to change.

Translation: Alexandra Guedes Pinto

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“THEM”, VENEZUELANOS, AND THE CRISIS IN VENEZUELA: DISCURSIVE PRACTICES IN THE MAGAZINE *VEJA*

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the feature article “Fuga de uma ditadura: a saga dos venezuelanos no Brasil” (Flight from a dictatorship: the saga of Venezuelans in Brazil), by Jennifer Ann Thomas, published by the Brazilian magazine *Veja* in 2019. The subject of the article is refugees and the crisis in Venezuela. This paper identifies the discursive structures used in the article to represent “others”, in this case, Venezuelan immigrants. Analysis is also made of linguistic expressions, which symbolise and produce differences between “us” (Brazil and Brazilians) and “them” (the other – Venezuela and its citizens). The paper concludes that the discourse about the “other”, which in *Veja*’s article also includes statistics and quotes sources close to the government, only states that which is appropriate for the magazine’s audiences to know, i.e. their readers. In summary, analysis of the article published by *Veja* magazine allows us to conclude that it reproduces the hegemonic discourse about “the other” – a reductionist, conservative and nationalist discourse. The theoretical reference underpinning this paper’s semiological orientation is Social Semiotics (Martins, 2002/2017), a discipline of Social and Human Sciences, whose main concern is to establish the conditions that govern the social possibility of meaning and that, in semantic and pragmatic terms, leads to the explanatory and comprehensive interpretation of discourses. On the other hand, since this paper aims to understand social construction processes of the other, i.e. understand the social construction processes of identities, it is inspired by the intellectual current known in Europe as the “philosophy of difference” (Descombes, 1998; Foucault, 1966; Levinas, 2002; Martins, 2019; Ricoeur, 1991).

KEYWORDS

immigrants; refugees; Social Semiotics; Venezuela; social representations

“ELES”, VENEZUELANOS, E A CRISE NA VENEZUELA: PRÁTICAS DISCURSIVAS NA REVISTA *VEJA*

RESUMO

Este artigo analisa a reportagem intitulada “Fuga de uma ditadura: a saga dos venezuelanos no Brasil”, da autoria de Jennifer Ann Thomas, publicada, em 2019, pela revista brasileira *Veja*. O objeto são os refugiados e a crise na Venezuela. Foram identificadas as estruturas discursivas utilizadas para representar os outros, no caso, os imigrantes venezuelanos. E foram analisadas as expressões linguísticas, que simbolizam e produzem as diferenças entre “eles” (os outros, a Venezuela e os seus cidadãos) e “nós” (o Brasil e os brasileiros). A conclusão a que chegámos é a de que o discurso sobre o outro, que na reportagem da *Veja* compreende também as

estatísticas e as fontes próximas do poder governamental, apenas dizem o que é adequado que os públicos da revista saibam, ou seja, os seus leitores. Em síntese, a análise desta reportagem da revista *Veja* permite concluir que nela ocorre a reprodução do discurso hegemónico sobre “o outro”, um discurso reducionista, conservador e nacionalista. A nossa linha de orientação semiológica tem como referência teórica a Semiótica Social (Martins, 2002/2017), uma disciplina das Ciências Sociais e Humanas, que tem como preocupação essencial estabelecer as condições de possibilidade social do sentido e que, em termos semânticos e pragmáticos, procede à interpretação explicativa e compreensiva dos discursos. Por outro lado, sendo o nosso propósito a compreensão dos processos de construção social do outro, ou seja, a compreensão dos processos de construção social das identidades, inspiramo-nos na corrente de pensamento, que ficou conhecida na Europa como a “filosofia da diferença” (Descombes, 1998; Foucault, 1966; Levinas, 2002; Martins, 2019; Ricoeur, 1991).

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

imigrantes; refugiados; Semiótica Social; Venezuela; representações sociais

INTRODUCTION

Granting asylum in foreign countries to people who are fleeing from persecution is one of the oldest practices of civilisation. There are references in texts written 3.500 years ago – during the heyday of the great Middle Eastern empires, such as the Hittite, Babylonian, Assyrian and ancient Egyptian empires¹. Etymologically rooted in the Latin verb *refugere* – to flee – the term refugee has been pejoratively correlated with a crime (Arendt, 1943/1994). Subsequently, the concept began to include political, social and economic dimensions (UN, 1951). In the essentially oral communities of Western antiquity, foreigners and those who did not speak the official language were treated differently from locals. They were not considered to be citizens and could not participate in public life.

However, in the contemporary era, referring to the migratory phenomenon, van Dijk (2016, p. 145) points out that socially shared knowledge about immigration may “contain beliefs about the identity, origin, properties, actions and objectives of immigrants, their relations with ‘our’ group, each associated with positive or negative evaluations based on norms and values”. Because “totality, the regime of sameness, which is our own regime, still assumes a central role and pushes the other to the periphery – to a subordinate, erased, dominated place” (Martins, 2019, p. 29).

Immigrants, refugees and foreigners are represented as being different from “us”, i.e. from “me”, and are categorised and “classified” (Bourdieu, 1979) as “them”, i.e. as “others”, each with their own complex subjectivity and identity. In Ricoeur (1991), identity resides in the dialectic between *identity-idem* and *identity-ipse*. *Identity-idem*, or sameness, being identical to oneself, immutable across time and distinct from the other, underpins the concept of character. *Idem, identitas*, Latin words which mean “the same”, “the same thing”, “the identical”. The term *ipse*, which is also a Latin word, refers to identity – “the

¹ Information retrieved from <http://www.acnur.org/portugues/quem-ajudamos/refugiados/>

same" in relation to the other. *Identity-ipse* is ipseity, personal and reflective, narrative and historical identity, that is marked by alterity (*altero* is the other, in Latin).

In turn, Stuart Hall (2003) points out that identity is a place that is assumed, a posture of position and context, a social construction, rather than an essence or substance. Identities are not linked to specific times and places; they are fluid and hybrid. Levinas (2002) argues that the presence of the other "puts me in check" and he emphasises that in the interpretative experience between "you" and "we" there is no automatic common identification and incorporation, but rather an identification process, produced by language, for experiences, narratives and discourses.

The collectivity in which I say "you" or "we" is not a plural of the "I". I, you – these are not individuals of a common concept. Neither possession nor the unity of number nor the unity of concepts link me to the Stranger (the Other). It is the absence of a common homeland that makes the Other a foreigner who causes a disturbance "in our home". But to be a foreigner also means to be free. I have no power over him. He escapes my apprehension in an essential aspect; even so, I have access to him. He is not at all in my place. But I, who do not pertain to a shared concept with the foreigner, am nonetheless like him, without gender. We are the same and the other. The conjunction *and* here designates neither addition nor the power of one term over the other. (Levinas, 2002, p. 63)

The differentiation process makes it possible to build identity. Distinguishing the self and the other is the way to understand and interpret what I am and what the other is (Ricoeur, 1991).

I find the other in a relationship, whereby the other comes into being in me, becomes part of me, constituting me. This is the path of falling in love, and it can also be the path of compassion and solidarity. But the relationship with the other is not exhausted through the encounter. After the encounter of the other, this is often followed, for my own reasons, by erasure, assimilation, and even domination of the other. In strict terms, what we can say is that the other is never reducible to the self, i.e. it is never erasable in me. And if what is at stake is to segregate, discriminate and dominate the other, the real issue at stake is to exert violence over the other. (Martins, 2019, p. 27)

The differentiation process also involves similarity recognised in otherness. It is through difference with the other that I build myself as myself. To differ is to distinguish oneself. "In this game in which 'losers win', in which we say 'identity', this immediately becomes a difference, and if we point out a difference, it becomes an identity" (Descombes, 1998, p. 199).

We can say that to understand a text is to understand oneself before a text. And to understand the other is to understand yourself before another person. Experiences, as well as narratives, are necessary for the production of meaning, which is always mediated

by an interpretation. The narrative identity of a person or a community is the story we tell about ourselves, and also the story that others tell about ourselves, at different times, and also, the memory we retain from these narratives. We recognise the other that exists in us by the reports made about ourselves and by the memory we have of them (Ricoeur, 1991).

The encounter of interpretation/differentiation occurs within the discourse – given that the discourse expresses the social system, as a territory of power struggles (Foucault, 1971). Foucault characterises the nature of the discourse as follows: “simultaneously battle and weapon, strategy and shock, fight and trophy or wound, conjunctions and vestiges, irregular encounter and repeated scene” (Foucault, 1969, p. 8), the discourse is “what we are fighting for, the very power we aim to seize” (Foucault, 1971, p. 12). In turn, the full scope of Moisés de Lemos Martins’ *A linguagem, a verdade e o poder* (language, truth and power) lies in the discourses that are considered to observe a specific way of producing meaning, or the regime of the gaze (Martins, 2002/2017). In the West, the way of producing meaning is based on the principle of analogy, or representation, wherein difference, all difference, refers to unity, i.e. where all difference is ultimately annulled and assimilated by unity. “And that is why the story is always the same” (Martins, 2019, p. 25).

Discourse is a social practice, an action, exercised within a structure, which is also social. “As a performative element [the discourse] aims to be effective. We speak in order to be understood, and also to be obeyed, respected, distinguished and believed” (Martins, 2004, p. 75).

To represent (and language represents the world) is to classify, to define, it is based on a power of di/vision. Now, the representation of social divisions jointly contribute to the realisation of divisions, given the performativity of language. Let us not forget, however, as mentioned above, that the inherent magic of the word is *social*. The discourse calls into existence that which it enunciates, according to the degree of legitimacy of the speaker (and *ipso facto* of the listener), which is always related to the structure and sanctions of a specific social field. (Martins, 2004, p. 75)

Let us look at the case of the news, which is a specific type of discourse. News is a discursive practice, that is socially elaborated and permeated by specific rules (van Dijk, 1990). As a social practice, any type of discourse causes meaningful effects, has a significant intention and a meaningful purpose. On the other hand, considering media discourses as externalities, it is up to the social analyst to make manifest its mode of production, in short, the conditions of the possibility of its existence, circulation and reproduction (Foucault, 1971; Peruzzolo, 2004).

Media narratives are part of this operational system of symbolic systems. Media correspond to a regime of discursive practices, which also means social practices, which simultaneously function as instances that produce meaning, with social effects. Given the illocutionary force of language, different discourses compete to call into existence that which they enunciate. We can therefore say, in short, that constructions of news articles involve not only a social and cultural, political and economic dimension, but

also cognitive aspects (see, for example, Berkowitz, 1997; Breed, 1997; Schudson, 1986a, 1986b, 1988; Sousa, 2000, 2004; Traquina, 2001; Tuchman, 1978; White, 1997; Zelizer, 1997); and that whoever produces the news is part of a journalistic community, which in turn is inscribed in the specific organisational context of a given society.

THE CASE STUDY

While we can attribute greater or lesser emphasis, we can clearly say that the Brazilian media renders the daily lives of Venezuelan immigrants visible. Media outlets are co-responsible for the formation of citizens' opinions and transmit contrasting points of view about the crisis in Venezuela, which is the origin of the phenomenon of Venezuelan migration.

The study we present herein has the fundamental purpose of analysing how the magazine, *Veja*, one of the magazines with the highest circulation in Brazil (*Veja* has a total print and digital subscription circulation of 557.314 copies², 16,5 million followers on social networks and 21,8 million individual visitors on the magazine's website³), presents Venezuela's political and economic situation. The magazine assumes the point of view of analysing what Venezuelan immigration means for Brazil, while describing, on the other hand, the social consequences of this migratory flow for the host country. We try to respond to the following main question: what does *Veja* make manifest and what does it omit, or even silence, when representing immigrants and their country of origin?

We start from understanding a media text as a discursive practice, explaining it as a social practice, exploring the confluence between textuality and enunciation/discursivity. On the one hand, we emphasise the field of writing, the field of the textual object, and suspend the relationship with the context. On the other, we emphasise the dimensions of discursive practice, i.e. interaction, intersubjectivity, reflexivity, intentionality and communication (Martins, 2002/2017). Analysis of the processes of social construction of otherness, of difference, in short, of the construction of the "other", as well as analysis of the construction of social identities, is based on the perspective of the "philosophy of difference", advocated in particular by Foucault (1966), Ricoeur (1991), Levinas (2002), Descombes (1998), Martins (2019).

This article analyses the report, by Jennifer Ann Thomas, entitled "Fuga de uma ditadura: a saga dos venezuelanos no Brasil" (Escape from a dictatorship: the saga of Venezuelans in Brazil)⁴, published in the Brazilian magazine *Veja* (issue No. 2646, of August 07, 2019) which not only addresses Venezuelan immigrants in Brazil, but also about the political and humanitarian crisis in Venezuela. We undertake a discourse analysis, centred on the linguistic expressions used, which represent the differences between "us" (Brazil and Brazilians) and "them" (the others, Venezuela and its citizens). We are aware that language is a social construction, in which the uttered discourses not only represent

² Information retrieved from <http://publiabril.abril.com.br/svp/tabelas/circulacao?platform=revista-impressa-mais-digital>

³ Information retrieved from http://publiabril.abril.com.br/midia_kits

⁴ Available at <https://veja.abril.com.br/mundo/fuga-de-uma-ditadura-a-saga-dos-venezuelanos-no-brasil/>

social differences, but, on the other hand, contribute to the reality of these differences. We carried out the analytical process using the feature article available in *Veja* magazine's website.

Veja magazine, founded in 1968 by Editora Abril, is one of Brazil's weekly publications with the highest circulation. It is known for its extreme editorial line, as a conservative magazine, that is highly partisan in its political and party coverage, in particular in terms of the inspection of political power and its representatives. Grupo Abril does not explicitly inform the general public of its editorial principles or the code of conduct that applies to its journalists. The "Carta ao leitor: sobre princípios e valores" (Letter to the reader: about principles and values), 2019, explains that the magazine's "commitments are not with people or parties. They are based on principles and values". It also claims to be guided by the interest of "public opinion". In terms of its mission, it claims to be committed to contributing to the dissemination "of information, culture and entertainment, to the progress of education, the improvement of the quality of life, the development of free enterprise and the strengthening of the country's democratic institutions"⁵.

The front cover of issue no. 2646, of August 07, 2019, was dedicated to Venezuelan migration⁶. English journalist Jennifer Ann Thomas, educated and based in Brazil, recounts the life stories of Venezuelans who "fled the crisis that is plaguing the neighbouring country" (Thomas, 2019). Since the outbreak of the crisis (in late 2014) until that moment in time, no issue of the magazine had ever covered the topic, despite the historical importance of the events in question and the fact that it met several important journalistic criteria, such as proximity, public interest and permanence in the national news. Issue no. 2594 of *Veja*, published on August 08, 2018, had already included a feature article, and the front cover highlighted the rise to power of autocratic figures via democratic regimes. The countries cited were Venezuela, Russia, Poland, Hungary and the Philippines. Issue 2312, published on March 13, 2013, had addressed the legacy of Hugo Chávez, from the moment he became President of Venezuela until his death that year, in 2013⁷.

CONTEXTS OF THE CRISIS IN VENEZUELA

The global economic crisis of 2008 and the dramatic fall in oil prices in 2009, had worldwide consequences, including in Venezuela. In 2013 Bolivarian socialist, Nicolás Maduro succeeded Hugo Chávez (who was in power from 1999 to 2013), in a heated electoral process, which strengthened the opposition (Botelho, 2008; Lopes, 2013; Schurster & Araújo, 2015). In 2014, crude oil prices once again fell in the international

⁵ Information retrieved from <https://grupoabril.com.br/>

⁶ Retrieved from <https://veja.abril.com.br/mundo/fuga-de-uma-ditadura-a-saga-dos-venezuelanos-no-brasil/>. The content available on the *Veja* website is accompanied by a video report (available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=5&v=aMBUtl0ggKA&feature=emb_logo). As of March 07, 2020, it has reached 40,479 views. In this article, the video has not been analysed.

⁷ Retrieved from <https://acervo.veja.abril.com.br/>

market. Oil revenues represented a large part of Venezuela's foreign exchange and the country crucially depended on oil exports. The dramatic drop in oil prices in 2014 marked the beginning of a national crisis in the country. And the ensuing extreme and violent political polarisation caused serious institutional and social damage:

the situation worsened, until, in December 2015, the opposition won a majority in the National Assembly. The Supreme Court of Justice suspended four deputies, alleging electoral fraud, but the National Assembly disobeyed this decision. From then on, the institutional confrontation worsened and gradually spread through the streets, also fuelled by the serious economic and supply crisis that broke out in the country. With more than one hundred dead, there was a chaotic situation. (Sousa Santos, 2017, § 5)

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2017, § 3) commented on the long battle for succession in Venezuela, as well as foreign interference, and recalled the "attempted coup d'état in 2002, led by the opposition, with the active support of the United States", noting that, in 2015, the United States characterised Venezuela as a threat to its national security. All of these facts made a significant contribution to Venezuela entering a process of economic destabilisation, which has pushed the country to hyperinflation, lack of basic supplies, scarcity of food, health system difficulties and international financial sanctions (Santos & Vasconcelos, 2016). These problems have actually worsened and persist to this day.

On the other hand, it can be said that Venezuela's oil reserves – a strategic resource for the country – are of international interest, in particular for powers with neoliberal policies, such as the United States. Pointing out the external interferences in Venezuela, Sousa Santos adds:

recent history shows that economic sanctions affect innocent citizens more than governments. One only has to remember the more than 500.000 children who, according to the 1995 United Nations report, died in Iraq as a result of sanctions imposed after the Gulf War. We should also remember that half a million Portuguese or Portuguese descendants live in Venezuela. Recent history also teaches us that no democracy is strengthened after foreign intervention. (Sousa Santos, 2017, § 9-10)

The Maduro regime, in turn, with propagandistic public interventions, denounced the existence of an "economic war", waged by the opposition, by businessmen and by capitalist countries. Meanwhile, social protests began to place pressure on the government. Several conflicts ensued between Maduro's supporters and opponents, which then intensified. Repression of freedom of expression has become a harsh reality. At the time when the article was written, the president had complained of an attempted coup d'état (*Queda do petróleo em 2014 marcou início da crise da Venezuela*, 2016).

In December 2017, the Organization of American States (OAS) published a report on the human rights situation in Venezuela. The report highlighted the weakness of the

country's democratic institutions, the growth of repression by civil society, and violence and insecurity in the country, and called attention to the "serious political, economic and social crisis that has been ravaging the country over the last two years", "characterised by a general shortage of food, medicines, treatment, material and medical supplies, among others. Precisely in 2015, prices increased by 180,9% and in April 2016, 80% of the population faced food shortages" (OAS, 2017, pp. 22-23).

In January 2020, the Venezuelan leader complained, in an interview: "when we secure an important batch of medication from a specific country and we are ready to import it, an order arrives, they remove the cargo and the patient in Venezuela is left without their medicine" (Singer, 2020, § 2). In the same month, January 2020, Maduro refused the visit of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) to Venezuela, on the grounds that the country is no longer a member of the OAS (Maduro nega ingresso de delegação da CIDH na Venezuela, 2020). The Venezuelan Foreign Minister, Jorge Arreaza, addressed the issue, in the following terms (Lafuente, 2019):

we have a blockade, how could we avoid having a shortage of some products? This year's sanction costs exceed, with the eventual confiscation of Citgo, \$30 billion. Of course, there have to be some limitations. The EU, the Spanish Government, the UN, should do what they did in Cuba after almost 60 years: call for an end to the blockade. 25% of the hyperinflation may be the responsibility of the Venezuelan Government, but 75% is induced by an exchange which is placed in some websites.

The peak of the exodus of Venezuelans to Brazil occurred in 2018, when the Brazilian state of Roraima, despite transfers of resources from the federal government, faced serious logistical problems and great difficulties in offering decent accommodation to immigrants. A state of social emergency was decreed in Roraima on several occasions, and the state requested intervention by the Armed Forces to control the border, and other resources were mobilised for health care, in short, to provide generalised assistance to the Venezuelan immigrants. Gradually, in a process that involved the Armed Forces, non-governmental organisations and civilian volunteers, the situation was controlled, including the transfer of Venezuelan immigrants to other Brazilian states.

THE DISCURSIVE PRACTICES OF *VEJA* MAGAZINE

In a detailed description, the journalist who wrote the feature article in *Veja* magazine is a witness and protagonist, in a flight in which 63 refugees were transferred from Roraima to Santa Catarina, in July 2019. Commanded by the Brazilian Armed Forces, as part of Operation Acolhida (Operation Welcome), this transfer was part of the process of distribution of refugees from the state of Roraima to other Brazilian states.

The journalistic narrative includes physical and psychological descriptions of the characters, environment, actions and events. The descriptions are provided throughout the text and focus on sensations and feelings, seeking to humanise the story and attract

the reader. The narrative explores the memories of Venezuelans, jumping between the past, present and future, representing the economic and social context of Venezuela and projecting, from the host country, possible scenarios of their stay in Brazil.

The feature article begins by positioning the narrative in time and space and it places the journalist in the theatre of operations: bringing the journalism closer to reality, with emphasis on the characters, situations and scenarios.

On one rainy morning, last Saturday, on July 20, a Hercules C-130 of the Brazilian Air Force (FAB) used its four engines to fly from Boa Vista, in Roraima, to Florianópolis, 5.000 km away. Developed in 1951 in the USA, the aircraft was designed for military purposes. However, the takeoff on the wet runway that day had nothing to do with war. It was a peace mission: to take 63 Venezuelan refugees, including twenty children, to Santa Catarina, where they would live with relatives, or in shelters. One of the passengers was Carlos Montaña, 28 years old: 'I'm frightened because it's my first flight. And because I have no idea what awaits us', he admitted. (Thomas, 2019, § 1)

The "rainy morning" on that Saturday created a certain melancholic spirit. The grey sky and uncertainty about the next day invited a subtle introduction. Words like "war" and "peace" were chosen, due to their obvious opposition. After crossing from Venezuela to Brazil, fleeing from a situation of scarcity and helplessness, a few dozen Venezuelans now had the opportunity to build a better life. Throughout the feature article, several passages highlight the differences between "us" (Brazil and the Brazilians) and "them" (Venezuela and the Venezuelans). For example, the strength and power of the Brazilian Air Force's Hércules plane is contrasted with the fragility shown by the fear of one of the passengers.

Wherein it is obvious that the connotative function of language can be used in journalism, especially in magazine journalism, the journalist, the author of the feature article, emphasises expressions and metaphors that refer to the climate, since they symbolise the gravity of the situation and the incidents that occur during the trip. The connotative use of language is a recurring feature of stories about refugees and migration, because it helps symbolise the gravity of the situation. Connotative use emphasises words such as "saga", "journey", "odyssey", "adventure", given that changes almost always involve difficulties and uncertainty. Verbs such as "escape" and "flee" are frequently used. Indeed the Latin verb *refugere*, that refers to the action of fleeing, is the etymological root of the word "refugee". The feminine noun "fuga" (flight) was used in the article's title. In some cases, "flight" refers to vague concepts, to inevitabilities over which we have no control and to external factors (Thomas, 2019). However, the narrative identifies American and Venezuelan foreign policy as being responsible for pain and death (Thomas, 2019). The journalist links her account to people, geographic spaces, dates, historical facts and photographs, as if they were copies of reality – via so-called referential anchoring of the discourse (Peruzzolo, 2004).

For feature articles, much more information is gathered than is actually used. The journalist reveals that she “talked to more than eighty Venezuelans”. And she adds that she chose only a few to illustrate the situation. Varied and plural sources are identified. However, the treatment given to them implies a somewhat conservative and elitist perspective. The reference to the fear experienced by one of the passengers, as noted above, refers to a 28-year-old man, who was indeed fearful. His profession is not revealed. However, Diover Gonzales, 59, is not treated in the same way, nor the members of his family. A neurosurgeon, his wife is a nurse and his son is a lawyer (Thomas, 2019, § 2).

Jennifer Ann Thomas is a journalist. As someone who is university-educated, she distinguishes the “other”, as being someone without education, at the same time that she shows the reader how serious the crisis is, a crisis that also forces professionals to seek exile, people who are doctors and educators, in short, who belong to the middle and upper class. The same thing happens later, when she describes the source using the passive voice: “Arisnelis Castañeda, 28, single mother of five children” (Thomas, 2019, § 9).

The narrator, sometimes shows herself, sometimes remains hidden. On certain occasions she explains, and on other occasions she implies. This speeds up or slows down the pace of her story. This style attributes the characteristic of ambiguity to the narrator, alternating between a mere character in the story and an omniscient narrator (Vilas-Boas, 1996). Evolving in the third person, the narrator can distance herself from the story and create the effect of impartiality; alternatively, when drawing closer to the story she creates the effect of veracity. We can consider the following examples: “*Veja*’s feature article conversed” (Thomas, 2019, § 2); “*Veja* burned” (Thomas, 2019, § 4). The narrator also draws closer to the refugees, thus creating an effect of subjectivity, which make the story seem more credible to readers, since only the rhetorical procedure can simulate that someone is narrating the experience, and that “someone” is precisely the journalist, who witnessed the facts “over five weeks in June and July” (Thomas, 2019, § 2).

The journalistic practice of *Veja* magazine’s feature article, whose discourse is narrative, opinionated and interpretative (Vilas-Boas, 1996), does not, however, present much news for those who are following this subject. It does not instigate readers to learn more, nor anticipate their expectations. It reproduces common sense knowledge, with well-known information and events and immediate emotions, when mentioning migrants who drowned (Alan Kurdi, in 2015, Óscar Martínez Ramírez and his daughter, in 2019) (Thomas, 2019, § 6-7), or by referring to US immigration policies as an example not to follow. However, use of the adverb “afinal” (ultimately) gives another meaning to the discourse, indicating that many Americans were already tired of the situation and expected a definitive solution:

the situation is, in fact, dramatic. Since 2012, the worldwide number of expatriate persons has doubled. Today, there are 25,9 million individuals officially recognised by the UN with refugee status. The country that received the most requests in 2018 – the United States – has not given a warm welcome to immigrants. This is not, ultimately, surprising since President

Donald Trump was elected precisely with the promise of building a wall on the US border with Mexico to prevent not only the migration of citizens from that nation but also of anyone who makes the US territory the gateway to achieve the American dream. (Thomas, 2019, § 6)

This journalistic practice does not explore the problems associated to this issue and eliminates its complexity, by denying the reader the possibility to hear contrary perspectives, which is fundamental for the construction of critical reflection. In short, "the story is always the same" (Martins, 2019, p. 8).

The indication of the number of Venezuelans interviewed and the number of weeks dedicated to producing the report, makes it appear as if the reporter immersed herself in the subject. "In five weeks, from June to July, *Veja's* feature article talked to more than eighty Venezuelans" (Thomas, 2019, § 2). And yet, the article is simply based on the effect of going deeper into the subject. It is rather sparse, superficial, filled with common sense observations, adjectives and adverbs - which is manifestly insufficient to constitute the cover story of a magazine read by millions of people.

Data from official agencies (UN, UNHCR, Federal Police, Conare) are displayed in the text. The "adjectivised" numbers are designed to frighten the less attentive reader: "every day, about 250 Venezuelans seek exile in Brazil" (Thomas, 2019, § 5). The emphasis placed in the sentence construction announces the content and tone of the paragraph:

it is the largest migratory flow, across land borders, that the country has ever received. In 2018 alone, approximately 90.000 people fled from the Maduro regime in search of new life on Brazilian soil. Since the worsening of the crisis there, in 2015, more than 170.000 people have left Venezuela with Brazil as their final destination. Last year, the Bolivarian country led a shameful ranking: it surpassed Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq as the nation with the largest number of exiles. In 2018 alone, 341.800 Venezuelans applied for asylum somewhere in the world. (*italics added*) (Thomas, 2019, § 5)

In this case, the numbers represent people. The "shameful ranking" refers to individuals – Venezuelan citizens looking for solutions and resources for a dignified survival – that is no longer possible in their home country. In turn, the comparison of Venezuela with Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq is a heavy criticism, given that the respective countries are dictatorial and authoritarian, and there is existence of terrorism in these countries. The close comparison made between the countries induces the reader to think the same thing about Venezuela. The article highlights: "12% of the population, of 32 million inhabitants, subjected to the Bolivarian regime, has already left the country", "about 38% of the Venezuelan emigrants have chosen Brazil". She adds that of the total of 11.231 individuals formally recognised as refugees in Brazil, 3% are Venezuelans (Thomas, 2019, § 7). However she continues that the true situation is far worse: "to date, around 15.000 Venezuelan immigrants have been transferred to Brazilian cities. But another 16.000 still await, with some hope, for the chance to start their life afresh" (Thomas, 2019, § 11).

There is no reference to the final destination for the other 62% of Venezuelan emigrants who have chosen other countries.

And yet, there is information that shows that 21,000 Venezuelans have already been recognised as refugees in other nations. And data on refugees is also known worldwide. Niusarete Lima, advisor to the Brazilian Ministry of Citizenship, has said that if each of the more than 6,000 municipalities in Brazil welcomed one family, they would not even be noticed (Gortázar, 2019). However, information of this nature, which aims to give perspective to the numbers of the migratory wave, using comparisons with the population, territorial extension and situation in other countries, does not appear in the feature article in question.

By 2018, 3.4 million Venezuelans had fled the country (Thomas, 2019). Brazil is in sixth place, among the nations that received the highest number of requests to receive refugees in 2018, with over 80,000 (Thomas, 2019).

Of course, in a journalistic feature article, it is impossible to address all the aspects of a topic. There are limits imposed by space and scope. But the point of view, focus, approach and tone are not limited by the available space. This is a choice made by *Veja* magazine's journalist. Point of view is a purpose, a guideline, and is not always explicit. It is the proposed perspective, for something that is presented to the reader. Point of view can be presented through the interpretation that is given to how a fact develops over time. The focus is the "direction" to be given to the choice of one – or several – "nuances" of a specific fact. Any subject or theme requires a focus, since it involves a significant number of "nuances" or developments (Vilas-Boas, 1996, pp. 20-21).

There is no confrontation of ideas in *Veja*'s cover story. Nor are any arguments and ideas presented that offer alternative interpretations of the same fact. There is a clear absence of official sources from the Venezuelan government and a contradiction concerning Venezuela's political situation. Aimed at its specific audience, this feature article maintains a conservative position, opposed to the left, whatever the country in question. "Fleeing from a dictatorship: the saga of Venezuelans in Brazil" places the reader in a historical context about migration and Venezuela, presenting points of view that are already known, even to the common reader, given the broad dissemination of the themes. In this way, the reporter explains the reasons for migratory movements:

Venezuela's situation is directly linked to the collapse of a leftist proposal, based on populism and economic irresponsibility. The name of the great villain is undoubtedly Hugo Chávez. Ruler from 1999 to 2013, he inaugurated the failed Bolivarianism, in his histrionic manner. After his death, the Vice President, Nicolás Maduro, took the reins, a sort of clone of his predecessor, in terms of his grimaces and lack of common sense. Owner of the world's largest oil reserves, the country has remained artificially based on the commodity for decades. When the price of oil fell – in 2014 its price fell by 50% -, the fantasy ended. Result: hyperinflation (now 10.000.000%) and lack of access to food and medicines. After a series of protests against the regime, the government

instituted a Constituent Assembly in 2017, to take over the functions of the National Assembly, where the opposition parties had the majority of votes. The outcome was to worsen the crisis: *the dictator gained even more powers*. Amid the chaos of 2018, the deputy Juan Guaidó became leader of the opposition. In January this year, he declared himself president of Venezuela. Donald Trump and President Jair Bolsonaro, along with other leaders around the globe, have declared support for the insurgent. But to no avail. Maduro remains in power to this day. (italics added) (Thomas, 2019, § 8)

“Destroyed by the authoritarian government, Venezuela suffers” (Thomas, 2019, § 9). The crisis in this Latin American country is framed, as if the point of view of the capitalist nations, which oppose the Maduro regime, was naturalised. No further explanation is given of the reasons that led to the economic crisis.

Words that are highlighted in bold nonetheless reinforce the thematic values presented in the feature article: the dictatorship, which is an authoritarian political regime and also an authoritarian form of government, belongs to someone, in this case, Nicolás Maduro. Nicolás Maduro is responsible for the crisis that is being experienced in the country. The situation in Venezuela is unsustainable and people will continue to flee the country. “An agreement must be reached as soon as possible between the two sides fighting for power in Venezuela”, warns American sociologist David Smilde, a senior member of the Washington Office on Latin America. “Unfortunately, Maduro still resists” (Thomas, 2019, § 11). Adverbs are used to reinforce the journalist’s position. And the sources chosen speak from a unilateral perspective.

Apart from Nicolás Maduro, no other Venezuelan politicians are identified in *Veja* magazine’s feature article – all are deleted. Officially, Venezuela is a presidential republic. Taking into account the events of recent years, international organisations and institutions characterise it as a dictatorship, and have imposed sanctions on it.

The problem of blockades and international sanctions, which are extremely relevant to the understanding of the ongoing crisis in Venezuela, is not even mentioned in contrasting terms in *Veja*’s article. The report does not present data from the Human Development Index (HDI) report of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). No mention is made of the participation of multinationals in the Venezuelan oil market, nor of attempts by the United States to interfere in the country’s policy. Nor is reference made to Chavez’s and Maduro’s troubled opposition to US imperialism, or to US opposition to Bolivarian socialism (Lopes, 2013; Sousa Santos, 2017).

Criticism of Venezuela is also achieved through the voices of the characters, who are presented in *Veja*’s discourse. Almost 40% of the article is filled by photographs, taken by Jonne Roriz. These photographs focus on families, with emphasis on their voices. And narratives follow that describe each person’s journey, as well as their current situation. When the members of Venezuelan families are quoted, the journalist humanises and dramatises the report, looking for real effects, by invoking high democratic values, such as individual freedoms, defence of the country, state control and the market economy

(Thomas, 2019). And using rhetorical artifice, the narrator witnesses the stories experienced by the refugees.

"I saw children dying of malnutrition. When I lost my job as a clothes seller, I thought my family might face the same drama. I came to Brazil because I heard that there was no shortage of food here." Arisnelis Castañeda, 28, single mother of five children.

A month ago at the BV8 shelter in Pacaraima, in the north of Roraima, she left with her children, aged between 2 months and 10 years, from the Venezuelan city of San Félix. Her husband had abandoned her and their children. The first leg of the trip was by bus. From Santa Elena, in Venezuela, indigenous people helped them cross the Brazilian border.

"We are looking for a future for our children" says Roselis Figueira, 33, with her husband, Ricardo Moreno, 30, and son Miguel, 9.

"I was desperate when my daughter was born and I couldn't be with my wife. Now we are going to rebuild our life together". Luis Hernandez, 29 years old.

"She is so delicate," said Hernandez, tears in her eyes, when he was reunited with his 1-month-old daughter in Dourados (MS), after three months separated from her family. (Thomas, 2019)

Veja's discourse presents several positive examples, that praise Brazil, such as the actions of the Brazilian military, Armed Forces and Commander-in-Chief, Jair Bolsonaro, as well as the food processing company Seara, that has employed 420 Venezuelans in Dourados (Thomas, 2019), and even the "billionaire Carlos Wizard Martin" (Thomas, 2019, § 9). At the same time, the article criticises Nicolás Maduro's policy, suggesting a mistaken patriotism, which traces the dichotomy of good *versus* evil, capitalism *versus* socialism:

Operation Acolhida (Operation Welcome)⁸, coordinated by the Armed Forces since March 2018, combines federal government agencies and UN agencies, with the aim of providing housing, food and work for those fleeing from Nicolás Maduro's dictatorship – and the misery that affects 90% of Venezuela's population. (Thomas, 2019, § 1)

The [Brazilian] Army acts as a kind of Human Resources department: it takes pictures, prepares the curriculum and records the skills of each person. (Thomas, 2019, § 9)

⁸ For more information, see <http://www.eb.mil.br/operacao-acolhida>

We also see, in *Veja*'s feature article, Carlos Wizard Martins as one of the cited sources and a character of the magazine's next article (Thomas, 2019). Once again, the relationship of dominant versus subordinate appears as a discursive category, suggesting that capitalism is the only solution to social issues. Everything suggests, in fact, that the cover story has served as a background for the article about the "billionaire who embraced the refugee cause" – Carlos Wizard Martins.

These and other passages mark the differences between "us", a democratic and welcoming country, and "them", a dictatorial and miserable country: "venezuelans who crossed the border with Brazil to escape the crisis that plagues their country. These families are undergoing an authentic odyssey" (Thomas, 2019, § 2); "on the FAB's Hércules flight, nobody suffered from this situation". "Brazil has the task of continuing to serve as a safe haven (...) it is a humanitarian duty and makes us great as a nation" (Thomas, 2019, § 11).

The report certainly feeds the general public's curiosity. But it doesn't go any further than that. It fails to provide more in-depth analysis of the subject matter, which would enable readers to form an objective opinion. In conclusion, the article is partisan and lacks data to illustrate the complexity of the political issues associated to Venezuelan migration.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the paradox of the relationship between the self and the other, the more distant we are from that which we identify as "us", the more the discourses will be tied to extreme, segregationist, intolerant and dichotomous logics in relation to the migrant, refugee, foreigner, other – reflecting an order of meaning that is no longer promising, because no words redeem it. Man having ceased to be a "animal that may promise" (Martins, 2002a, 2009, 2011/2017), as Nietzsche (1887/1988, p. II) defined it, because his word is no longer able to make promises, has produced, in our epoch, a transition from the regime of the word to the regime of the technological image. And this transition has resulted in a crisis of truth, and the "impoverishment of experience" (Benjamin, 1933/2005), which in the new "sensological order" (Perniola, 1993), is exhausted through excitement, effervescence, euphoria and simulacrum – wherein the spectacle is the mere "guardian of sleep" of reason, as suggested by Guy Debord (1967/1991, p. 16).

This transition has left the human community "in suffering of purpose" (Lyotard, 1993, p. 93; Martins, 2002a, 2002b), as profound changes have occurred in the perception apparatus. This mixes together the influence of phenomena "such as the expropriation of sociality, immobility and deterritorialisation, the loss of historical consciousness and the dissolution of collective memory" and of opposite phenomena such as "naturalisation of culture, intensification of social ties, localism, tribalism and hedonism" (Martins, 2007, p. 6). In effect, the figures "of project, promise, historicity and purpose" are increasingly replaced by figures "where a permanent haemorrhage of meaning continues

to decline the theme of the end, whether it be the end of history and truth, or the end of the symbolic sphere and mediation" (Martins, 2007, p. 6).

In other studies, we have confirmed that the presence of migrants and refugees has been narrated as a threat to normality and social stability. Perpetuation of this discursive regime functions, in effect, as a mechanism of exclusion, generating new fears and insecurities (Marcondes & Martins, 2019). In the current study, we conclude that *Veja* magazine has reproduced a hegemonic, reductionist, conservative and nationalist discourse. The explanations, the linguistic options, the statistics and the choice of sources close to the Brazilian government indicate what is appropriate for the population to know. In *Veja*'s feature article, other perspectives that could contradict those presented, and that justified being highlighted through journalistic rigour are ignored, or even silenced,

Veja's discursive silence is exclusive, because it differentiates between "us" and "them", the dominant and the dominated (Weber, 2004), the powerful and the underlings (Spivak, 1985). This regime of the gaze is concretised through a discourse that aims to erase the other. It is a discourse that is part of an order that reduces everything to unity, leaving no room for otherness (Martins, 2019).

The dichotomies that permeate this discourse, between the north (centrally located and developed) and the south (peripheral and subaltern) are repeated in the Latin American context. There is sharp criticism of the Venezuelan regime, and by contrast Brazilian democracy is highlighted, without taking into account the problems that Brazil is facing in terms of threats to freedom of expression and democracy. The consequences of this regime of the gaze include reinforcement of cultural disparities and the denial of differences. Foreigners, migrants, refugees continue to be presented in the dominant discourse as subordinates, victims of a left-wing dictatorship. Given that the media discourse reproduces the hegemonic point of view, the others remain effectively deleted in the very country that they chose to be their homeland.

The social representations that media outlets provide of others and of themselves concretise effects of power, which interfere in the construction of the current worldview, since they produce the cultural unconscious that naturalises capitalist supremacy, reproducing its values and hierarchical relations.

Veja magazine's narrative about the crisis in Venezuela concretises discursive practices of assimilation of difference and exclusion of the other. The view taken is to emphasise the dangers of leftist governments. The "other", who is the subordinate, gains visibility through the voice of *Veja*, which only reproduces hegemonic thinking. *Veja* does not provide an opening to listening to plural voices, which enable a broad understanding of the phenomenon of migration of Venezuelans to Brazil, which might foster the creation of new perspectives for the inclusion and socialisation of the migrants as new social actors.

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REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS IN PUBLIC CAMPAIGNS: BEING A VOICE FOR THE VOICELESS

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the persuasive potential of public communication campaigns on refugees and migrants. From the analysis of the rhetoric to supports (n=62), it is concluded that the discourse adopts a rhetorical tactic based on the Aristotelian proposal: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*. The results indicate: 1) the use of the credibility of the source and the active subject, constructing the impression that they are worthy of trust; 2) at the level of *pathos*, the instigation of the affective dimension, motivating, potentially and with positive value, empathy, compassion, exercise of reflection, recognition of the error of prejudices, weight of responsibility, impetus to act and to solve problems, gratification for helping and awareness of the contribution to something positive and, with negative value, frustration and guilt; 3) at the level of *logos*, the strength of realism –, based on statistical data, facts, examples and personalization –, stylistic resources such as metaphor, the use of the question mark, and the diversity of creativity.

KEYWORDS

refugees; migrants; public campaigns; discourse; rhetoric

REFUGIADOS E MIGRANTES EM CAMPANHAS PÚBLICAS: DAR VOZ A QUEM NÃO TEM VOZ

RESUMO

Este artigo foca-se no potencial persuasivo das campanhas de comunicação pública sobre refugiados e migrantes. A partir da análise da retórica a suportes (n=62), conclui-se que o discurso adota uma tática retórica assente na proposta aristotélica: *ethos*, *pathos* e *logos*. Os resultados indicam: 1) o uso da credibilidade da fonte e do sujeito ativo, construindo a impressão de que são dignos de confiança; 2) ao nível do *pathos*, a instigação da dimensão afetiva, motivando, potencialmente e com valor positivo, a empatia, o compadecimento, o exercício de reflexão, o reconhecimento do erro dos preconceitos, o peso da responsabilidade, o ímpeto a agir e a resolver problemas, a gratificação por ajudar e a consciencialização do contributo para algo positivo e, com valor negativo, a frustração e a culpa; 3) ao nível do *logos*, a força do realismo – alicerçada nos dados estatísticos, factos, exemplos e personalizações –, dos recursos estilísticos como a metáfora, do uso do ponto de interrogação e da riqueza e multiformismo da criatividade.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

refugiados; migrantes; campanhas públicas; discurso; retórica

INTRODUCTION

History witnesses the highest levels of displacement ever recorded in the world, with the number of refugees growing by more than 50% in the last 10 years, and half of those numbers are children (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees – UNHCR, 2019). More than 68.5 million of people have been forced to leave their homes due to conflict, persecution or widespread violence (UNHCR, 2019). 25.4 million of those people are refugees, while 40 million are displaced internally in their countries and 3.1 million are asylum seekers. Filippo Grandi, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2019), says that we are currently positioned at a situation, where success in managing forced displacement requires a new and broader approach so that countries and communities do not have to deal with the problem individually.

While refugees face a vulnerable situation due to a lack of protection provided by their own countries, by being threatened and persecuted, international migrants have voluntarily chosen to live abroad, mainly being motivated by economic factors, thus being able, if desired, to return safely to their country of origin (UNHCR, 2018, p. 10).

The “quest for durable solutions” sets up a framework which would prioritize a peaceful and dignifying the reconstruction of the lives of refugees, ensuring their rights. For example, the UNHCR (2018), proposes three solutions: voluntary repatriation, local integration, and resettlement (p. 11).

This study is inserted within this thematic and contextual framework, committing to understand the persuasive potential of public communication campaigns involving refugees and migrants. Under a logic of “being a voice for the voiceless”, this study seeks to understand the power of communication in raising awareness of social and humanitarian causes, such as refugees and migrants. As such, this study is based on the theory of rhetoric, embedded in the teachings of Aristotle.

MULTIPLE DISCOURSES ON MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

The public sphere is the stage for multiple discourses, assumed as “creation of understandings” (Warren, 1999, p. 171). Habermas (1989) suggests that the ideals of the public sphere, as open and free among equals, shall be considered as characteristics of modern democracies. The author stresses, however, that a commercialized public sphere induces a distorted communication, as the discussions are driven by interests instead of reasoned open arguments, which weaken democracy (Habermas, 1989). In this context, Moloney (2006) suggests a redefinition of the public sphere, provided that the ideal proposed by Habermas is utopian, mentioning that we now live in a “persuasive sphere”, where citizens must understand a myriad of messages about the merits of a wide range of subjects, policies and products.

Jensen (2001) suggests that the public sphere should be treated as an analytical concept, referring to the discursive processes in a complex network of institutionalised people, associations and organizations (p. 136). The author remarks that a) the public sphere is more frequently guided by disagreement, instead of agreement due to the

multiple discourses that compete with each other; b) as much conflicting the positions can be, it is common to launch these discourses as issues of common concern, and thus of interest to everybody; c) agents working in the “complex network” aim to expose their points of view through the media and forums; d) public discourses represent a civilized way of openly disagreeing on essential issues worthy of concern; e) the discourses are “very rarely conclusive”, but they constitute a complex source of social power, trust, legitimacy for the agents; f) citizens, as members of society, simultaneously play sets of roles or functions; g) social expectations change over time as a result of the interaction between discourses in the public sphere (Jensen, 2001, p. 136).

Media texts may help us to build our consciousness and provide the notion of living, on what is right and what is wrong (Berger, 2012, p. 59).

In the context of the image on refugees, the media are capable of influence audiences through reports, frameworks, language and decisions. In this sense, victimization and humanitarian environments can benefit the image of refugees and their acceptance in the host society (Horsti, 2008; Van Gorp, 2005), while the focusing and linking the problem of entry groups to illegality, terrorism and crime (Bennett, ter Wal, Lipinski, Fabiszak & Krzyzanowski, 2013; El Refaie, 2001; Goodman & Speer 2007; Ibrahim, 2005).

Goodman and Speer (2007) show this categorisation as a powerful political and rhetorical strategy for participants discussing asylum, trying to impose their own classification systems during the discussion, and in doing so, justify the (more or less) harsh treatment of asylum seekers. In the same way, El Refaie (2001), while analysing reports from Austrian newspapers published in January 1998, about Kurdish asylum seekers in Italy, have claimed that the repeated use of metaphors, applied to Kurdish asylum seekers in relatively fixed lexical and syntactic forms (e.g., “water”, “criminals”, “invading army”), and the transversality of this approach in newspapers seems to indicate a “natural” way of describing.

Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017) identify that the news narrative, characterising refugees as threat to the economy and security, by perpetuating their image as economic burden and threatening the prosperity and well-being of the host country, when referring to large amounts of money (“saving borders”), is the most dominant frameworks for coverage on refugee and asylum issues between January 2015 and January 2016 in six Austrian newspapers (n=10606). By contrast, the humanitarian frameworks, highlighting the voluntary help of the host society and its contribution to a welcoming culture, thus requiring a humanitarian attitude (“saving people”) in public discourse and background information on the situation of refugees, are provided to a lesser extent degree.

By “revising newspaper articles and readers’ opinions” published in Windsor, Canada, in 2007 and 2008, Gilbert (2013, pp. 827-829) remarks that: a) Mexican refugees are codified as the “other illegal, criminal and fraudulent individuals”; b) to raise the flow of refugees to a level of “crisis” and to perpetuate positional superiority over refugee claimants, three rhetorical devices are predominantly used in media discourses: lexicons, the numbers game and expert/authority legitimation.

Press coverage of refugee and asylum issues uses a metaphorical discourse associated to large quantities or elementary forces, such as water and floods (Baker & McEnery, 2005; El Refaie, 2001; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). Immigration is described as impotence against the magnitude of people who have recently arrived, as well as the costs or expenses associated to services provided to refugees. Metaphors used in media portray refugees and asylum seekers as anonymous and even as dehumanized groups (Esses, Medianu & Lawson, 2013), leading to bipolarization (*us versus* them). In this narrative style, the refugees and asylum seekers are projected as deviants or strangers to the hosting country, degenerating their cultural identity, language and values (Gilbert, 2013).

Bennet (2005) and Hickerson and Dunsmore (2016, pp. 3, 12) regret that stories often “float freely” from underlying social or political contexts, suggesting that contextual data can neutralize the dehumanization and polarization of the group.

A report by Otto Brenner Stiftung (OBS) reveals that, after reviewing thousands of articles published in German national and regional newspapers between February 2015 and March 2016, the one-sided coverage of German media a) provides a free pass to Angela Merkel’s open-door policy – almost universally praised by the German media; b) deepens, on the one hand, the ideological gap between liberals, and on the other deepens this gap between nationalists and conservatives, and; c) fails to represent the legitimate concerns of Germans alarmed by the flow (Chazan, 2017). The study reveals that by the end of autumn 2015, practically no editorial reflects any concern, fear and resistance of a growing fringe of the population and, when it does reflect, it adopts a didactic in a “disdainful tone”. Alternatively, the journalists reproduce the points of view and slogans of the political elite (Chazan, 2017). The report emphasizes that the *willkommenskultur* (“welcoming culture”) has become a magical word, used by certain media, to turn “ordinary people” into good Samaritans, thus encouraging them to do acts of kindness to newcomers (Chazan, 2017). The turning point for this candour or sweetness of the German media occurred at the end of 2015 during the mass sexual assaults against women in the city of Cologne (Chazan, 2017).

A comparative study “How do media across Europe cover migrants and refugees?” where media coverage of 17 countries gathering 2417 articles published for six intermittent weeks between August 2015 and March 2018 was analysed, observes “fundamentally different [journalistic] attitudes” among the countries, such as Germany, Italy and Greece, and the other countries which made part of the study (Fengler & Kreutler, 2020, p. 28). This trio treats refugees as domestic issue, reflecting the distinction of the three countries as preferred destinations for migrants and refugees, while the other 14 countries tend to treat this theme as an external issue. In international terms, the differences show that the media in central and eastern Europe are more focused on problems with migrants and refugees and on protests against their presence, while the media in western Europe emphasize the situation of these demographic categories and the support provided. The lack of transparency towards the public regarding the history and legal status of those who attempt to enter Europe as a migrant or refugee, with coverage

dominated by political debates and political actors (45%) is one of the problems that has been identified. Only a third of the articles (33%) stand out by clearly distinguishing refugees with a legally protected status, and migrants whose departure from their countries of origin was motivated by economic, social, educational and other reasons. The voice of migrants and refugees tends to remain silent.

Within the scope of the abovementioned project, we shall propose that the European media, as representatives of migrants and refugees, have been following the example of the United States of America (USA) (Fengler & Kreutler, 2020). The articles published by US press show a particularly high number of migrants and refugees cited as probably as a result of Anglo-Saxon reporting traditions and the code of ethics (by the Society of Professional Journalists), which advocates to give “a voice to voiceless” (Fengler & Kreutler, 2020, p. 42). Within Europe, the Spanish media come closest to this practice (Fengler & Kreutler, 2020).

The current literature on refugees does not recognize the relevance of a transparent, appropriate and consistent information for the functioning of the asylum process. However, when directly questioned, “what the refugees seem to want most is information, credible signals that maintain transparency between them and host state” (Carlson, Jakli & Linos, 2018a, pp. 568-569). Carlson Jakli and Linos (2018b) argue that inadequate dissemination of information provided by governments, regional and international organizations and aid groups can jeopardize the fulfilment of their policies. The argument used by the author relies upon poor information management that encourages distrust of the government and aid organizations and increases the demand for smuggling. In order to evaluate this argument, the researchers conducted more than 80 discussions with migrants and refugees in Greece, 25 semi-structured interviews with aid workers and civil servants and analysed weekly rumours produced by the non-governmental organization (NGO) Internews. The researches have concluded that governments shall prioritize effective communication and policy transparency, especially in contexts of crisis.

Brekke and Thorbjørnsrud (2018), by focusing on the Norwegian Facebook campaign, Stricter Asylum Regulations in Norway, and by using the interview and case study, offer a behind-the-scenes analysis of an ongoing attempt to manage migration via online. The authors have concluded that the crisis can stimulate innovation.

Yet, insufficient attention has been channelled to government communication efforts towards migrants. In the political realm, discussions have been focused on how government communication towards potential asylum seekers can influence arrival patterns (Brekke, 2004). In receiving countries across Europe, these efforts focus on “reputation management”, i.e. on not rendering them much attractive to asylum seekers than neighbouring countries.

PUBLIC AND RHETORIC COMMUNICATION CAMPAIGNS

Public communication campaigns can be understood as purposeful attempts to inform, persuade or motivate behavioural changes in a relatively large and well-defined

audience, usually for non-commercial benefits for the individual and/or society and in a given period of time, via organized communication activities, involving media and often complemented by interpersonal support (Rice & Atkin, 1989, p. 7).

The influential message, conveyed within the scope of campaigns, must have some qualities or resources, such as (Atkin & Rice, 2013, p. 9): 1) credibility, exposing the reliability and competence of the source and convincing evidence; 2) the engaging way of presenting style and ideas through the combination of the captivating substance and the attractive and fun stylistic execution; 3) the personally engaging and relevant selection of content and style, so that recipients consider the behavioural recommendation applicable to their situation and needs; 4) comprehensibility, in the sense that the presentation of the content must be simple, explicit and detailed and, consequently, comprehensive and comprehensible to the recipients; 5) the motivational incentives of the message, which are the bonuses that the recipients can obtain by fulfilling the recommendations in the message.

Rhetoric deals with communication with persuasive purposes (Aristotle, 2005, pp. 95-96). Aristotle enunciates three “proofs of persuasion”: a) those that reside in the moral character of the issuer, leaving the impression that he is worthy of faith (*ethos*); b) the derivatives of the emotion that the speech arouses in the public (*pathos*), understanding the emotion as “any mental experience with high intensity and high hedonic content (pleasure/displeasure)” (Cabanac, 2002, p. 69), being able to produce different psychological, behavioural and cognitive changes; and c) those that focus on what the speech demonstrates (*logos*) (pp. 96-97). Hartelius and Browning (2008) state that *ethos* is related to the public’s trust and credibility conferred on the speaker (p. 29). Green (2004) argues that the arguments related to *pathos* are related to aroused emotions and can provoke powerful social action (p. 659). The *logos* refers to the clarity and usefulness of an argument, presented in a rational and logical manner (Holt & Macpherson, 2010, p. 26). Ting (2018) asserts that the use of data/evidence and examples is part of the substance of logical and rational discourse (p. 238). Still in relation to *logos*, stylistic devices can make the speaker’s thoughts concrete, helping him to communicate more effectively and clearly (Corbett, 2004, p. 143). It can be said that *pathos* and *logos* are linked, respectively, to affectivity and realism.

Applying a theoretical framework that involves hospitality values and using the “power of contact”, Gallner (2018) conducts an investigation in Nebraska, USA, associated with a social media campaign, called “Room at our table”. This is based on a series of web-episodes that use the psychological concept of sharing meals as a community-building activity, in order to change the perspectives of hospitality towards refugees, by reducing the implicit bias. Psychologically, the aversion to welcoming refugees, too, may result from the threat of identity and the desire to protect resources within a particular group. The researcher recognizes that the campaign’s effectiveness also depends on more emotionally suggestive images. The campaign photos with the refugee family were perceived as stagnant and artificial by several participants in the study, showing ethnicity as the first characteristic noticed, which goes against the campaign’s foundational

values. The values of hospitality would be better expressed through active images: showing the family how to cook a meal, to welcome them into their home. The author, emphasizing that the values of hospitality and the sharing of resources can be a solid basis for a broader pro-refugee campaign, says that, with some improvements, the experience can be applied in future studies, in convergence with the existing initiatives.

LeBuhn's (2018) study is committed to understanding barriers to empathy in the context of humanitarian images (shock effect, positive images and digital narrative), focusing on five photos and seven digital narrative campaigns in three format categories (short film, series of photos and documentary on the web). It concludes that, while in the past the "shock effect" and the "positive image" dominate the images of humanitarian work, appealing to guilt and gratitude, the digital narrative adopts narrative devices to inspire more thoughtful actions and sets up a space to share refugee stories (p. 58), exploring humanization.

The use of the positive image in the context of humanitarian communication allows: a) personalization of the sufferers, allowing the viewer to concentrate on them as actors; b) suggests to the donor that his contribution is tangible in improving a life; c) awakens the spectator's "modal imagination"; d) avoids the spectator's feeling of helplessness to help the distant sufferer (spectator effect); e) avoids resistance to the depressing nature of campaigns (boomerang effect) (Chouliaraki, 2010; LeBuhn, 2018, p. 23). The boomerang effect is linked to the psychological theory of reactance, emphasizing that, when exposed to humanitarian photographs, spectators, if exposed to repeated negative images, tend to offer resistance to them (Chouliaraki, 2010). However, the use of the positive image may have setbacks: a) although they seem to empower the victims, by portraying them with dignity and self-determination, the images run the risk of simultaneously emptying or seconding the condition of effective victim; b) the loss of the construction of a real need, because, when reflecting that "everything has already been solved", positive photographs fail to cover the complex dynamics of the power of aid – which is necessary –, motivating the inaction of the observer (Chouliaraki, 2010; LeBuhn, 2018, p. 24).

Västfjäll, Slovic and Mayorga (2015) explain what are the emotional and motivational consequences of "not helping everyone". In a series of experiments, they demonstrate that decisions to help are strongly motivated by perceived effectiveness and that the negative effect of not being able to help children, perceived as unsolvable, reduces the "warm glow" of the positive feeling associated with helping children. This means that information about lives that we cannot save can induce a negative effect and discourage the help of those potentially saved by dampening positive feelings. This lack of motivation due to not being able to help children beyond our reach can be a form of non-rational "pseudo-efficacy". "Pseudo-efficacy" refers to the affective phenomenon that positive feelings about the child who can be helped are mitigated by negative feelings associated with children who cannot be helped (Västfjäll et al., 2015). Essentially, humans are connected to help one person at a time and can be discouraged from doing so if they feel that there are more people who cannot help.

Focusing on the persuasion strategies used by the NGO Save the Children, Zarzycka (2015) notes that the face of a needy child is a visual trope that is at the forefront of spectacle politics in emergency news and aid initiatives. Images of children's faces work on affective and ethical levels, appealing to compassion and a universal human rights discourse. Recognizing the cultural fascination with images of children, the author explores how the campaign configures donor financial aid to the beneficiary as affective and not economic. Children's faces can create remorse between aggressors, dialogue between public policy makers and general empathy among the public (p. 29). In the competitive environment of today's media, children function as moral referents (p. 29). Using a single child as a face of need, problem, war or injustice, configuring "the face of collateral damage" (Thorne, 2003, p. 261), characterizes the rhetoric of photojournalism and NGO campaigns. On the other hand, the smiling faces of children are a visual cliché that acts against recognizing the urgency of their situation (Chouliaraki, 2010).

Also Jong and Dannecker (2017) recognize the potential of the affective dimension: they state that it can exceed the management of the "I Am a Migrant" campaign, inspiring political solidarity and that, as affection is a "crucial mechanism" to change public opinion, the campaign puts, in the foreground, testimonies and narratives about evidence and knowledge, narrative genres most classically associated with migration management.

Exploring the benign and evil power of the visual in the racial framework of the European refugee crisis, Burrell and Hörschelmann (2018) bring an understanding of the political possibilities that the visual narrative offers in changing "lines of sight" in an increasingly anti-refugee climate vitriolic. Analysing graphic narratives created by the NGO PositiveNegatives about the experiences of Syrian refugees in Scandinavia, they argue that the modality and content of these narratives provoke encounter and empathy, neglecting the endemic racism incorporated in media discussions about the refugee crisis and offering new and mildly radical ways to resist the inhuman vein of conventional media discourses.

Studies, such as Jong and Dannecker (2017) and Pécoud (2010), have revealed some paradoxes. De Jong and Dannecker (2017) analyse the objective, audience, form and content of the "I Am a Migrant" campaign, from the International Organization of Migration (IOM). They suggest that the campaign should target public opinion in Western host countries and that the campaign website, as a platform for the voices of migrants, is not antithetical to the IOM's mission of managing migration under a logic of productivity and rationality, but rather at its logical extension. They also show that the narratives of migrants presented not only confirm, but also undermine the supposed naturalness of their strong ties with countries of origin. Also, Pécoud (2010), when comparing the rhetoric of global policy on migration management and the practice of information campaigns, found two paradoxes: 1) at the level of global policy, migration is presented as positive, but information campaigns analysed emphasize its dark side, being still stuck in the logic of migration control, instead of productive management; 2) between rhetoric and action, there were no "initiatives to promote the usefulness of

migration among the population of destination countries”, despite political documents articulating that “anti-immigrant feelings are fuelled by the public’s ignorance about the usefulness of migrants” (p. 186).

METHODOLOGICAL OPTIONS

The question “how do public communication campaigns on refugees and migrants rhetorically build their persuasive potential?” guides the present study. It seeks to understand the persuasive potential of print media used in campaigns on refugees and migrants, in order to gather knowledge at the level of rhetoric. To better fulfil this objective, the rhetoric analysis technique is chosen, which focuses more on how the message is presented, such as form, metaphors, argumentative structure and choices (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 5), calling as analytical dimensions the rhetorical appeals proposed by Aristotle: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*.

The *corpus* consists of 62 media, based on the research, carried out in March 2020, with the words “refugee”, “refugees”, “migrant” and “migrants”, on two websites – Ads of the World (AOW) and Campaigns of the World (COTW) –, chosen for the following reasons: Ads of the World (AOW) is “the world’s largest creative advertising index, featuring work from across the globe”¹ and Campaigns of the World (COTW) is the “number one source of news for creative professionals”². All supports, which resulted from the research, were analysed. The bulk of the *corpus* came from the Ads of the World website.

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

ETHOS – BEING “WORTHY OF FAITH”

All advertising entities, such as UNHCR, Save the Children, International Medical Assistance (AMI), Médecins Sans Frontières, Building Resources Across Communities (BRAC), enjoy credibility and reliability. The 2020 Edelman confidence barometer highlights that today, people trust based on two attributes: competence (keeping promises) and ethical behaviour (adopting the right behaviour and commitment to improving society). Among the results, NGOs lead ethical behaviour (Edelman, 2020). UNHCR, for example, benefits from the status of being a United Nations agency, with a mandate specifically to protect refugees. Almost 70 years old, he has already been awarded two Nobel prizes, in 1954 and 1981 (The Nobel Prize, 2020), and with the Prince of Asturias Awards for International Cooperation, in 1991.

Social-Bee (2019) explores the examples of famous refugees (Albert Einstein, Freddie Mercury, Marlene Dietrich) to show that prejudices are wrong. It attests to the credibility of the active subject, stating: “Albert Einstein was not only an excellent physicist and a Nobel laureate – but also a refugee”³, “Freddie Mercury was not only an exceptional

¹ Available at <https://www.instagram.com/adsoftheworldnyc/?hl=pt>

² Available at <https://campaignsoftheworld.com/>

³ Retrieved from https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/socialbee_spot_the_refugee

singer and record producer – but also a refugee”⁴, “Marlene Dietrich was not only a film icon and a glamorous artist – but also a refugee”⁵.

The photographic collection, by Gregg Segal (Figure 1), used in the UNHCR (2020) campaign, also explores the credibility of an award-winning filmmaker.



Figure 1: Ad campaign by UNHCR

Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/unhcr_undaily_bread

The “Undaily Bread” campaign, that of BRAC (2020) and that of UNHCR (2015), at the level of *ethos*, exploits the credibility of the source by using real refugees as examples, identifying them by name (UNHCR: Nathalia Rivero, Yosiahanny Chiquinquirá, Arianny Chirinos and Williams Freitas; BRAC: Romana & Harisa⁶, Tasmin⁷, Samira⁸; UNHCR: Hannah – Figure 2) and telling the stories leading to their condition.



Figure 2: Ad campaign by UNHCR

Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/unhcr_life_of_hannah

⁴ Retrieved from https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/socialbee_spot_the_refugee

⁵ Retrieved from https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/socialbee_spot_the_refugee

⁶ Retrieved from https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/brac_romana_harisa

⁷ Retrieved from https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/brac_tasmin

⁸ Retrieved from https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/brac_samira

The UNHCR campaign (2016) also tells real stories of courage to survive: that of Rudy Krejčí, who “galloped for freedom in a wooden coffin under a coal cart”, that of Josef Hlavatý, who “flew over the iron curtain on a hang glider with his three-year-old son” and that of Robert Ospald, who “crossed the border riding deadly high-tension wires. Looking down, he thought of everyone who was shot there before him” (Figure 3).



Figure 3: Ad campaigns by UNHCR

Source: <https://campaignsoftheworld.com/print/unhcr-we-were-the-refugees-once/>

PATHOS – AROUSING REACTIONS AND EMOTIONS

The palette of emotions and reactions potentially provoked is diverse, ranging from a) empathy (“we were once refugees”, UNHCR, 2016a; “ignoring refugees is ignoring our own history”, 2016b; “refugees make terrifying, full journeys of dangers that are often fatal for many of them”, Nigeria for World Refugee Day, 2019; “for all refugees, living is already winning”, UNHCR, 2017; “you never run away voluntarily”, UNHCR, 2009b); b) recognition of the error of prejudice, trembling of stereotypes (“the most challenging barrier for refugees is our head”, Caritas, 2016); c) confrontation with the dimension of a problem and frustration (disappearance of 10.000 refugee children); d) compassion (personalized stories); e) impetus to help and participate in actions of national collection, call to action and resolution (“we must make this a thing of the past”, Save the Children, 2009); f) gratification or satisfaction for providing help; g) reflection exercise (“refugees would like to have the same problems as you”, UNHCR, 2009a; “how much do we really need to copy?”, *Der Tagesspiegel*, 2017); h) awareness of the contribution to something positive (“your signature can silence oppression”, Carta Capital and the NGO Migrafix, 2017); i) the weight of responsibility (“soon time will be our greatest oppressor”, UNHCR, 2011).

Assuming that empathy is the capacity to perceive the internal frame of reference of the other with precision and with his emotional components and meanings, as if he were him, but without ever losing the condition “as if” (Rogers, 1959, pp. 210-211), it can be identified that several campaigns may awaken this socio-emotional capacity.

UNHCR (2016), with the slogan “we were already refugees” (Figure 3), calls for an understanding of the other’s emotional frame (the refugee). Seeking to revive the common experience, the UNHCR campaign (2016b) explores the slogan “to ignore refugees is to ignore our own history” and uses old photographs (Rotterdam – Figure 9, Sicily – Figure 10, Paris – Figure 11) and recent ones, in order to show the permanence of

the refugee and migration phenomenon. Santinho (2015) also corroborates this idea by saying that “we were also the others. We have also been refugees”. This communion of experiences allows us to put ourselves in the other’s shoes.



Figure 4: Ad campaigns by UNHCR

Source: <https://www.adsoftheworld.com/campaign/unhcr-africa-10-2016>

Several phrases can arouse empathy, such as: “refugees make terrifying journeys, full of dangers that are often fatal for many of them” (World Refugee Day, 2019 – Figure 5); “the girls’ two brothers and parents were shot dead. Romana and Harisa were then attacked with machetes” (ad campaign by BRAC); “The village of Tasmin was destroyed and all men were slaughtered” (ad campaign by BRAC); “The village of Samira was set on fire... they fled to the forest where they were shot..., but the baby drowned” (ad campaign by BRAC); “it is frightening to think that today’s children are still forced to work in factories, employed as prostitutes or do not have access to clean water” (Save the Children, 2009 – Figure 6); “for all refugees, living is already winning... their dangerous journey; “in 2024, athletes will swim/sail/run/row/jump/fight/walk to win. Every day refugees swim/sail/run/row/jump/fight/walk to live” (La Cimade, 2017 – Figure 7); “you never run away voluntarily. Nobody chooses to give up everything, leave their home to make a long and dangerous journey, in order to seek asylum in a foreign land” (UNHCR, 2009 – Figure 8); “refugees need real help” (Amnesty International, 2015 – Figure 9); “I used to sleep to calm my hunger, but whenever I woke up, the nightmare returned”; “my pain never mattered, because nothing hurts more than the children’s hunger”; “we left our country. We left our home. We left our life. Only hunger came with us”; “I lost the desire to play, because now my only desire is to eat” (Figure 1). This motivating trend of empathy corroborates the result of Burrell and Hörschelmann (2018) that visual narratives instigate encounter and empathy.

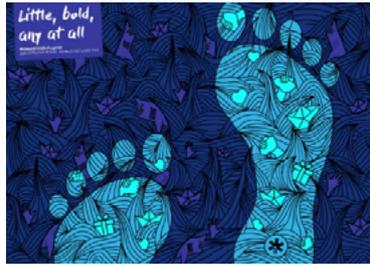


Figure 5: Ad campaign by Onewildcard for World Refugee Day 2019
Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/world_refugee_day_safe_steps



Figure 6: Ads by Save the Children Fund
Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/save_the_children_child_war_refuge

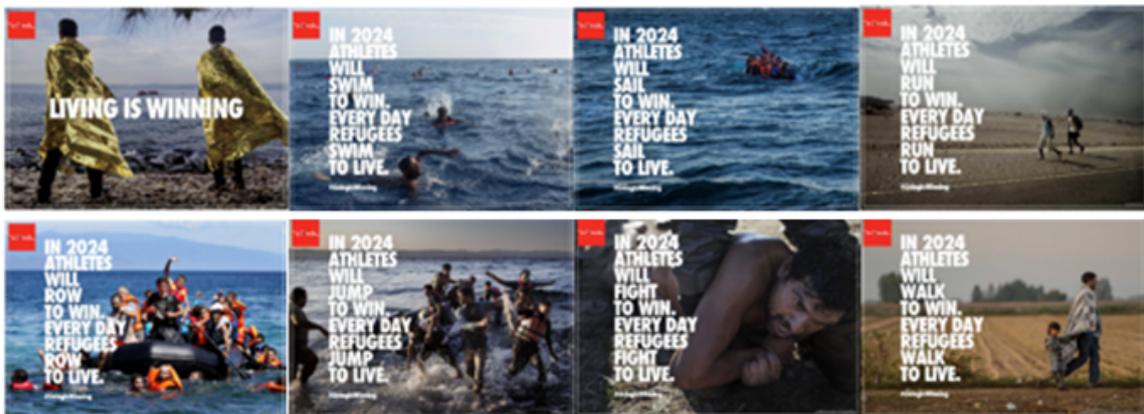


Figure 7: Ad campaigns by La Cimade
Source: <https://www.adsoftheworld.com/campaign/la-cimade-josiane-09-2017>



Figure 8: Ad campaign by UNHCR

Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/unhcr_matches



Figure 9: Ad by Amnesty International

Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/amnesty_international_refugees_in_europe

Compassion, too, can be aroused by describing personalized stories.

The reflection exercise is evident in phrases, such as: “refugees would like to have the same problems as you” (UNHCR, 2009a – Figure 10); “how much do we really need to copy?” (Der Tagesspiegel, 2017 – Figure 11); “facing death in a war zone? Escape, but leave the one you love behind? For many refugees, the choice is between horrible or worse (UNHCR, 2012 – Figures 12).



Figure 10: Ad campaigns by UNHCR

Source: <https://www.adsoftheworld.com/campaign/unhcr-yr-11-2009>



Figure 11: Ad campaign by Der Tagesspiegel

Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/der_tagesspiegel_refugees



Figure 12: Ad campaigns by UNHCR

Source: <https://www.adsoftheworld.com/campaign/unhcr-yr-09-2012>

The recognition of the error of prejudice (Ads by Social-Bee) and the shudder of stereotypes (“the most challenging barrier for refugees is our head”, Caritas, 2016 – Figure 13) are also motivated.

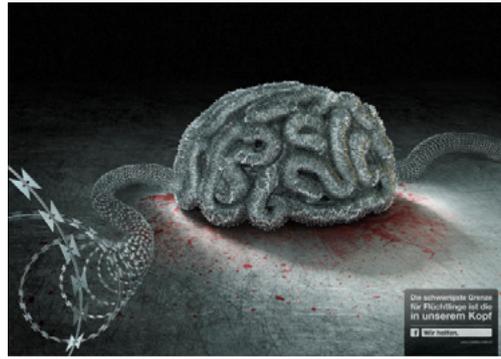


Figure 13: Ad campaign by Caritas Austria, DDB Wien, ViennaPaint
Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/caritas_barbed_wire

Feeling the weight of responsibility is constructed, for example, through the phrase: “soon time will be our greatest oppressor”, UNHCR, 2011 – Figure 14).



Figure 14: Ad campaigns by UNHCR
Source: <https://www.adsoftheworld.com/campaign/unhcr-fcb-03-2011>

There are campaigns that encourage the impetus to help and participate in national collection actions (Figure 15) and that call for action and problem solving, using phrases such as: “we must make this a thing of the past” (Save the Children, 2009 – Figure 16); “a small donation at response.brac.net will help to rebuild your life” (ads by BRAC); “Refugees need real help” (Figure 9); “everyone who can afford to do this, no matter how small” (Figure 5); “help us on this final frontier. Donate now” (Figure 17).

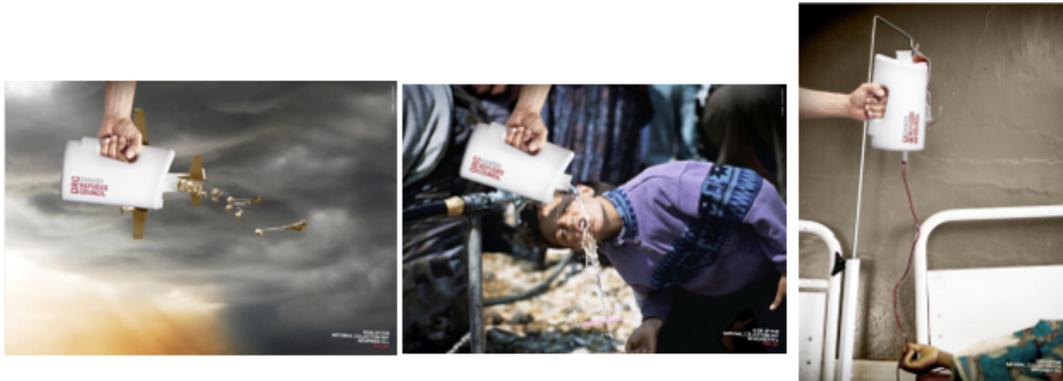


Figure 15: Ad campaigns by Danish Refugee Council

Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/taxonomy/brand/danish_refugee_council



Figure 16: Ad campaigns by Save the Children Fund

Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/save_the_children_child_war_refuge



Figure 17: Ad campaign by UNHCR

Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/ambient/unhcr_cardboard_refugees

Also, from a positive point of view, gratification or satisfaction for providing help and awareness of the contribution to something positive are present: “this was where I was when I helped to build a refugee camp in Pakistan. Helping AMI can become part of your life ... no matter where you are, you will always be helping someone in need” (AMI, 2007 – Figure 18; “your signature can silence oppression” (Carta Capital and the NGO Migraflif, 2017 – Figure 19); “this Christmas, help to save the lives of those who venture into the sea for a better land” (Figure 20); “spend fifty dollars, save a hundred and fifty” (Figure 21); “your donations help us to remain impartial, by allowing our teams to collect medicines, food, vaccines and health care for those who need it most, wherever they are in the world”⁹, “you can change her meal daily, donate here” (Figure 1); “help those who are forced to flee to find safety, recover hope and rebuild their lives. A family divided by war is too much – takeaction.unhcr.org – because you have a choice” (Figure 12); “they need all the help they can to create a safe space, a haven where they can collect the pieces of their lives and prosper” (Figure 5). Atkin and Rice (2013) refer, in this context, to motivational incentives, such as the altruistic gratification of helping.

⁹ Retrieved from https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/medecins_sans_frontieres_kenya



Figure 18: Ad campaign by AMI Organization
Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/beach_4



Figure 19: Ad campaign by Carta Capital and Migraflix
Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/carta_capital_mugabe



Figure 20: Ad Campaign by sosmediterranea.com
Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/estal_sos_christmas



Figure 21: Ad Campaign by UNHCR

Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/unhcr_50

In a more negative light, there is the confrontation with the dimension of a problem and the inherent frustration (disappearance of 10.000 refugee children, Save the Children, 2016 – Figure 22) and guilt (e.g., “but you know what it is the most horrible part of her story? Many of you want to send her back” – Figure 2).



Figure 22: Ad campaign by Save the Children Fund

Source: <https://campaignsoftheworld.com/print/save-the-children-missing/>

From iconic point of view, the presence of children in images can attract empathy, compassion and a willingness to protect (Figures 23, 7). Zarzycka (2015) explains that the images of the children’s faces appeal to compassion and a humanist discourse and can generate remorse and empathy among the audience (p. 29).

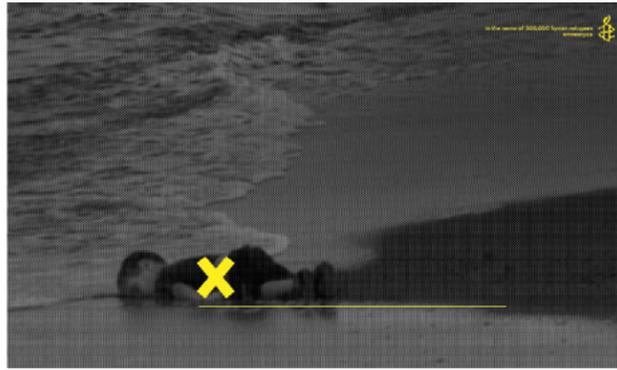


Figure 23: Ad campaign by Amnesty International

Source: https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/amnesty_international_refugees

In Figure 5, covered by wave designs, it is possible to observe, within the outline of the footprints and in a light blue, hearts, gifts, hand in hand suggesting help. In these waves, there is the impression that there is calmer and confidence. Outside the tracks, the blue is darker and, together with the sharks and hands alluding to a cry for help, it is a danger, which can encourage empathy, compassion, an incentive to help.

The Figure 19 is positive, as it shows the effectiveness of aid: silencing oppressors. Figures 6 and 16, when using a bubble around children, also show the effectiveness of the aid. Seeing aid effectiveness can be a motivational incentive.

LOGOS – THE POWER OF DISCOURSE

The discourse of public campaigns concerning refugees and migrants comprises evidence and facts, examples, personalization and stylistic resources.

Among the evidence and facts are a) statistical data, such as “since 2014, within two years 10.000 refugee children have disappeared shortly after arriving in Europe” (Figure 22); “the number of refugees reaches 65,3 million people” (Figure 20); “by the year 2050, there will be more than 200 million refugees due to climate change” (Figure 14); “on behalf of 300,000 Syrian refugees” (Figure 23); “\$4,000 USD This is the price that thousands of migrant children pay to risk their lives” (Figure 24); b) references to real crisis situations, such as the Venezuelan crisis (Figure 1), the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Bangladesh, both occurred in 2009, the historic cases of Rotterdam, Sicily and Paris; and c) real and true stories of refugees. From iconic point of view, the use of the image of the Syrian boy, Alan Kurdi, who died in 2015 on a Turkish beach, evidences to the real drama of refugees, and has become its icon and symbol (Figure 23).



Figure 24: Ad campaigns by Save the Children Fund

Source: <https://www.adsoftheworld.com/campaign/save-the-children-totem-marketing-02-2018>

Examples are also used, both individually and collectively.

The stylistic resources allow injecting concreteness into the ideas. The usage of repetitions and anaphors can be noted (“we left our country. We left our home. We left our live” – Figure 1). From the iconic point of view, this resource can be noticed in the images of missing people in the Figure 22, with the evidence of hyperbolization, in the various newspaper stacked in Figure 11, in the cardboard boxes covering the floor in Figure 1, in the waves and repetitions of all the elements prevailing in Figure 5. The images tend to represent people and, in four images, there is a focus on the feet and footprints of children – synecdoche (ad campaigns by BRAC). The feet can symbolize the soul, humility, stability, magical power, freedom of movement (Olderr, 2012, p. 84).

The use of antithesis can be also noted in stylistic terms. For example, “we left our country... our home... our life” *versus* “only hunger came with us” (Figure 1); “Athletes... to win” *versus* “refugees... to live” (Figure 7). The antithesis can also be noted in the text and image of figure 22, as the text states that “there was no real news coverage”, although the image shows an outdoor scene covered by newspapers with missing people.

In Figure 15, aid is metaphorized by the aerial aid plan, the tap and the bag of blood. The dome surrounding the children suggests the metaphor for protection (Figures 6 and 16). The brain made from barbed wire seems to metaphorize the danger of prejudice (Figure 13). The house made of burning matches metaphorize the destruction and fragility, the pyramid as metaphor for priorities (Figure 14), and the pattern on Hannah’s scarf metaphorizes all the obstacles she has been facing (Figure 2). The use of black and white colours in Figure 2, corroborates this mournful and mourning path and Hannah’s cry for help. In the Slovenia for Festival of Migrant Film campaign, anthropomorphic characters are metaphorized through the films *Moby*, *Bamby* and *Birds*, expressing the idea that the films can represent migrants and refugees (Figure 25). The Russian doll or Matryoshka can be interpreted as a metaphor for the need for Scottish unity and union, provided that the toy is made up of various dolls that fit into each other¹⁰. The ID tag of Carta Capital magazine subscriber in the mouth of the politician means that the reader has the ability to silence oppressors (Figure 19).

¹⁰ Retrieved from https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/refugee_week_2006



Figure 25: Ad campaigns by Slovenia for Festival of Migrant Film

Source: <https://www.adsoftheworld.com/campaign/festival-of-migrant-film-pristop-01-2014>

The question mark can be referred to as a discursive element that retains the factual function and requires reflection and response (Figures 2 and 12, ad campaign by Médecins Sans Frontières).

CONCLUSION

The discourse present in the analysed public campaigns concerning refugees and migrants adopts a rhetorical tactic based on the Aristotelian model: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*. The credibility and reliability of the source and the subject participating in the narrative are explored.

The rhetorical options used to construct emotional and reactive dimensions are: a) the already classic use of placing children as protagonists, as they transmit the expression of need, problem, war or injustice, shaping, as Thorne (2003) says, “the face of collateral damage”; b) the image showcase of victims in difficult and dramatic contexts and with a sad expression, and the use of phrases that encourage empathy; c) the presence of phrases and images that motivate reflection, help and reveal the need to act.

The absence of smile in children can act in favour of recognizing the urgency of their situation (Chouliaraki, 2010). The affective dimension built can inspire political solidarity and, as the affection is a “crucial mechanism” used to change public opinion, testimonies and narratives about the evidence and knowledge are explored, as remarked by Jong and Dannecker (2017). Gallner (2018), for example, recognizes that the campaign’s effectiveness also depends on more emotionally suggestive images. Seeing aid effectiveness can also be a motivational incentive.

The discourse, based on the strength of realism, is composed of statistical data, facts, examples and stylistic resources. This rhetorical tactic, based on *logos*, translates reality, responding to the popular proverb *there is no argument against facts*. This also instigates awareness and action through the sharing of individual and collective examples,

in aesthetic and poetic terms, such as anaphor, antithesis, metaphor, as well as the use of the question marks and the wealth and multiformism of creativity.

As the public sphere is considered the stage for multiple discourses, assumed as “creation of understandings” and when using a negative narrative construction concerning refugees and migrants, the rhetorically interwoven discourse of humanitarian campaigns can demystify and shudder prejudices, clarifying and mobilizing aid. This discourse can thus contribute to the “search for durable solutions” (UNHCR, 2018, p. 11) for refugees and migrants, which will help them to (re) achieve a peaceful, dignifying life with peace, dignity, ensuring their rights. This article seeks to contribute to the scientific and social understanding of how rhetoric is constructed in the public campaigns on the social minorities, whose receptivity in host countries has been revealed as a breaking point in public opinion. Issues, such as persuasion, public campaigns and refugees and migrants are interwoven in order to show the speaking ability of a campaign and to show how the mentioned minorities can gain a voice through public campaigns and convince recipients/hosts to accept their entry and coexistence in their countries and to be more sensitive to their condition.

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THE REFUGEE CRISIS: NARRATIVE SEQUENCES AND EMOTIONS IN OPINION ARTICLES/REPORTS OR NARRATIVES IN THE SERVICE OF PERSUASION

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ABSTRACT

We intend to show, using an *ad hoc corpus* of media texts on the refugee crisis, how several linguistic and, more specifically, enunciative-pragmatic mechanisms contribute to the construction of an empathic discourse, used for argumentative purposes. These journalistic texts, between opinion and reporting, take sides, although not through a set of logical arguments objectively arranged and assumed by the speaker, but, instead, through narratives that show refugees as a source of information either as protagonists or, sometimes, as initial narrators. Through these narratives, the speaker seeks to approach the tragic experience told by refugees and bring it to the reader, with the aim of conquering his empathy (Lencastre, 2011). The linguistic empathy (Rabatel, 2017) translates into enunciative mechanisms, such as placing yourself in someone else's place, assuming her voice, to understand her point of view. The narrative, descriptive and dialogical sequences (Adam, 2005) are at the service of this empathy, through which the speaker tries to persuade the addressee. Several mechanisms will be listed that contribute to the same discursive strategy of persuading the addressee, through discourse patemization. We conclude that emotion in discourse (Plantin, 2011) that favours empathy increases when done through the voice of people with names and stories located in spaces that can be described, using reported speeches, narratives and descriptions for the construction of the theses defended by the journalists.

KEYWORDS

linguistic empathy; persuasion; narration; refugees; media

A CRISE DOS REFUGIADOS: SEQUÊNCIAS NARRATIVAS E EMOÇÃO EM CRÔNICAS/REPORTAGENS OU A NARRATIVA AO SERVIÇO DA PERSUASÃO

RESUMO

Pretende mostrar-se, num *corpus ad hoc* de textos dos média centrados na crise dos refugiados, de que forma alguns mecanismos linguísticos e, mais especificamente, enunciativo-pragmáticos contribuem para a construção de um discurso empático, usado para fins argumentativos. Esses textos jornalísticos estão entre a crónica e a reportagem. Tomam partido, embora não o façam explicitamente, através de um conjunto de argumentos lógicos, objetivamente arrumados e assumidos pelo locutor, mas antes através de narrativas que têm os refugiados como fonte de informação e como protagonistas e, às vezes, como narradores primeiros. Por meio dessas narrativas, o locutor procura aproximar-se da vivência trágica relatada pelos refugiados e trazê-la para perto do leitor, cuja empatia (Lencastre, 2011) visa conquistar. A empatia linguística

(Rabatel, 2017) traduz-se em mecanismos enunciativos como pôr-se no lugar do outro, assumindo a sua voz, para compreender o seu ponto de vista. As sequências narrativas, mas também as descritivas e dialogais (Adam, 2005) estão ao serviço dessa empatia, através da qual se procura conseguir a persuasão do alocutário. Serão elencados vários mecanismos que contribuem para a mesma estratégia discursiva de convencimento do alocutário, através da patemização do discurso. Conclui-se que a emoção no discurso (Plantin, 2011), que leva à empatia, é maior se for protagonizada pela voz de pessoas com nome e histórias situadas em espaços que se podem descrever, pondo palavras relatadas, narrativas e descrições ao serviço da construção da tese que os locutores jornalistas defendem.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

empatia linguística; persuasão; narração; refugiados; média

INTRODUCTION

Following the war in Syria, partly responsible for the refugee crisis that has plagued Europe in recent year¹, mainstream press and online media have used emotion to convince the reader both for and against the entry of refugees and the policies of reception or violent rejection adopted by different European countries. The construction of discourses in favour of one or the other position (acceptance *versus* rejection) employs various types of arguments, some of which are intended to be more objective, using therefore numbers, statistics and graphs, while others are more openly emotional. We will take into account arguments that are considered affective which, like others, bring us emotionally closer to or drive us away from the experience of refugees. The texts we are going to analyse employ various linguistic-discursive mechanisms such as euphemisms, metaphors, different types of elements of enhancement and mitigation, etc. They contribute to the discursive construction of empathy between the reader and the refugees, as can be seen in the corpus of newspaper columns chosen for this article. This is the type of discourse that Plantin calls “emotional communication” (Plantin, 2011, p. 141), which implies the intentional communication of emotions through words or other semiotic forms, such as photographs, for example. The use of the linguistic-discursive units mentioned testifies to the ability to adjust words to our communication intentions, that is, what Zhang (2015) calls “elastic language”: “we adjust, modify, and manipulate our words to accommodate particular discursive needs” (p. 5). In the present case, the intention of the speakers is to create empathy between the readers and the refugees, to convince the readers and, thus, to make them act.

¹ Based on data from 2019, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) stated that “in the last six years, the number of deaths on this route exceeds 15,000” (Rota do Mediterrâneo é a mais perigosa e já matou mais de mil migrantes este ano, 2019). More recently, the figures have been corrected upwards, when the International Organization for Migration, reported that 20.014 migrants had lost their lives across the Mediterranean in the past six years. The agency said: “with no end in sight to the tragedy unfolding on the Mediterranean, IOM reiterates that improved and expanded safe, legal pathways for migrants and refugees are urgently needed, both to reduce the incentive to choose irregular channels, and to help prevent the unnecessary and avoidable loss of lives” (Mais de 20 mil migrantes morreram em travessias no Mediterrâneo desde 2014, 2020).

According to Lencastre (2011, p. 12), empathy is “the ability to feel the emotional situation of others through their own neurological and organic representations. It is an automatic mechanism that allows us to identify with emotions and act accordingly”.

The narrative sequences (Adam, 2005) embedded in the opinion columns that constitute the corpus used in this article have, in our view, the effect of increasing the degree of empathy between the reader and the refugees, as we intend to show.

The aims of our study are the following:

1. analyse the narrative sequences in a *corpus* of news columns/reports, showing that they are at the service of argumentation, through the reinforcement of emotion and the creation of empathic bonds between the reader and the migrants/refugees;
2. point out linguistic and enunciative-pragmatic elements that contribute to mark the speaker’s empathic point of view.

The analysed *corpus* consists of seven texts from the Portuguese press², two written by Alexandra Lucas Coelho³ (published in the *Público* newspaper, in the section Opinion Columns by Alexandra Lucas Coelho, Non-fiction), and five by André Cunha⁴ (published in *Visão* magazine, with the generic title “Us and the new wall”, Chronicle by André Cunha in five chapters)⁵.

AUTHOR	DATE	TITLE	PUBLISHED IN
André Cunha	29/08/2015	“A Hungria está a transformar-se num gueto” (Hungary is becoming a ghetto)	<i>Visão</i>
André Cunha	30/08/2015	“Da minha janela, vê-se o muro” (From my window, I can see the wall)	<i>Visão</i>
André Cunha	01/09/2015	“Se bombardeassem a minha cidade, eu também fugia” (If they bombed my city, I would also run away)	<i>Visão</i>
André Cunha	03/09/2015	“Nós estamos a fugir da guerra, não queremos mais violência” (We are fleeing the war, we do not want more violence)	<i>Visão</i>
André Cunha	07/09/2015	“Não tenho pai, não tenho mãe. Pum pum! Taliban” (I don’t have a father, I don’t have a mother. Bang bang! Taliban)	<i>Visão</i>
Alexandra Lucas Coelho	13/09/2015	“Refugiados 1: o filho que nasceu azul e a prima que não pode ver luz” (Refugees 1: the son who was born blue and the cousin who cannot see the light)	<i>Público</i>
Alexandra Lucas Coelho	20/09/2015	“Refugiados 2: adeus e duas guitarras” (Refugees 2: goodbye and two guitars)	<i>Público</i>

Table 1: Presentation and identification of *corpus* texts

² These texts were also suggested for assignments with students in Portuguese schools (Duarte, 2015).

³ Retrieved from <http://www.publico.pt/mundo/noticia/refugiados-1-o-filho-que-nasceu-azul-e-a-prima-que-nao-pode-ver-luz-1707514> e <http://www.publico.pt/mundo/noticia/refugiados-2-adeus-eduas-guitarras-1708114>

⁴ Retrieved from <http://visao.sapo.pt/actualidade/mundo/a-hungriaesta-a-transformar-se-num-gueto=f829038>; <http://visao.sapo.pt/actualidade/mundo/da-minha-janela-ve-seo-muro=f829138>; <http://visao.sapo.pt/actualidade/mundo/se-bombardeassem-a-minha-cidade-eu-tambem-fugia=f829298>; <http://visao.sapo.pt/actualidade/mundo/nos-estamos-a-fugir-da-guerra-nao-queremos-mais-violencia=f829421> e <https://visao.sapo.pt/actualidade/mundo/2015-09-07-nao-tenho-pai-nao-tenho-mae-pum-pum-talibanf829779/>

⁵ “Us and the new wall” is a project originally developed for the Italian Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso, published exclusively in Portugal by *Visão* magazine.

These texts, although imbued with strong views, are not opinion texts as such in which the speaker-journalists markedly assume certain positions, nor are they predominantly argumentative. The main ideas that both journalists defend, albeit not explicitly, can be summarised in the following topics: i) refugees deserve our solidarity and welcome because they have fled from war, violence and atrocities; ii) they are ordinary people like us, with dreams, professions, families and affections; iii) in addition to victims of war, they are also victims of mafias, European extremist groups, the insensitivity of leaders; iv) Europe has not been able to deal with this crisis; v) the Hungarians have forgotten their own past; vi) not all Hungarians are indifferent to the suffering of refugees. In order to achieve the readers' agreement with the points of view the authors defend, the texts are constructed with specific enunciative and linguistic mechanisms capable of provoking empathy between those they speak of and the reader.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is located in the area of discourse analysis and enunciation linguistics. We will try to understand how narrative sequences are at the service of argumentation and testify to the position of the speakers/journalists. They support some opinions but distance themselves from others, transmitted in the different voices that are heard in the news pieces analysed, as well as the choices the speaker makes about what to narrate and describe. Based on the way their discourse is produced, that is, on what they say, the topics they focus on, the lexicon selected, the point of view adopted, the stereotypes used, the forms of referencing, and the enunciative value of the connectors employed, the writers lead the reader preferentially to take sides in the controversy that has gripped Europe for years, for or against the humanitarian reception of refugees.

The existence of abundant subjectivity markers (the *subjectivemes* coined by Kerbrat-Orecchioni [1980]) lets the journalists' point of view through like porous terrain. The adopted deictic centre is often that of the refugees themselves, with regard, for example, to the grammatical category of person and space. This leads journalists and readers to adopt points of view similar to the refugees', through whose subjectivity and experience they learn of the events. We will see, then, how the narrative sequences in the texts are at the service of argumentation, through the reinforcement of emotion and the creation of empathic bonds between the reader and the refugees who are fleeing mostly from Iraq and Syria. This is the central theme of the selected columns, with *pathos*⁶ as an element of proximity between the two entities.

The analysis is also theoretically grounded in the notion of linguistic empathy (Rabatel, 2017), which "from an enunciative perspective, consists of putting oneself in someone else's shoes (interlocutor or third person), a speaker who lends his voice to another, to face an event, a situation from the other's point of view" (Rabatel, 2017, p. 300). Rabatel considers linguistic empathy mainly taking into account "the referencing of

⁶ *Pathos* is used here in the rhetorical sense of the type of "argument, or evidence, designed to produce persuasion", as noted in Charaudeau and Maingueneau (2004, p. 371).

the speech objects”, i.e., referencing that takes account of the point of view of the sender, or “enunciating source”: “the choices of qualification, modalisation, quantification, the order of the components, etc., denote the point of view of the second sender” (Rabatel, 2017, p. 301). The author further says, “empathically, the first addresser (S₁/A₁) does not directly express his emotions, he evokes, in a mediated way the emotions that he imputes to someone other than himself, a second sender (s₂ = X, [...])” (Rabatel, 2013, p. 66). In fact, the first speaker (S₁) uses these emotions summoned from others in his textual expression as a resource to persuade the reader. It has the performative intention of leading the reader to act.

The use of the concept of “reportativity”, a subcategory of evidentiality, serves to better understand the discursive construction of empathy: S organises the text, not with “their own cognitive material” (Hattner, 2018, p. 101), but based on the words that narrate the experience of others.

For the purposes of this analysis, the texts need to be placed at a specific moment in the recent history of migration to Europe, namely, August and September 2015. At the time, the massive arrivals of refugees on the old continent and the tragedies they suffered were the prime focus of media attention. Fully understanding the news pieces requires knowledge of the historical context in which they appeared and on which they operate.

Furthermore, the genre to which the texts belong is also important because specific features mark the linguistic-discursive organisation of textual products. The texts may be considered columns or news reports, and this classification deserves to be questioned shortly. Officially, such texts are columns, at least in the understanding of the two media outlets that publish them. Alexandra Lucas Coelho’s texts in *Público* newspaper are part of a section called “Non-fiction”. This generic label can include both columns and news reports, but it places them within the journalistic type of text, as opposed to the fiction the author also writes⁷. André Cunha proposes a chronicle in chapters (or instalments), as he says at the beginning of the first one on 29/08/2015:

column of a trip, taken earlier this summer, through the plains where Hungary and Serbia meet, days before the construction of the largest border blockade in Europe since the fall of the Berlin wall. The new barbed wire construction is the Hungarian government’s response to the biggest migration crisis on the Old Continent after World War II. First instalment.

The fact that the writer himself speaks of “chapters” announces that the different texts have unity and coherence, despite being published on different (but close) dates. Also, there is an assumed narrative bias. Despite being labelled column, the texts have hybrid features in terms of genre between column and news report. As in the case of news reporting, they tell facts, most often based on the words or the summary of previous narrations by the protagonists of the events themselves. They are texts built primarily from

⁷ In addition to being a journalist and having published books of opinion columns, Alexandra Lucas Coelho is also a writer. Her novel *E a noite roda*, published in 2012, won the APE/DGLB (Portuguese Writers Association/Directorate-General for Books and Libraries) Novel and Short Story Grand Prix.

the narratives of other speakers, in which the evidentiality, that is, the source of information is either the personal and subjective perception of the speaker/journalist or the discourse narrated by the participants in the events described. The sender subject lets his point of view pass through, like a column, but he narrates, collects opinions, and gives voice to others, like a news report. Alexandra Lucas Coelho's texts are even accompanied by photographs of some of the protagonists who speak in them and whose story the journalist reports. These photographs contribute, in fact, to reinforce what is being said and the respective argumentative trend. André Cunha's presents photos from Reuters, which do not refer specifically to the people he writes about, but illustrate the generic theme of the march of the refugees, as well as infographics that assist the reader in understanding the complexity of the topic, providing information with maps and numbers. Such documents aim to inform but also give credibility to the discourse, giving it a greater degree of reliability in the eyes of the reader.

Taking into account the *Público* newspaper's style guide, we could say the texts share many of the characteristics of news reports:

the news report must include all contradictory versions, based on a multiplicity of data, interviews and documentation sources. Adapting a concrete story to the general context of a report is an especially recommended technique: centring the subject on a concrete personal case, instead of getting lost in an anonymous generalisation. (*Público*, 2005, p. 176)

The texts in question are articulated, precisely, around concrete personal cases with subjects who narrate their painful experiences. The words of the individual narrators are strategically selected by the journalists, because no one better than the protagonists who have experienced tragic situations to narrate them and more effectively touch those who read. In our view, the short narrative sequences in these texts fulfil a persuasive function: to move the reader, bringing him/her closer to the suffering of refugees, presented as normal people, identical to the reader, highly relatable and, therefore, capable of triggering empathy (they are teachers, musicians, students, for example).

Other sequences in the columns/news reports that intrinsically cooperate with the narratives will be analysed in the same way: 1) the descriptive sequences that show inhospitable spaces and suffering human beings, or, on the contrary, idyllic spaces contrasting with this human suffering; 2) the dialogical sequences, in which the discourse of the various actors is reported, mainly through direct speech, which gives the narrative vivacity, authenticity, drama and therefore emotion, translatable into argumentative efficiency. The presence of direct speech, moreover, gives credibility to the journalists' discourse, due to the apparently reliable testimony they transmit. And also because, as Kronning says about reported speech,

reported speech has an invariably positive modal orientation. (...) This modal orientation is explained by a general pragmatic principle, a topos, derived from Grice's maxim of quality, according to which the speaker must

try to act so that his speech is true. According to this topos (cf. Kronning, 2005, p. 304, 2010, p. 26); Ducrot 1984, p. 157), if someone says something, the fact of saying it is an argument that what he says is indeed true. (Kronning, 2012, pp. 87-88)

The choice of discourse attributed to refugees, to those who help them or to the European leaders and citizens who are hostile to them is also at the service of creating different, more or less empathetic images. The employment of several speakers (Ducrot, 1985) and points of view contributes to creating an *ethos*⁸ of objectivity and impartiality that the discursive construction of the texts, in fact, contradicts, but which the presence of infographics, in turn, confirms. The more or less explicit manner in which Speaker assumes the voices and points of view of the s2 speakers means we can consider this discourse as strongly dialogical. Finally, we will see how the speaker assumes, explicitly or implicitly, certain positions in relation to the different objects of his/her discourse, namely in relation to the various actors concerned, especially the main actors, the refugees.

CORPUS ANALYSIS

NARRATIVE SEQUENCES AT THE SERVICE OF EMOTION

The characters are central to any narrative sequence because they are the ones who act (being agents) or suffer the effects of the action of others (being patients). In any case, it is around the character that the action is organised. It is because of them and their fate that we suffer or rejoice in reading or listening to the narrative. The characters presented by the authors of the texts under consideration here are both fragile and friendly. The diminutives and lexicon of children's language contribute to increasing the empathy of the protagonists, often children, young people and women. That is, they contribute to the construction of discursive objects who are weak and at risk, in need of protection: "little cousins", "the blond little cousin with pigtails and bangs, and whose eyes are always squinting" (Coelho, 13/09/2015). The use of qualifying adjectives is at the service of the positive evaluative construction of the characters, especially when they gain relevance by being placed before the noun, like in the two following excerpts: "tiny feet", "little Fatma and her also little brother Ahmed" (Cunha, 07/09/2015). The use of children to move and captivate the reader is an expected resource, as the protection of childhood is an indisputable, widely shared human value and, therefore, forms part of the *doxa*⁹.

The narrative is conducted mainly in the first person, often by means of quotes in quotation marks, which increases the drama and subjectivity of the news story:

⁸ According to Charaudeau e Maingueneau's dictionnaire (2004, p. 220), *ethos* is "the image of self the speaker builds in his speech to influence his receiver".

⁹ By a symmetrical mechanism, André Cunha testifies that President Orbán's Hungarian television censors images of refugee children. In this case, images of children are avoided so that the viewer is not moved by their suffering.

there were “thousands of people fleeing, leaving everything, cars and trucks full of people”. They took a day and a half on the road to Erbil, the Kurdish capital. “But they didn’t receive *us* very well, there were already a lot of people, they left *us* sleeping in gardens”. (...) Vian wants to tell us his version of the trip. “*We* ran away by car, a car with ten people, and *I* was in the front, with my two children on my lap, 36 hours like that, *I* passed out twice. (Coelho, 13/09/2015)

This prevalence of the first person is visible, like an advertisement, in the headlines of André Cunha’s journalistic pieces. The speakers are the participants in the short stories narrated, and the personal deictic is preferably referenced to the refugees themselves. Thus, the first person marks, right from the paratext, the testimonial tone of the articles published under the title “*Us* and the new wall”, André Cunha’s column in five chapters: “Hungary is becoming a ghetto”; “From *my* window, I can see the wall”; “If they bombed *my* city, *I* would also run away”; “*We* are fleeing the war, *we* do not want more violence”; “*I* don’t have a father, *I* don’t have a mother. Bang bang! Taliban”.

Alexandra Lucas Coelho’s second text begins with the words of a refugee in direct speech, therefore in the first person, before the journalist even describes the space or introduces the speaker:

“You can call me Ivan”, he said. We were sitting in a garden in northern Iraq, so peaceful at the end of the afternoon that two guitars playing in the centre sounded everywhere. But in that corner what was happening was a separation. Ivan was the name he chose if I told the story in the newspaper. (Coelho, 20/09/2015)

This space that frames the narrating characters is alien and distant from us, the space of the other: “it was one of *those* camps that you find *there* in Africa, *there* in the Middle East, in this case, *there* in Northern Iraq”. The demonstrative and adverb of place, whose effect of distance is amplified by the fact that they occur three times, have in this example, in addition to a value of deixis, a clear modal value. It highlights an affective place that is distant from the speaker-journalist and from her readers: the camps are far away from us, not only in terms of distance, but above all from the concerns and emotions of us Europeans, preoccupied with our small or big problems.

DESCRIPTIVE SEQUENCES AND SPEAKER POSITIONING

The direct speech of the refugees is framed by the so-called “attributive speech”¹⁰, small descriptive notes on gestures, and other elements that accompany the words in direct speech, “tears start to run down her face, she continues to sob, but wants to

¹⁰ The term coined by Prince (1978), “attributive discourse”, is considered limiting by Salvan (2005). According to this author, it seems that these segments have only the function of “assigning the word, indicating the identity of the speaker and the way the words are pronounced” (n. p.). However, the examples we have selected testify, in effect, to the richness of functions of these statements.

continue”. We feel this is a clear contamination of nonfiction by fiction that Alexandra Lucas Coelho also writes:

“At some point we started to hear bullets above us, I didn’t know what it was, the ‘Islamic State’ was chasing us, and we needed to cross a check-point ...” Tears start to run down her face, she continues to sob, but wants to continue: “a tank came and smashed cars. There were thousands of people, thousands. We didn’t eat for 36 hours. We were there at the checkpoint for a whole day, we only drank water from the bathroom, which nobody drinks. I was dead when I arrived”. (Coelho, 13/09/2015)

The reference to the immense suffering is built by the use of superlative forms such as hyperbole and repetition (“there were thousands of people, thousands”; and, in the other text: “there were thousands of people fleeing, leaving everything, cars and trucks full of people”) and hyperbolic metaphors (“smashed cars”; “millions are fleeing wars”) or just dysphoric metaphors, indicating poverty and restriction: “the living container is that rectangle”.

In descriptive sequences, *subjectivemes* (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1980) are very frequent. The use of adjectives contributes to exacerbate the emotion, because the sender thus marks his/her position of compassion towards the refugees. They also contribute to referencing, since they add details, qualifications, descriptive elements to the objects of the world to which the names refer, making them more informative and more accurate. Such dysphoric adjectives draw a scenario of urgency and human catastrophe, since the roads are “dirt”, the children “barefoot”, the heat “suffocating”, the feet “tiny”: “dirt roads, containers, plastic covers, barefoot children. (...) the heat inside the container is suffocating, which is the only home he knows, the heat irritates his skin with his tiny feet” (Coelho, 13/09/2015). Metaphors (“container (...) only home”), noun complements (“plastic covers”) and expressive verbs (“irritates [him]”) contribute to the discursive construction of a dysphoric environment.

There are also strong antithetical formulations that suggest the absurdity of the situation, through crystallised metaphors that have become formulas, in the sense of Krieg-Planque (2009): “a new 175-kilometre *iron curtain* rises in the *heart* of Europe” (Cunha, 29/08/2015). The use of evaluative metaphors also expresses subjectivity – “Hungary is becoming a ghetto” – as well as the unexpected use of certain lexemes. Both metaphors, “iron curtain” and “ghetto” contribute to characterising the situation as catastrophic, as they clearly evoke World War II and its consequences. About a border, though, one does not usually say that it is more or less a border, because the noun “border” is non-gradable, uncountable. By using it in a grammatically anomalous manner, the journalist reinforces the negative connotation allied to the Hungarian wall: “an archaeological symbol of an ancient line that never stopped being a border and that will now be even more of a border” (Cunha, 29/08/2015). The second time it was used, the noun metaphorically acquires the meaning of an insurmountable barrier, a wall that prevents passage.

The metaphor, which contributes to the referencing, helps to build this antithetical and polarised view of reality: the refugees are referred to as “the herd of refugees”, while the construction of the referent “traffickers” uses the metaphor “angry dogs that bite at their pockets (and lives)”. Thus, the defenceless meekness of sheep ready to be sacrificed, with identifiable religious connotations, is opposed to the furious rage of dogs.

Conversely, the antithetical descriptions of scenarios relative to the narrated facts contribute to building a representation of a torn world, divided in two: those who suffer the war and all its violence and the others, who live in peace. For this reason, the descriptive notes of Alexandra Lucas Coelho’s first column operate in counterpoint to what the narrative sequences tell us. In an idyllic background, briefly suggested in descriptive sequences, the protagonists speak of the worst violence: “such a peaceful afternoon”, “behind him, there’s the sun, roses, carts full of sweets”, “includes the afternoon birds singing overhead”. Again we have the diminutive, the nouns, the verb “to sing” and the adjective that point to pleasant realities (sun, roses, sweets, birds, tranquillity), composing this peaceful scenario and, therefore, contrasting with the violence of the narratives produced. This divided world is effectively built in a descriptive sequence by André Cunha, summed up in the metaphor “torn horizon”, or in this exclamatory appreciation: “How beautiful!”, he says and repeats, whenever they cross a crowd of flowering sunflowers. “It’s the last time, João, that you’ll see this landscape like this, virgin, without barbed wire”. “It will *tear* his heart, perhaps it will also tear a poem from him”. The metaphors refer to the division and the horror that seem to be contradicted by the peaceful scene, accentuated by other metaphors of opposite evaluative, connotative value (“an *islet* of peace”, “*speckled* with sheep”), or by these other terms “island”, “pearl”, “corals”). They contribute to descriptive sequences of positive polarity, of which this other phrase is a superlative example: “the most flowery gardens, full of roses of all colours”.

It was the most peaceful place we visited on the entire trip, an islet of peace. From the hatches of these houses, the infinite green-blond plains, which are white in winter, will continue to extend to the north, speckled with the sheep of Rigó and József, but to the south the horizon will be torn. (...) Tiszasziget is one of the main islands, perhaps the one that would dispute Kübekh.za as the pearl of Pannonia. In everyone’s land, between the house and the street, the most flowery gardens, full of roses of all colours, are like corals at the bottom of the sea. (Cunha, 30/08/2015)

The abundance of expressive evaluative acts constitutes a mark of a strongly emotional discourse, which seeks to touch the reader, that is, etymologically, to move, to go along with.

THE VOICES OF THE PROTAGONISTS AND PERSUASION

Alexandra Lucas Coelho writes in the first-person singular, thus clearly assuming her positions of empathy towards the refugees, whereas André Cunha’s texts oscillate

between the singular and the first-person plural, diluting the speaker in a wider set of unidentified witnesses¹¹. Therefore, the first-person singular can refer to the individually committed self: “there is no them and us because there is only us. We are among us”, says Alexandra Lucas Coelho, in a quote that André Cunha includes in one of his columns. As for the first-person plural, we are faced with the “creative dynamism” of the “we/us” mentioned by Dahlet (2016, p. 218), referring to Benveniste (1966), since “we/us” is “a reality of discourse”, with configurations that include the “I”, but are variable. The collective “we/us”, for example, can also include the reader, who is now a witness to the drama of the refugees. This “we/us”, as André Cunha says in the excerpt quoted below, is everyone. The comprehensive first person includes all human beings involved in the tragic story of these migrations: the name of the Hungarian radio “*mi* means us, in Hungarian and in Serbo-Croatian”. In the sequence transcribed below, this grammatical person sets up Rabatel’s notion of empathy presented previously. The inclusive “we/us” is the same as me + you, readers, “we”, humans:

we are those refugees who had no idea where they were after the police dropped them off at the Szeged train station: “where *are we?*”. *We are* Robert at the *Triplex Confinium* where this journey began, but *we are* also Orbán, *we are* the farmer who protests against the refugee who stole some tomatoes and *we are* that refugee himself, *we are* the owners of the *koscmas* and their guests in those Hungarian Lowland taverns where the world moves in slow motion, *we are* József and Rigó among the sheep, *we are* Sharbat, Márk, Rita, Zoltán, Mohammed, Balázs, *we are* even those railway officials who wanted little Fatma and her little brother Ahmed to sleep in the open and *we will be* Rafiq, a little latter, when *we reach* Subotica, in the north of Serbia, but for now, still in Szeged, *we are* Péter. (Cunha, 07/09/2015)

The solidarity in this inclusive “we” is also noted among the protagonists: “I would go to pick up injured friends and would see ‘Islamic State’ flags along the way’, says Mohammed” (Coelho, 13/09/2015). If sometimes, as we will see, there are voices expressing solidarity with the suffering of others, other times there are those, like at the walkers’ checkpoints, who are hostile, mistrusting the different, already closed in their ghetto:

Gábor Vona defends, like Viktor Orbán – (...) – that an “illegal migrant” is a “criminal” and, therefore, they have to go to prison, instead of to a shelter. (...) “They are strange because they have darker skin”, the owner of one of the local *koscmas*, a lady in her 50s, tells us while she’s busy at work. (Cunha, 07/09/2015)

As mentioned previously, there are dissonant voices that contradict the hostility of governments and many citizens, solidarity voices that disagree with power, such as those of some Hungarian protagonists who rebel against historical forgetfulness:

¹¹ Interestingly, in one of his texts, the author quotes Alexandra Lucas Coelho, which reveals a certain degree of professional complicity between the two journalists.

“History repeats itself in such a short time that the generation who experienced its worst episodes is still alive, but some of them seem to no longer remember”, says Móni resignedly. He thus laments this partial amnesia of many fellow countrymen of their eternal status as migrants and refugees, if not first, second or third generation, needing to go back only a century to the Treaty of Trianon, at the end of the First World War. (Cunha, 29/08/2015)

These dissonant voices, of sympathetic Hungarians going against the current, belong to clearly identified speakers, individualised by their first name and surname, which makes them unique and closer to us, so they are not just anonymous people, an indistinct part of faceless collectives (as opposed to plurals, such as Hungarians, refugees, Roma, Jews, migrants, others). Róbert Molnár makes a point of declaring he is a practicing Christian to evoke that “it is necessary to take care of outsiders”, the message of Stephen I, Hungarian king, later Saint Stephen of Hungary for believers.

“It’s in the Bible: do unto others as you would have them do unto you”, he recalls, prophesising immediately after “evil will be returned to us. If we don’t want to be mistreated, we cannot mistreat others”. (...) Nearby, a child lifted by his father’s arms picks cherries. An almost mirrored image will be described to us, in another *kocsmá*, in another village, by the owner on duty. She had witnessed “the joy of a group of refugees, harvesting fruit from a tree”. (...) A refugee had stolen some tomatoes from a farmer who complained about what happened in the television report, as if it were the end of the world. “Poor people”, someone says in a deep, sympathetic tone, “they were hungry, in the same situation, any of us would do the same”. (Cunha, 29/08/2015)

We see Hungarians closed in their own ghetto and the semantics of the metaphor “plague”, the noun “ghettoization” and the verb “circumclose”, which is a neologism, as is the verb “gypsify”, which means being racist towards gypsies, all contribute to the imagery: “‘knowing history’, he says, ‘when a country decided to build a fence or a wall, like in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Berlin or the rest of the communist bloc’s border, this became a plague for those who built it’” (Cunha, 29/08/2015). The interdiscursive memory initiates a dialogue in which, in this Hungarian’s discourse, other previous discourses resonate, which re-semanticise the word “wall”. It is no longer just “a long, narrow vertical structure made of stone or brick that surrounds or divides an area of land”¹², as the Collins Dictionary says, but rather, due to the walls that have been built in history, it has now gained the sense of “a thing regarded as a protective or restrictive barrier”, the second entry in the Oxford English Dictionary. Protection of some in the face of the threat that, in their belief, the others represent, violent separation, exclusion of the other who is different from us. The other is a symbol of threat (“a refugee had stolen some tomatoes from a farmer”), whose behaviour is worthy of police punishment according to some.

¹² Collins Online English Dictionary. Retrieved from <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/wall>.

Conversely, though, they do deserve the understanding of part of the threatened, whose direct discourse expresses, after all, compassion and solidarity: “they were hungry, in the same situation, any of us would do the same”.

According to Molnár,

Hungary is already an isolated country on an intellectual and psychological level. This will result in the ghettoization of the country. Hungary is land-locked [circumclosed], which means that there is no way out and no way in, neither outward nor inward. We are in the middle of Europe, if we are unable to sail in peaceful waters, this will determine that the Hungarians’ room for action will be reduced” until “people lose hope and start fleeing the country. (Cunha, 29/08/2015)

The names are not innocent and therefore one of the protagonists of Alexandra Lucas Coelho’s columns assumes that his name, “Ivan”, serves as a protective mask. It does not identify him in his entirety as a human being, but only as a persecuted refugee: “Ivan was the name he chose if I told the story in the newspaper”. This protective name hides Ivan’s true identity, which, ultimately, the journalist unveils: “the two guitar boys were Kurdish, so they were at home, they had documents and no one after them, so I could use their real names: Niaz, 21, Hunar, 28, music students at Sulaymaniyah University” (Coelho, 20/09/2015). Indeed, Ivan seems to be a name that protects. Regarding another speaker, the author writes: “the son, let us call him Ivan, came to Iraqi Kurdistan two years ago”. The names of the protagonists renamed as refugees follow one another in the texts: “the father, let us call him Aziz”, “the mother, let us call her Jian”. Also for the protagonists of André Cunha’s columns, names are sometimes a mask: “and finally Sharbat gives us the biggest smile in the world (but even so he didn’t give us his name)”, “our Afghan girl from today (whose real name we will probably never know)”. Assigning another name to several speakers multiplies the number of speakers: S₁ with his/her real name does not coincide with S₁’, with the false name that protects him/her. The non-right to the name bears witness to these refugees’ non-right to exist as persons.

The dialogue between journalists and protagonists is summarised in the texts, and they select their most convincing words for the discursive purposes of denunciation. However, this dialogue goes on beyond physical face-to-face interaction, it may continue after the meetings. André Cunha addresses directly one of his interviewees in the text, for example, in a long parenthesis, “dear Péter, allow me just one aside, two months after our meeting: until the date we published this text, there is not a single known case of serious diseases” (Cunha, 2015). Or in a question in the same “column”, which is an accusation of Hungarian indifference: “and how do you say rafiq in Hungarian, Péter Tóth?”; or when he addresses the poet Vasko Popa: “no, Vasko Popa, the story doesn’t let Rita be a daughter without memory”.

The use of various voices in the texts contributes to the creation of an *ethos* of objectivity which is needed to counter the evident subjectivity of the discourse. These voices are partly responsible for the narrative sequences that Alexandra Lucas Coelho and

André Cunha include in their texts. The theses the journalists implicitly or more explicitly defend are, most of the time, transmitted and supported through the direct speech of refugees and those who help them and, in contrast, the speech of those who fight them. Thus, there is a linguistic empathy, because “a speaker lends his voice to another (...) to face an event, a situation, in his place” (Rabatel, 2013, p. 68). Listening to the voice of the other is essential to create empathy: “it is always urgent to try to listen without borders to all ‘others’, to better understand this moment” (Cunha, 07/09/2015).

The dialogues between the reporter and the protagonists of the story are not the only ones that are part of the columns. As we have seen, André Cunha, for example, directly addresses those with whom he had spoken in person and whose words he had already transcribed.

But there are also intertextual dialogues: with the Bible, with George Steiner and Walter Benjamin, with Saramago, with the writings of Kapuscinski. André Cunha quotes Alexandra Lucas Coelho, José Gil in *Portugal, hoje – o medo de existir* [*Portugal, today – fear of existing*], Claudio Magris and his *Danube*, etc. The title of the column “From my window, I see the wall” paraphrases, in counterpoint, Vergílio Ferreira’s “From my language I see the sea”. In one of his texts, the author further mentions, summoning our collective memory and our shared knowledge of the world, while establishing relationships between past facts and the present of writing, “that cover of the National Geographic edition that became the jewel in the crown the world saw 30 years ago, in June 1985” (Cunha, 30/08/2015). It is as if the journalists intend to indicate the path of dialogue, showing, in their texts, that which is missing in the world. But they also want to do this through the cultural references that are intertextually summoned, as if they want to increase the number of those who, in their discourse, would share points of view similar to theirs.

CONCLUSIONS

In these articles from the Portuguese written press, there is, in fact, a performative dimension, of a directive nature. It is as if the narrative sequences, descriptive and reported words have contributed, through the journalists’ point of view and their complicity with the refugees and migrants, to bringing the readers closer to their cause, that is, these texts aim to convince the readers and to make them do, or rather, to make them act: “it is always urgent to try to listen without borders to all the ‘others’, to better understand this moment, or to feel more lost in this ‘history of the present’ in which there is one more wall in our midst” (Cunha, 07/09/2015).

As is often the case when it comes to natural disasters, we are, in this case, faced with what is called “emergency information” (Manuel, 2011). If this is not a natural catastrophe, it is certainly a human catastrophe. It is not the victims who film, photograph or write to give an account of the events. But the stories and the words are theirs. And that is the point of view the journalists have adopted.

Translation: Carla Augusto

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MEDIA AND FORCED MIGRATIONS: SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF REFUGEES IN THE PORTUGUESE MEDIA IN TWO MEDIATIC PEAKS (2015 AND 2019)

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ABSTRACT

Forced migration movements marked the economic, political, and social agenda in 2015. Consequently, these events also determined the agenda of the media, which took on an essential role in the social representation of refugees. In 2019, when humanitarian ships found it hard to dock at European ports, we saw another peak in media coverage. The purpose of this article is to analyse how the Portuguese media covered the theme of forced migration during two of the most relevant moments (2015 and 2019) and thus, how they contributed to the social representation of refugees. After a content analysis, we concluded that the newspapers on which our study focused undervalued refugees as individuals with their own identity, reducing them to a homogeneous and voiceless group. This trend, already present in 2015, was further emphasised in 2019. There was a clear absence of explanatory articles, with the media output showing a predominance of western perspective and a constant reliance on news agencies as sources.

KEYWORDS

human rights journalism; refugees; migratory crisis; forced migration; social representations

MÉDIA E MIGRAÇÕES FORÇADAS: REPRESENTAÇÕES SOCIAIS DOS REFUGIADOS NOS MÉDIA PORTUGUESES EM DOIS MOMENTOS MEDIÁTICOS (2015 E 2019)

RESUMO

Os movimentos migratórios forçados marcaram a agenda económica, política e social em 2015 e, nessa sequência, a dos média, que assumiram um papel essencial na representação social dos refugiados. Em 2019, assistimos a um novo momento mediático, motivado pelas dificuldades encontradas pelos navios humanitários em atracar nos portos europeus. O objetivo deste artigo foi analisar a forma como os média portugueses cobriram a temática das migrações forçadas em dois momentos mediaticamente relevantes, em 2015 e em 2019, e de que forma contribuíram para a representação social dos refugiados. A partir de uma análise de conteúdo, concluímos que os jornais analisados subvalorizaram os refugiados enquanto indivíduos com identidade própria, reduzindo-os a um grupo homogéneo e sem voz. Esta tendência, já presente em 2015, acentuou-se em 2019 com a ausência de artigos explicativos, com a predominância de uma visão ocidental e uma dependência das agências de notícias.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

jornalismo de direitos humanos; refugiados; crise migratória; migração forçada; representações sociais

INTRODUCTION

In 2015, Europe witnessed the so-called “Mediterranean refugee crisis”. In that year alone, roughly one million people reached the European coast by sea, of which 3.700 died in Mediterranean waters. This influx of refugees, considered the largest since World War II, included mainly Syrian, Afghan, Iraqi, and Eritrean citizens, amongst others, who were forcibly displaced due to armed conflicts.

According to the 2019 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) report, there were 25,9 million refugees, 41,3 million internally displaced people, and 3,5 million asylum seekers due to conflict and violence scenarios, all in 2018. The Syrian Arab Republic was at the top of the list, with 6,1 million displaced people, followed by Colombia (5,9 million) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (3,1 million). Syria was also the country with the largest number of refugees in the world: 6,7 million.

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2019), more than 10.000 people have died in the Mediterranean since the beginning of this crisis (in 2013). Of those, 500 died in the first half of 2019 alone. In 2015, at the peak of the migratory crisis, more than one million people arrived on European coasts. In the first three days of 2019, 400 migrants were rescued by the Spanish Border Guard (Chaiça, 2019).

Significant changes occurred in the European social and political landscapes between 2015 and 2019: surprise and initial solidarity gave way to fear in the host countries, whilst at the same time, the strength of the anti-immigration political parties increased, and international refugee settlement agreements were signed. In June 2019, Italy, one of the three countries that received the highest number of migrants in 2018 (Spain had received the most, followed by Greece), closed all ports to humanitarian aid ships that were carrying migrants (Fernandes, 2019).

In this context, Portugal showed its availability to receive refugees since the beginning of the crisis, a fact which increases the responsibility of the Portuguese news coverage in deconstructing stereotypes related to refugees and providing clear and in-depth information.

Although this is an old issue, three aspects of society bestow new perspectives to the migratory crisis, which were listed by Abdo, Cabecinhas and Brites (2019): globalization, in which these processes “become more intense, faster and abundant” (p. 80); the role of the media, which accompanies this “speed, abundance and intensity” (p. 80); and society’s thirst for spectacle, fed by the media.

In this article, we start from the hypothesis, already proven by several authors (such as Blumell, Bunce, Cooper & McDowell, 2020; Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017; Empinotti, 2017; Gemi, Ulasiuk & Triandafyllidou, 2013; Guerreiro, 2018; McIntyre, 2013; Silvestre, 2011) that the media influence society’s perception regarding the issue of migrants and refugees. Furthermore, that same media is also the main intermediary in a relationship

between the public and the *other*, which often only exists at that level. Thus, we can infer that the media play an essential role in building the collective idea that people make about refugees and the migration crisis.

This study aims to analyse how two Portuguese newspapers covered the theme of refugees during two media relevant moments: one in 2015 – when a lifeless Syrian child washed ashore on a Turkish beach – and another in 2019, marked by the difficulties encountered by humanitarian vessels whilst trying to dock at European ports. It also intends to explore in particular what the social representation of refugees is, based on the analysis of editorial characteristics of published journalistic pieces and a typology of visibility methods proposed by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017). To achieve this objective, three research questions (RQ) were outlined:

RQ1: what are the main editorial characteristics of the pieces published in two Portuguese newspapers on the theme of refugees, during the two media relevant moments of 2015 and 2019?

RQ2: what social representations are made about refugees, based on these editorial characteristics and the images used by newspapers as a visibility strategy?

RQ3: what are the main differences between the 2015 and 2019 news coverages?

To answer these questions, we used a comparative methodology based on a two-week content analysis: in 2015 (between the 2nd and the 8th of September) and 2019 (between the 30th of June and the 7th of July), from two reference online daily newspapers – *Público* and *Observador*.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

FORCED MIGRATION AND THE MEDIA'S RESPONSIBILITY

The starting point for our reflection on the relationship between refugees and the media is the very definition of “refugee” found in the 1951 Geneva Convention, as amended by the 1967 Protocol, which has broadened its scope. In that same year, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was created.

Refugees are part of a broad group generally called “forced migrants”, which also include other categories such as asylum seekers. The right to request asylum is enshrined in article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948). A person can request asylum or apply for refugee status, according to the applicable requirements.

Thus, the term “refugee” applies to any person who:

owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.
(UN, 1951)

Freedom of expression is also a human right embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in which journalism takes on an important role, particularly because

its purpose “is to provide citizens with the information they need to be free and to govern themselves” (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001, p. 16).

Even in the new digital ecosystem, the media determines the agenda of the world, acting as the only intermediary in various world events. Thus, the media has the power to either broaden the horizons of the public or to restrict them (Pöyhtäri, 2014). This becomes particularly important in the case of refugees, given that the host population does not know them and, therefore, builds its perception from the representations of the media.

With the increase in the anti-immigration discourse, as well as the rise of anti-immigration political parties in several European countries, the media coverage of this theme becomes more and more relevant, not least because journalism can enable audiences to develop a truly global knowledge (Hafez, 2009).

Thus, journalism has an increased responsibility in covering a topic that is mainly about human rights. Thompson (2007) suggests the existence of a responsibility to report is linked to a moral responsibility concerning human rights. This is not an isolated opinion: Rose (2013) defends the concept of a *human rights-based approach*: based on the principle that the approach to human rights must be a fundamental function in journalists' obligations, forcing them to identify possible violations and to include ways to eliminate abuse in their reporting. Furthermore, Shaw (2012) states that if the public has a greater understanding of the problems by having them correctly explained, it is more likely to empathise with people's suffering and appeal to international intervention, helping to overcome the lack of historical memory that constitutes an obstacle to understanding (The International Council Human Rights Policy, 2002).

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF REFUGEES IN THE MEDIA

The social representation theory entered the scientific agenda in the second half of the 20th century, developed by social psychologist Serge Moscovici (1961), who was influenced by the theoretical bases that Durkheim had presented in the 19th century. The purpose of this theory was to explain phenomena from a collective perspective. In other words, social representations correspond to beliefs or ideas that we have about a person, a community, an event, or an object, as the result of our social interaction. In addition to Moscovici, the concept of social representations was further developed by Denise Jodelet (1989), another name of reference in this field. Jodelet defined it as “a form of knowledge, socially elaborated and shared, which has a practical objective and contributes to the common reality of a social group” (p. 36).

The French academic pinpoints two characteristics of this form of knowledge that are crucial for thinking about the relationship between the media and the social representations of refugees: “construction” (a social representation is a construction that derives from the relationship between a subject and the object) and “expression” (an interpretation that derives from this relationship).

If we apply this to the context of this article, we can conclude that the social representation of the refugee is the result of a type of construction that derives from the

relationship between the population and the refugee, a relationship made possible by the media. Thus, the news coverage determines the interpretation that the population has of this crisis and the refugee as the *other*. The media influence public opinion, therefore contributing to the degree of acceptance and understanding local populations build towards the refugees.

Based on this reasoning, it is essential to examine and discuss academic investigations that have already focused on the analysis of the media coverage of refugees and their social representations.

WHO IS THE REFUGEE IN THE MEDIA?

In 2003, Peter McIntyre argued that refugees were historically depersonalised by the media and represented as a group to be feared and rejected, in his work *Human rights reporting – a handbook for journalists in South-Eastern Europe*, published by the International Federation of Journalists. A study by the Communication Observatory on the media coverage of immigrants and ethnic minorities by the Portuguese media in 2001 and 2002 also concluded that these groups were mainly associated with news about crime (OberCom, 2003). Throughout the 21st century, this reality has been demonstrated by several academic studies.

Gemi, Ulasiuk and Triandafyllidou (2013) analysed the average impact of news values, sources, and the agenda on news related to migration processes in six European countries. They concluded that these have an unbalanced editorial line regarding the coverage of migration, namely the events they select (the negatives) and the sources they use, which can cause the general public to misinterpret the issue.

A study by Blumell et al. (2020), based on the UK's online media coverage, shows that there is an overvaluation of crime committed by asylum seekers, as well as a politicisation of this theme: the left-wing media focus on victimisation, while the right-wing media focus on crime. The authors point out the need for more soft news about refugees, and not just hard news, in order to provide more context, personalisation, and clarification to the topic.

In addition to the lack of voice and active participation, refugees are also visually represented as groups and not as individuals, as confirmed by semiotic-based studies. UK researchers analysed images about refugees published by media outlets in five European countries between June and December 2015 and concluded that “they fail to humanise migrants and refugees” (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017, p. 1162) and that there is an urgent need to “radically change the way we understand the media’s responsibility towards vulnerable *others*” (p. 1162).

These authors proposed a typology of patterns for the visibility of the crisis, from which they reconstruct the refugees’ specific visual representations. They identified five basic visual configurations: biological life, empathy, threat, hospitality, and self-reflection. The images chosen by the media are then framed in one or more of these analytical variables.

VISIBILITY AS BIOLOGICAL LIFE

In this variable, the researchers include images that represent refugees as a “mass of unfortunate people” (p.1167), that is, without identity or voice, at the mercy of Western benevolence. These are images that promote social distance and do not offer any context about the suffering of refugees or the reasons behind their forced migration.

VISIBILITY AS EMPATHY

Using visibility as empathy is associated with the humanisation of images, like a child crying or a mother holding her child. Unlike the first pattern, here we find a closer visual perspective and an attempt to individualise refugees, encouraging compassion and charity.

VISIBILITY AS A THREAT

Here the researchers include images of armed youths, or boats trying to dock at European ports, which normally provoke fear and a sense of security threat in the audiences. It is, therefore, a form of “vilification of those who are not like ‘us’” (p.1169).

VISIBILITY AS HOSPITALITY

In this case, visibility is associated with political activism. This includes images of pro-refugee demonstrations, welcoming messages from the population, and other acts of hospitality. Although these are positive from the outset, they also subjectify refugees.

VISIBILITY AS SELF-REFLECTION

This visibility method is associated with the identification of refugees as part of us and not as the “others” (for example, images of celebrities helping refugees, charts, or images of wreckage, without characters).

This mapping of public visibility methods makes refugees “objects of ‘our’ responsibility” (p. 1172), according to Chouliaraki and Stolic, and end up being “key spaces of moralization that produce and regulate the dispositions of the public” (p .1172) concerning refugees, either perpetuating a distance or contributing to collective accountability. The researchers conclude that this humanitarian crisis is, in essence, a crisis of responsibility awareness, to which the visual representation of refugees contributes to a large extent.

In Portugal, the media coverage of refugees has also been the subject of several studies. A master’s thesis on the representations of refugees and asylum seekers in the Portuguese media (Silvestre, 2011) concluded that they are systematically disqualified as a credible source of information and their voice is silenced. Another master’s thesis, which focused on Portuguese media coverage of the refugee crisis in 2015, concluded that there were flaws in the explanation and contextualization of the journalistic pieces, starting with

the correct definition of “refugee”. It also concluded that there is a need for a greater commitment and specialisation of journalists concerning human rights (Guerreiro, 2018).

Another study based on images published in 2015 in the Portuguese daily newspaper *Público* shows that there are few clues about the identity of refugees, which are recurrently represented as a homogeneous group and not as individuals (Empinotti, 2017). The author highlights the fact that the representation methods repeatedly used “tend to reduce the understanding of the refugee as someone in constant displacement, often at risk or in poor conditions” (p. 114).

Portuguese literature tells us that in these meetings with refugees, arbitrated by the media, these individuals are represented like the *others*, without a voice, without identity, without context, without reflection. Moisés Lemos Martins goes further and describes this relationship with the *other*: “and if what is at stake is ignoring the *other*, or then segregating, discriminating, and dominating them, then this is really about exercising violence on them” (2019, p. 21).

RESEARCH OBJECT AND METHODOLOGY

On September 02, 2015, Alan Kurdi, a three-year-old Syrian child, was found drowned on a Turkish beach. The family was attempting to cross the Aegean Sea, from Turkey to Greece, by boat. His mother and brother also lost their lives. The photograph, captured by Nilüfer Demir, redefined the refugee crisis – it won the caption “humanity washed ashore” – and led to a peak in news coverage on the subject.

The first days of July 2019 highlighted the difficulties encountered by humanitarian ships trying to dock at European ports with migrants on board. On July 04, a vessel carrying migrants capsized off the coast of Tunisia, killing 82 people. The most publicised event was when the captain of the ship *Sea Watch* docked at Lampedusa, against orders from the Italian police.

Thus, this study aims to analyse how the Portuguese media covered the theme of refugees in two media relevant moments: in 2015 (between the 2nd and the 8th of September) and 2019 (between the 30th of June and the 7th of July). There were other equally relevant moments, but 2015 saw the first case that triggered news coverage on a global scale and the consternation of public opinion; 2019 was chosen for being the most recent at the date of this study.

The article intends to explore in particular what the social representation of refugees is, based on the analysis of editorial characteristics of published journalistic pieces and a typology of visibility methods proposed by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017). To achieve this objective, three research questions were outlined:

- RQ1: what are the main editorial characteristics of the pieces published in two Portuguese newspapers on the theme of refugees, during the two media relevant moments of 2015 and 2019?
- RQ2: what social representations are made about refugees, based on these editorial characteristics and the images adopted by newspapers as a visibility strategy?
- RQ3: what are the main differences between the 2015 and 2019 news coverages?

To answer these questions, we used a comparative methodology based on the content analysis of the aforementioned weeks in two reference online daily newspapers – *Público* and *Observador*. As of 2015, both publications had the largest number of page views, among reference newspapers. In 2019 the *corpus* was maintained, to support the comparative analysis. It was not the purpose of this article to present an analysis of the evolution of Portuguese news coverage between 2015 and 2019 (a period during which there were several other media relevant moments), but rather to make a comparison between moments four years apart, to identify potential differences in editorial strategies.

The search of journalistic pieces was done using the keywords “refugee” and “migrant” (in 2019, there was a change in the nomenclature of refugees), reinforced with the direct survey of the pieces allocated to the topic and specific areas defined by *Público* and *Observador*. The analysis took into account several variables, such as the journalistic genre, the author, the sources, the topic, the angle of approach, the use of images, their provenance, and framing.

The content analysis was complemented by a more detailed study of the images used – although not intending to be a multimodal analysis – based on the visibility typology proposed by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017), to understand the role that the images have in the representation of refugees through their visual configurations. This typology has already been presented in the theoretical framework and integrates visibility as biological life, empathy, threat, acceptance/hospitality, and self-reflection.

PRESENTATION AND RESULT ANALYSIS

FEWER ARTICLES AND FEWER REMINDERS

Based on the content analysis of two online generalist daily newspapers – *Observador* and *Público* – in 2015 (between the 2nd and the 8th of September) and 2019 (between the 30th of June and the 7th of July), we identified 145 articles in 2015 (88 in *Observador* and 57 in *Público*) and 48 articles in 2019 (31 in *Observador* and 17 in *Público*).

From the outset, we can observe a significant decrease in the number of articles published during the two time periods in question (97 articles less). Although in 2015 the image of the Syrian child had wide coverage not only in the media but also on social networks, the sinking of the vessel that led to the death of 82 migrants in 2019 (which was an equally serious event with notable political and social repercussions) received less coverage. At first glance, there doesn't seem to be a rigorous explanation to justify this disparity in news coverage. However, the following analysis may contribute to explain why there was a visible decrease in the number of articles.

It is important to consider the website navigation strategies of these two newspapers. In 2015, *Observador* displayed a section called “refugee crisis”, where all the articles associated with the topic of refugees could be found. It will have taken into account the specificity of the subject and its potential visibility over time, also serving as a search facilitator. However, in 2019, the articles are spread over several sections of the newspaper, catalogued under topics such as “world”, “migrants”, “human rights”, “politics”, among

others. There were also some poorly archived articles, as well as some under the topic “refugee crisis” (which has not disappeared completely but is no longer a reliable article aggregator).

Regarding *Público*, the dispersion was already present in 2015. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that, in 2019, refugees only appear as the main topic (immediately before the title) in two news articles, and eight news articles, in 2015. Even follow-ups of the same event display different topic tags, which suggests that there is still no strategy for organising the topics on either of these two newspaper websites.

PREVALENCE OF THE “EVENT” REPLICATED BY AGENCIES AND THE PORTUGUESE CONTEXT

In 2015, the most used journalistic format was the news report (89,77% in *Observador* and 84,21% in *Público*). This demonstrates that the media focus was on the event itself, rather than explaining and contextualising the issue (which could be done in feature articles). In 2019, the predominance of the news report was even more significant: all the pieces published in *Observador* were news reports; in *Público*, they were equivalent to 65% (there was one feature article, a column, and two opinion pieces).

The focus on the news report format is also associated with authorship and the primary source of information. In 2015, 23,9% of *Observador*'s articles and 8,77% in *Público* were sourced from news agencies. However, in 2019 those numbers rose to 80,65% (Lusa) and 41% (Lusa and Reuters), respectively. Even in news articles signed by journalists, news agencies continued to be the main source of information. This replication of content from news agencies tells us that resources have not been allocated to investigate these themes more profoundly, even though we know that it is not easy to reach refugees to hear their voice. This data may also help explain the decrease in the number of news reports in 2019 compared to 2015.

In addition to the news agencies, the most used information sources in both *Público* and *Observador*, in 2015 and 2019, were institutional: the United Nations, the UNHCR, and governments of several countries. Once again, it is the “white elites” that have their voices heard, even though the aforementioned non-governmental organizations (NGO) pursue the defence of human rights and the support of refugees.

As for the protagonists of this crisis, their voice is almost always absent. In truth, it is not easy to get in contact with refugees, but even so, more was expected. In fact, in 2019, only one report published in *Público* (but signed by a Reuters journalist) features the voice of refugees. The same number in *Observador*.

It continues to be uncommon to use citizens as a source of information, as we notice in *Observador*. The most prominent voice to be heard was that of Captain Carola Rackete who, at a time when European countries refused entry to humanitarian ships full of refugees, became known as a vocal defender of rescue at sea. The same is true in *Público*. In 2015, the percentage was slightly higher: 45,61% (including refugees) in *Público* and 23,86% in *Observador*.

In 2015, the news articles about the Portuguese context in the refugee crisis corresponded to 29,55% in *Observador* and 40,35% in *Público*, respectively. At that point, Portugal showed its readiness to receive refugees and a public debate ensued among political and civil entities, regarding the best way to relocate them. However, in 2019 the percentage of news reports on the subject decreased. In the case of *Observador*, it decreased by 9,68%. At the time, news agencies were focused on events that occurred outside of Portugal and thus did not have much impact on national decision-makers. Since most of *Observador*'s news reports on the subject were sourced from news agencies, this can help explain why the number of articles decreased. Conversely, *Público*, which sources fewer news articles from news agencies than *Observador*, published 41,18% news features about the Portuguese context regarding the crisis. Unlike *Observador*, which focused solely on the rescue of refugees by the Portuguese Maritime Police in Greece, *Público* also addressed the situation of the Portuguese activist Miguel Duarte, charged in Italy with aiding illegal immigration.

WHO IS THE REFUGEE IN THE MEDIA?

To answer this question, we used not just a content analysis, but also a more detailed look at the images published in the two newspapers according to the type of visibility proposed by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017): biological life, empathy, threat, acceptance/hospitality, and self-reflection.

Firstly, to understand the *other*, we must know who the *other* is. Knowing who the refugee is, based on its definition, allows us to combat some prejudices and stereotypes related to this group.

However, the definition of “refugee” as a person who is in “fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country”, as stated in the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951), was seldom included in the pieces – one in 88 times in *Observador* and one in 57 times in *Público*, in 2015. In a theme marked by great divergences of concepts (at the time, more specifically, between who was a refugee and who was an economic migrant), the definition was considered the starting point for understanding the refugee crisis.

In 2019, no news report in either *Público* or *Observador* contained the definition of refugee or an approximation to its identification. Also, this lack of knowledge about the refugee is compounded by the random use of the word “migrant”. In *Observador*, during the week in analysis, the word “refugees” was only used twice; the remaining news reports, even on the same subject, were indexed with the topic “migrants” or used that word in the text. Perhaps this happened because the term “migrants” includes several realities, but this can also lead to unnecessary mistakes in the readers’ perception of the issue (this did not happen in *Público*).

Indeed, the people fleeing armed conflicts and who were trying to disembark in 2019 from the various humanitarian ships or clandestine boats did not yet have refugee status (which is obtained in the host country after several conditions have been met). However, they cannot be compared to migrants who leave their countries for economic reasons. The use of the term “forced migrant” instead of just “migrant” could prevent any misinformation related to the refugees’ own identity.

The angle of approach used by journalists on news articles contributes to the lack of knowledge about refugees. In 2015, a predominance of the western perspective was present in *Observador* (90,91%) and *Público* (87,72%); in other words, western sources (official and unofficial) that refer to the issue as belonging to the *other*. Conversely, there was a loss of the intercultural perspective, since the point of view present in the coverage was far more aligned with western concerns than with the concerns of the “protagonists” of the crisis, of a multicultural nature.

In 2019, the western approach angle is even more striking. The news articles portray the captains of humanitarian ships and the countries that welcomed refugees as heroes. However, the refugee who managed to flee his or her country is never the hero nor the victim.

This underrepresentation of refugees in the articles, where they are often reduced to numbers or portrayed as a homogeneous group, is further aggravated by the images chosen by the newspapers, presenting a negative evolution from 2015 to 2019. In 2019, 96,77% of *Observador*’s news reports on the theme displayed only one image, without any access to an image gallery, which can be considered very poor in terms of visual logic. As for *Público*, the newspaper only used an image gallery in two out of 17 news reports that year.

Furthermore, very few images published in newspapers portray refugees as individuals with their own voice and identity. In *Público*, only four out of 17 show refugees as leading participants in the issue. All other images show western politicians, NGO heads of mission, or captains of humanitarian ships. As for *Observador*, more images of refugees were used, however: 29,03% of the images used were outdated (the data indicates that they were not from 2019 but previous years instead), 12,90% were standardised (displaying refugees in an undifferentiated, massified way), 22,58% were out of context (with no direct correspondence with the news reports) and 6,45% were repeated. *Público*, on the other hand, showed more care regarding the use of images of refugees: images displayed a caption that confirmed their relevance and topicality.

When we apply the visibility methods proposed by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) to images of refugees, we can note a clear predominance of visual configurations related to biological life; that is to say, most are images of undifferentiated people – or a “mass of unfortunate people” (p.1167) on the boats, as described by the aforementioned authors. In the case of *Observador*, where visual representations of refugees constitute 35,48% of the total, 12,90% display situations of homogenisation/generalisation (for example, photos of undifferentiated groups), while 9,68% represents a depersonalised human

mass, much like the “classic” images of boats full with clusters of people. Images such as these took on a preponderant role in the media coverage of the 2015 crisis. These images also created patterns in the public’s interpretation of the issue, and continue to be featured along the same lines, sometimes even outdated, according to the data previously presented. We can also see these same images in *Público*, showing undifferentiated refugees, in boats or situations of destruction. This visibility method encourages the readers to feel distant, as well as the absence of collective responsibility since there is neither a “face” nor a story.

The second most used type of visibility is the threat, with the constant use of images of boats with refugees desperately trying to leave. As Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) explain, this visibility method promotes fear and a feeling of insecurity. If we combine this with the first category – which promotes ignorance – then the perceived threat of “the unknown” and the *other* takes on even more significant proportions. These visual configurations confirm what the researchers point out: the humanitarian crisis turns out to be a crisis of a lack of awareness of responsibility.

The third most used type of visibility is empathy, where refugees are portrayed as victims who deserve concern, and that also expose human rights violations. However, they represent less than 10% of the images used.

CONCLUSION

The refugee crisis is ongoing, albeit recently at a slower and more contained pace. Further away from the media lenses than in 2015, but ubiquitous in anti-immigration political trends and in governmental decisions that mandate the closure of Mediterranean ports. At the same time, journalism, as a mediating and communicating force, has restricted its role as it reduced investigation.

In 2019, in both *Público* and *Observador*, the refugee is portrayed as an entity with no voice and no identity. They are not valued as a source of news reports because they are not even heard. When they are represented, refugees are normally described without any individualising features, a standard image (like the “human mass” on boats) and it has been thus since 2015.

The definition of “refugee” (the very essence of their situation) is ignored, without the proper contextualisation of this issue that would allow for a greater understanding by the reader. This definition is absent from all the news reports of 2019, which tells us that the news coverage still does not take into account the explanation of the concepts, in particular this cornerstone concept. This, despite the time that elapsed between the beginning of the crisis, in 2015, until the most recent analysis, in 2019.

The refugee also has no fixed place in the media, as the news reports about them are increasingly dispersed in the various sections of the newspapers, losing autonomy and becoming more difficult to find. This leads to the public’s distancing from the topic.

Finally, in 2019, the refugee was not a major concern of the media, as most news reports were simple duplications of news agencies' content. In the predominant journalistic genre, the news report, the western perspective has become even more accentuated, simply attributing to the refugee the role of the *other* – one who, without a voice, without identity, without context or memory, does not deserve to be highlighted in the media agenda.

Translation: José Manuel Santos

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BARBARUS AD PORTAS: THE VERBAL AGGRESSION IN COMMENTS ON THE SOCIAL NETWORK FACEBOOK

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ABSTRACT

The paper discusses the problematic of the representation of refugee migrants in Europe, Portugal, and in Latin America, Brazil. Focusing on verbal violence on the web, the work analyzes comments from Facebook users, highlighting the *ad hominem* argument as a strategy to denigrate the image of the refugees, the paper notes two forms of materialization of this argument: personal direct attack and indirect personal attack. The verbal strategies that allow disqualify refugee migrants and represent them negatively. The theoretical framework is a tributary of discourse analysis in dialogue with rhetoric represented by Amossy (1999, 2014b) among others, complemented by studies on interaction in social networks (Castells, 2013), and verbal violence (Culpeper, 2008; Bousfield, 2008), in particular verbal violence in internet and social networks (Castells, 2013; Rodeghiero, 2012). The discursive-pragmatic analysis was carried out in a *corpus* of messages on Facebook, collected between July and August 2017, about the migratory crisis in Europe, and collected in August 2018, about the immigration of Venezuelans to Brazil. The study allows us to prove that, in a era when social networks disseminate and spread, through the written word, the free opinions of those who previously did not have achievement to the public expression of their opinion, devaluing and aggressive strategies dominate comments on social networks and transmit positions that aim to exclude the migrant, considered as disturbing an established order.

KEYWORDS

verbal violence; *ad hominem* argument; social networks; Facebook; migrants; refugees

BARBARUS AD PORTAS: A AGRESSIVIDADE VERBAL EM COMENTÁRIOS NA REDE SOCIAL FACEBOOK

RESUMO

O presente artigo discute a problemática da representação de migrantes refugiados na Europa, Portugal, e na América Latina, Brasil. Focalizando a violência verbal na web, neste estudo pretende-se analisar comentários de usuários do Facebook, destacando o argumento *ad hominem* como estratégia para macular a imagem dos migrantes refugiados, o trabalho observa duas formas de materialização desse argumento: o ataque pessoal direto e o ataque pessoal indireto. São analisadas as estratégias verbais que permitem desqualificar migrantes refugiados e representá-los negativamente. O quadro teórico é tributário da análise do discurso em diálogo com a retórica, representada pelas pesquisas de Amossy (1999, 2014b), entre outros, complementando-se em estudos sobre interações em redes sociais (Castells, 2013), e sobre violência

verbal (Culpeper, 2008; Bousfield, 2008), em particular a violência verbal na internet e nas redes sociais (Castells, 2013; Rodeghiero, 2012). A análise discursiva-pragmática foi efetuada num *corpus* de mensagens no Facebook, recolhidas entre julho e agosto de 2017, sobre a crise migratória na Europa, e recolhidas em agosto de 2018, sobre a imigração de venezuelanos para o Brasil. O estudo permite-nos comprovar que, numa era em que as redes sociais disseminam e contagiam, através da palavra escrita, as opiniões livres de todos os que anteriormente não tinham acesso à expressão pública da sua opinião, as estratégias desvalorizadoras e agressivas dominam os comentários nas redes sociais e veiculam posicionamentos que visam excluir o migrante, considerado como perturbador de uma ordem estabelecida.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

violência verbal; argumento *ad hominem*; redes sociais; Facebook; migrantes; refugiados

INTRODUCTION

In memoriam Professor Lésmer Montecino (1956-2017),
Professor at the Pontifical University of Santiago do Chile

Those who advance facing the sea
And bury, in it, like a sharp knife
The black bow of their boats
They live on little bread and moonlight
Sophia de Mello Breyner (2015, p. 406)

The frenzied pace of changes resulting from technological innovations, particularly in the field of electronic communication, is a phenomenon that has such high repercussion and extent that it is important to come to ontological and reflective questions about the suitability and effectiveness of different media and to rethink and redefine the role and the status they can assume within the reflection on emerging social problems.

Social networks, such as Facebook, emphasize network interaction and sociability. Its users enjoy an open, free context to build interpersonal relationships, through spaces for discursive exhibition (Develotte, 2006) and discursive production, which enable the continuous expression of individual comments, including the expression of opinions that arouse controversy, through demonstrations and acts of verbal violence.

We will begin with a *corpus* of Facebook messages about the migratory crisis in Europe, collected between July and August 2017, and about the immigration of Venezuelans to Brazil, collected in August 2018, to perform a discursive-pragmatic analysis of the devaluing and aggressive strategies included in comments.

In Europe, the migration crisis has deepened terribly since 2015. The number of refugees and migrants has grown exponentially, due to conflicts in the Middle East and Africa and the civil war in Syria, as well as the fragile, weak quality of life in some non-European countries, which has provoked numerous discussions, particularly in media

contexts. Likewise, in Brazil, the migratory flow of Venezuelans arising from the serious crisis that the country has been going through grew uncontrollably in 2018, giving rise to a great diversity of positions regarding the issue. Bearing that in mind, our analysis focuses on comments that appear on Facebook addressing the aforementioned migration movements. Our analyzes are guided by the following questions:

1. what are the discursive strategies that produce social exclusion?
2. is it an ideologically marked speech or is it preferentially a pious speech, trying to create an atmosphere of compassion, recurrently summoning emotions through dramatic periphrases?
3. how is the polarization processed and on what basis is it supported?

The study has the objective of reflecting on verbal aggression in comments on the social network Facebook. To this end, we will seek to identify discursive strategies that devalue and tarnish the image of refugees/migrants; to describe the polarization in public opinion and the reasons underlying the different position takings; to analyze whether the characteristics of the social network – distancing, asynchrony, social masks, and others – condition the construction of a derogatory, contentious, bellicose, violent ethos.

Therefore, our theoretical framework will rely on the Discourse Analysis represented by the research by Maingueneau (2002) and Amossy (1999, 2014b), among others; as a complement, the study will be based on studies on interactions in social networks (Castells, 2013) and also in the panoply of reflections on courtesy and verbal violence (Culpeper 2008; Boufield, 2008), among which we highlight those that focus on verbal violence on the internet and on social networks, from different theoretical perspectives (Castells, 2013; Rodeghiero, 2012).

Likewise, our analyzes will focus on the discourse as a social practice, as a form and action that is in close relationship with the social structure, thus corroborating the assumptions of van Dijk (2008), who highlights that the social environment constructs the discourse and is simultaneously constructed by it, in a reciprocal relationship between social situations and the set of discourses that are enunciated, invariably aiming to gain visibility, domination, manipulation, and more power.

MIGRATING: REALITY AND STRANGENESS

In the animal kingdom, all beings migrate when conditions are adverse, when their survival is threatened either because the climate is unfavorable because it does not rain or it rains too much, or because they lack food, or because they are expelled by other beings because they are victims of power abuse. The fact is that whenever animals perceive a risk to their survival and the continuity of the species, they seek alternative places to live. Human beings do not have this characteristic. Since the beginning of human history, there have been migratory movements. If it is true that men move to other places, in search of better living conditions, it is also true that foreigners are always welcomed with suspicion by those who are in their lands and may feel threatened by the arrival of the unknown. That is how it has been.

As Paulo Sande (n.d.) rightly recalls, by shouting *Barbarus ad portas*, the romans signaled the imminent arrival, in Rome, of the barbarian peoples, whom they regarded as uncivilized peoples. And the Roman civilization shrunk in part because it was unable to face those whom they called “barbarians” and those who even lived within the borders of the Roman Empire as de facto citizens of Rome.

History is, as witnessed, ancient and it is being repeated in the middle of the 21st century, when we witness the swelling of this migratory process, worsened mainly by the Syrian tragedy and the Venezuelan crisis, which mirrors that the refugees from these countries are, in the eyes of many Europeans and Brazilians, encouraged by more or less xenophobic movements, rather similar to the barbarians, because they ostracize through language and through acts, they invent and exaggerate the risks of welcoming these peoples, they create false myths, without realizing that we have a moral obligation to welcome and integrate refugees *ad portas*.

We recall the allegory of the cave by Plato, who, more than two thousand years ago, showed us that citizens construct reality based on the shadows that are projected at the bottom of the cave. The so-called shadows of a reality that actually happens outside this cave; even though the individuals live with their backs turned to it.

Although the topic “migrants and refugees” is a theme with increasing social, political, and media importance, the construction of discourses is often based, as in the allegory, on perceptions, spread, nowadays, by hyper-mediation. And, in this field of hypermediatization of phenomena, it is important to underline that we passively absorb certain representations, without being able to unveil the underlying aggressiveness or violence. Essentially, two factors preside: the trivialization and the discursive construction of images that are not necessarily compatible with daily reality.

As we have already highlighted, the migration crisis in Europe has worsened in recent years. The number of refugees has exponentially increased due to conflicts in the Middle East, namely the civil war in Syria, which has prompted many people to seek refuge in Europe. Refugees arriving in Europe represent a small percentage of the four million Syrians who have fled to Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, and Iraq, making Syria the largest source of refugees in the entire world and the worst humanitarian crisis in more than four decades.

In Brazil, the migratory flow of Venezuelans was practically insignificant until the year 2010, when, with the worsening of the economic crisis in Venezuela, a significant number of Venezuelans began to seek asylum in Brazil, a movement that was strengthened in 2018, with the worsening of the crisis. The immigrants settle mainly in Roraima, a Brazilian state that borders Venezuela. The state of Roraima is a poor region of the country, and Venezuelans also arrive in very precarious conditions. The issue became critical, motivating the Brazilian government to create a group to deal with refugees in Roraima. Despite these actions, the reactions of Brazilians consist, above all, of repudiating their neighbors.

In the subsequent section, we will address the representations of migrants by the media, seeking to highlight the different images that are constructed regarding these groups of subjects.

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MIGRANTS

An initial approach will focus on the term chosen to designate the migrant population: refugees or migrants?

The designation “refugee” refers to a person who has left their country for safety or survival reasons, while the designation “migrant” indicates a person who participates in a migration process.

The same acceptations are corroborated in the platform Apoio aos Refugiados [Support for Refugees], which states that:

the condition of refugee is inevitably associated with a situation of life or death and/or deprivation of freedom and total insecurity. The extreme degree of threats leads populations to flight from their natural spaces as an act of survival, to escape armed conflicts, ethnic or political persecutions that literally destroy any prospect for life. In most cases, the existence of urgent, structured assistance is the only option for survival for these populations.¹

The Brazilian branch of the UN Refugee Agency presents a similar definition:

they are people who are outside their country of origin due to well-founded fears of persecution related to issues of race, religion, nationality, belonging to a particular social group or political opinion, as well as the serious and widespread violation of human rights and armed conflicts.²

According to the Geneva Convention, which dates back to 1951 and is part of the International Humanitarian Law, a refugee is a person who, reasonably fearing being persecuted as a result of activity carried out in the State of their nationality or where they habitually live in favor of democracy, social and national liberation, peace between peoples, freedom and the rights of the human person or due to their race, religion, nationality, political convictions or belonging to a given social group, is outside their country of nationality and is not able or, because of that fear, does not want to ask for protection from that country, or a stateless person who, being outside the country where they habitually lived, for the same reasons, is not able or does not want to return to it. We find both expressions indifferently, even though we can also witness the use of some periphrases: “survivors of hell”, “victims of terror”.

Migrant, refugee, exiles... The differences are sometimes subtle and the acceptations are not limited to the definitions set by dictionaries or glossaries, taking on other meanings in the course of social developments. Although there is a wide variety of acceptations in international literature dedicated to the theme of refugees and migrants, from different perspectives and in quite diverse fields (in the scope of the Human and Social Sciences, namely Sociology and Anthropology, but also Political Sciences, International Relations, and Law), it is important to clarify the meaning we consider in this study.

¹ Retrieved from <https://www.refugiados.pt/>

² Retrieved from <http://www.acnur.org/portugues/quem-ajudamos/refugiados/>

We know that in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948)³, the fundamental rights for all people, regardless of sex, color, race, language, religion, or opinion, were stated for the first time, thus implying the commitment of States to internationally guarantee and respect these rights. This process of elevating human rights to an international level led to the creation of International Humanitarian Law to regulate the protection of the human person in cases of war conflicts and International Refugee Law. This Convention, together with the Protocol of Amendment to the 1967 Convention, is the main source regarding refugees in international law.

In the light of Article 1 of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951),

refugees are persons who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of their nationality and is unable or, owing to such fears, is unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country. (UN, 1951)⁴

Later, in 1984, the Cartagena Declaration was developed, contributing to the expansion of the rights of refugees, as well as the definition of the UN international regime, by covering, in the concept of refugees, people who left their countries because their life, safety or freedom were threatened as a result of widespread violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights, or other circumstances that seriously disturbed public order (Cartagena Declaration, 1984)⁵.

It is important to reiterate that the recognition of the refugee is based on the assumption that they are a human being in a situation of vulnerability, and that is the reason that motivates them to migrate. As stated by Chelotti and Cruz (2016, p. 8),

what forces them to migrate – and, therefore, to abandon their country, their culture, their home, and their own identity – is not the hope of a better life, but the massive violation of their rights, the well-founded fear of persecution, and the urgent need to save their own and their families' lives.

Therefore, we agree with the designation by Michel Agier (2002), who argues that refugees are far from being migrants, because, unlike the latter, the former had no option, did not voluntarily plan their departure and resumption of life elsewhere. Their places of belonging and identity – individual or collective –, their daily life, were destroyed, making escaping the only possible option. Moreover,

the term migrant generally includes all cases in which the decision to migrate is freely made by the individual in question, due to 'personal convenience'

³ Available at <https://www.cig.gov.pt/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Declaracao-Universal-dos-Direitos-Humanos.pdf>

⁴ Available at http://www.acnur.org/t3/fileadmin/Documentos/portugues/BDL/Convencao_relativa_ao_Estatuto_dos_Refugiados.pdf

⁵ Available at http://www.acnur.org/t3/fileadmin/Documentos/portugues/BD_Legal/Instrumentos_Internacionais/Declaracao_de_Cartagena.pdf?view

and without the intervention of external factors that compel them to do so. Consequently, this term applies to people and family members who move to another country or region in order to improve their and their families' material and social conditions and possibilities, without this mandatory abandonment of the country in the genesis.⁶

Social Anthropology critically analyzes this stereotype of the refugee as a mere recipient of aid, reinforcing the need for a standpoint that integrates not only assistance measures and survival and life strategies in the hosting country but also the possibilities of penetration into the host context and society, without confining refugees to the status of passive people. These integration practices, defended by Blinder and Jelena (2005), of new representations and humanitarian intervention aim to soften the distance between us and them (the refugees), in a more humanist approach, also upheld by Agier:

refugees cease to be refugees, not when they return to their homes, but when they fight as such for their bodies, health, socialization: they cease to be the victims that the humanitarian scene entails to become the subjects of a democratic scene that they improvise where they are. (Agier, 2006, p. 213)

In this study, despite being aware of overlapping areas between the two terms, although we note that this distinction is at the center of the political and sociological debate that is guided by a need to construct a broader notion of the concept of “refugee”, we will consider, following Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Loescher, Long and Sigona (2014), as well as Oliveira, Peixoto and Góes (2017), that many migrants, apparently voluntary and proactive, are forced to leave their countries due to situations of severe economic need, extreme deprivation or increasing environmental degradation, while many refugees, apparently forced and reactive, voluntarily give up their country of origin due to the lack of conditions. As these authors underline (Oliveira et al., 2017, p. 77):

it is thus clear, as Triandafyllidou (2017, p. 4) also highlights, that current concepts fail because they do not meet the multiplicity of realities that exist on the ground and that lead people who need protection not to apply for asylum and economic migrants to request regularization under that statute.

And, besides, that the distinction between “migrants” and “refugees” is becoming increasingly unclear, making it difficult to analyze and regulate these movements (Oliveira et al., 2017, p. 97).

It is important to note that the example that presides over the title of our paper, *Barbarus ad portas*, prohibits any denial, given its autonomous use, regardless of the proposition, that is, to be a simple expression, a qualifier projected onto the face of the other that configures an act of discourse with an overtly agonistic intention, by qualifying the intruder as a barbarian who is naturally understood as derogatory.

⁶ Retrieved from Glossário sobre Migração - Organização Internacional para as Migrações, available at <https://www.acm.gov.pt/documents/10181/65144/Gloss%C3%A1rio.pdf/b66532b2-8eb6-497d-b24d-6a92dadfee7b>

In the following section, we present some reflections on the social network Facebook and its status in the controversies.

THE CONTEXT OF THE SOCIAL NETWORK FACEBOOK

The frenzied pace of changes resulting from technological innovations, the rapid transition of electronic media, the digital revolution are a phenomenon that has such high repercussion and extent that, as stated in the Introduction of this paper, it is important to come to ontological and reflective questions about the suitability and effectiveness of different media and to rethink and redefine the role and the status they can assume in our social daily life.

Some objectives are inherent to the social network Facebook: sharing information, influencing others; staying informed; seeking moments of entertainment; speaking about social issues; participating in activist movements, beyond the notorious issues of marketing and trade.

This social network contributes to the fading of the public/private dichotomy. It becomes a mediatized platform for staging, a space for sharing opinions, revelations, and exposure of daily life, which aims to construct a media identity where visibility and exposure interpenetrate (Carvalho, Prior & Morais, 2015, p. 17). Other specificities of the network corroborate this growing expansion of controversy and aggression, given that there is a perennialization of writing; it is more difficult to erase the messages. On the other hand, there undoubtedly is a greater visibility, since they can be disseminated and read by a vast number of people and the permanence of content on the web can aggravate and enhance aggressiveness in the virtual space, contributing to the recurrence and trivialization of the phenomenon.

As Amossy (2014a) notes, 21st century society is fond of spectacle; the network Facebook is, in the author's words, the public square of today, where individuals show themselves to each other, where ideas are discussed and polemics develop, often bitterly. In social networks, according to Cabral and Lima (2017), interactions happen more in the order of conflict than of harmony; in fact, Amossy (2014a) asserts that digital media privilege controversy. In reality, in the case of Facebook spaces that are constituted and exclusively dedicated to the expression of public opinion, of a socio-political nature, there is often a strong, close dynamism, with continuous posts, promoting the defense of values and protagonists who are registered and vehemently attacking the ideas of those who oppose them and mainly of those who are in power or the most fragile and excluded, with no right of reply.

Regarding the positions adopted on the network, including those that are aggressive, Cabral, Marquesi and Seara (2015) must be remembered; the authors show that users, protecting themselves with the machine and with the possibility of assuming identities that enable anonymity, end up stating their points of view more spontaneously, often allowing themselves to be aggressive. Cabral (2013) also notes that the easy accessibility of the network gives people a sense of closeness that allows the use of a more relaxed

language, with less personal control. The fact is that people expose themselves and expose their views on Facebook, and their aggressiveness also becomes more visible. We also verify that when aggressive and offensive comments spread on the net, they are underestimated given the network's volatility, given the growing trivialization that leads to a level of negligence in the face of these social facts. Nonetheless, violent manifestations seem to multiply since one user's violence can encourage others to be equally violent.

We will thus show the operability of two categories: one, defended by Develotte (2006), which was called a "discursive exhibition space". Even though the author described it to discuss the educational system and the interactions that occur in it, we believe that it is operational for the analysis that we develop here. Therefore we use the notion of discursive exhibition spaces, described as the set of statements to which a certain group of people is exposed and which determines and conditions subsequent discursive production.

It is actually due to a given discursive exhibition space that a new discourse is produced by the enunciator, who is evidently an individual subject but mainly an actor who is socially framed or situated. The specific fact of the social network, in which the subjects are exposed and in which there is a list of previous comments that constitute the discursive space where further comments will be integrated and adjusted, enhances this discursive chain, of constant exhibition.

It is also important to underline that some of the specificities of social networks corroborate the growing expansion of the phenomenon since it is more difficult to delete virtual messages, there is a greater visibility, and they can be spread and read by a wide group of people, while the content remains on the web, which may aggravate and enhance aggressiveness in the virtual space, confirming the recurrence and social trivialization of the phenomenon. Thus, when authors devalue the image of migrants, they do it to win over the audience, to attract people with similar thoughts that help construct a pejorative image. In a cascading movement, aggressive comments seem to attract new manifestations of aggression, expanding this type of behavior. The so-called cyber intimidators resort to a violent discursive practice, present not only in derogatory lexical choices but mainly in offensive directive acts.

The aggressive virtual environment generates almost-collective violence, according to Rodeghiero (2012, p. 52), more dangerous than physical violence in person, as seen in the following statement by the author: "it is true that a weapon of great power can, through a single soldier, kill several people at the same time, but collective violence generates the feeling and projection of increased violence". While Castells (2013) finds that social networks are used to establish a fraternal atmosphere in favor of the fight for social and political issues, in defense of the rights of citizens who demands honesty and democracy, in which violence happens as an instrument of fight or of oppression by dictatorial powers, in our *corpus*, in social networks, we collect expressions that denounce verbal aggression and violence based on discursive strategies that negatively present the image of migrants, as we will show in our analyzes.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Our study is undertaken within the fields of Rhetoric, interactive discourse analysis, ethnomethodologist inspiration and, also, Linguistic Pragmatics, based on two assumptions: the conception of language is radically dialogic and socio-historical; the concept of discursive *ethos*, as defined by Maingueneau (2002), Charaudeau (1996, 2005), Amossy (1999, 2014b).

In the space “social network”, apostrophes are naturally associated with an argumentative objective, insofar as, on the one hand, they participate in the construction of the negative image of the addressee that the addresser wishes to construct in their own discourse; on the other, they also aim at attachment from the auditorium and simultaneously at the disqualification of the opponent, through two opposing strategies: the first is persuasion and the second is the stigmatization of the opponent. In this context, according to Cabral and Lima (2017, p. 89), “verbal violence then takes on an important role as a strategy of polemic discourse, since, by attacking the opponent, we are, in some way, disqualifying them”.

Bousfield (2008, p. 132) defines that verbal aggression is a face-threatening act (FTA), an intentional, free, conflicting face-threatening act that was produced on purpose. In turn, Culpeper (2008, p. 36) underlines the intention of causing damage to the face. In fact, when there is an intention of disqualifying the interlocutor, violence seems to be an effective strategy and as such, as stated by Cabral and Lima (2017), it needs to be linguistically marked, for example, with the use of a pejorative qualifier.

Terkourafi (2008, p. 70), however, defends that verbal rudeness and aggressiveness occur when the expression used is unconventional in relation to the context in which it occurs; it attacks the recipient’s face, but no intent to attack the face is attributed to the speaker by the listener.

The concepts that we alluded to earlier allow us to reinforce that subjects can perform threatening acts, whether intentionally or not, and place the context of interaction and negotiation and the enunciative framework at the center as important parameters to analyze injurious acts.

In the case of insults, they naturally presuppose a situation of interlocution, dominated by agonistic positions, aiming to establish a dysphoric interactional environment, so we are faced with explicit indications of referential saturation of the recipient, whose specificity consists of having a critical, derogatory intention.

An insult, according to the dictionary, is a “word, attitude, or gesture that has the power of attacking someone’s dignity or honor” (Houaiss & Villar, 2001, p. 1629). Based on the definition, it is clear that the insult materializes through language; it is, therefore, a verbal act. It is necessary, however, to consider that, in addition to attacking the addressee’s face, according to Cabral and Albert (2017, p. 278), “this act slips into the social domain”. The authors resort to the dictionary to justify their reasoning, stating that the insult shows “aversion or contempt for the values, capacity, intelligence, or rights of others” (Houaiss & Villar, 2001, p. 1629). That is why Kerbrat-Orecchini (2014, p. 47) says that “politeness never has a place in wars, where what matters first and foremost

is attacking the opponent to win. This is also the case of the metaphorical wars that are the debates”.

It is impossible to ignore that insults feature an underlying argumentative intention that is supported by the stigmatization device of the listener, who, in turn, has two models in its genesis: the collaboration with their peers and the devaluation of others. The interpellation of the other through pejorative axiological statements consists of blocking the step “X is a Y”, where X represents the addressee and Y represents the predication made about them, a predicative structure that allows the refutation (of the type, negative structure “X is not a Y”). Injurious expressions convey the concrete existence, the unquestionable referencing and the co-statement that is constructed prevents any discussion, insofar as it simultaneously updates the assessment and its confirmation or ratification.

According to Rosier and Ernotte (2000, p. 12), it is an argumentative strategy (*mépris énonciatif*) that aims, on the one hand, to stigmatize the interlocutor, to position them as an ideologically distant other, simultaneously establishing group collaboration with their peers. In confluence with this line of thought, van Dijk (1998, p. 43) states that good deeds are generally attributed to ourselves and our allies and bad deeds are ascribed to others (or their supporters) or, with a simple inversion of this thesis: our bad actions are mitigated and minimized, while good actions are praised. van Dijk (1998) designates this situation by the ideological square in which the “us” corresponds to the enunciator of the message and “them”, the “others”, are the ones who ideologically position themselves in an opposite way. This argumentative strategy, which consists of positively describing the endogroup (enunciator, also theoretically referred to as “us”) and negatively describing the exogroup (object or social actor represented in the discourse, or “them”) – is called by van Dijk (2005, p. 195) “ideological square”.

Traditionally, an *argumentum ad hominem* is present, in its strict sense, which implies the temporary adoption by the addresser of a *doxa* that they perceive as incompatible with the *doxa* of the universal auditorium, a virtual auditorium that is ideally receptive to the rational argumentation.

The problem is that the daily use of *ad hominem* refers to an attack on the other and not to an adjustment to the addressee’s specific beliefs. In the *argumentum ad hominem*, the intrinsic merits of the opponent’s point of view or doubt are not discussed, but the opponent is outright disqualified. This strategy is essentially aimed at the audience (in the case of the social network, this notion of “auditorium” is important, given its rapid repercussion) and not at the opponent. The disqualification of the other, on Facebook, is often part of a rhetorical game for the auditorium, that is, the other users with whom a point of view to be reinforced is shared. According to Amossy (2014a), the disqualification of the other in their person delegitimizes them since it leads them to discredit.

There are two variations of *ad hominem* arguments:

1. direct personal attack: addressed to any aspect of the person: their competence, their honorability, their character. It is intended to attack the opponent’s ethics, regarding them as dishonest, not righteous, and untrustworthy. It shows that someone who is incapable or a liar cannot hold correct or credible positions. The negative characteristics of the other are always highlighted;

2. indirect personal attack: it is the one in which the impartiality of the person presenting the argument is put under suspicion. A characteristic of the opponent is presented: political affiliation, religious belief, ethnicity, political alliances of any nature. By highlighting this attribute, there is an intention of showing that someone is biased, has obscure, prejudiced personal motivations and partial points of view. An indirect personal attack is, for example, to imply that the other has nothing to say about a given subject because they had no personal experience in the area.

Our analyses will focus on these two categories of strategies, as we will explain in the following section.

ATTACK ON MIGRANTS ON FACEBOOK

Although we all know that freedom of expression is a right of citizenship, we are sometimes perplexed by the countless injurious, defamatory, and *ad hominem* attacks we witness, mainly in an era when social networks disseminate and spread, through the written word, the free opinions of all those who previously had no access to the public expression of their opinion.

We chose the social network Facebook as it is a relevant field for investigation in several areas, under different perspectives; it may reveal many particularities of perceptions and behaviors of individuals, regarding themselves and their social relationships. Dabrowska (2013, p. 142) highlights that Facebook offers several advantages for research:

the social network, and specifically Facebook, shares a number of advantages with the electronic registers, notably those of large quantities of easily accessible data, a considerable degree of informality in the language, the possibility of manipulating the subjects in order to explore various aspects of language use and (...) access to social information about post authors through their profile data. (Dabrowska, 2013, p. 142)

We collected a set of comments on migrants from Portuguese and Brazilian users on Facebook. The Brazilian *corpus* was collected in a public group on Facebook⁷ with 139.166 members. In turn, the Portuguese *corpus* was also collected on the social network Facebook⁸, in a group which comprises 87.123 members. Considering the questions that presided over the development of the research, 196 pages were visited over the months and posts and comments whose discursive strategies manifested polarization, aggression, and social exclusion were selected, collected, and anonymized.

Based on the definition of insult that we presented in the previous section and on the assumptions by de Rosier and Ernotte (2000, p. 3), we consider that the insult happens verbally as a typically linguistic form that nominally calls into question the other, presupposing a discursive configuration and a specific situation of enunciation that seeks to disgrace the dignity or honor of the insulted person. From this perspective and given that an insult is manifestly an act threatening the other's face (FTA), we understand that

⁷ Available at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/388027014733332/about/>

⁸ Available at <https://facebook.com/groups/23145777899645/about>

the insult, as a verbal strategy, makes use of verbal violence (Auger, Fracchiola, Moïse & Schutz-Romain, 2008, p. 639), as the authors highlight:

the insult is an interlocutive speech act. It carries an emotional, even instinctual, force, and sees the other in the desire to belittle and deny them. It plays an eminently perlocutionary role (“because I call you fat, you’re going to feel that way”). This functioning is made possible due to linguistic effects.

We can state, based on the aforementioned authors, that the insult implies an addressee. Therefore, it has an important pragmatic and interactional function, corresponding to the form of treatment, geared towards the other, to whom a negative judgment is attributed, linguistically expressed by pejorative axiological terms. The insults and other marks of aggressiveness in the analysis that we develop here do not happen in face-to-face or dialogical contexts, but in a specific situation of enunciation, which is commonly referred to as delocutive speech: they are uttered or written and addressed to an absent person, which, as we have previously shown, is more complex and more aggressive, because these statements would possibly not be uttered in person.

This is combined with the importance of the public, which, in the case of social networks, has a long reach and is enormously important, given that the pragmatic meaning stems from the enunciative relationship; in this context, the presence of others in the identification of the underlying speech act frequently raises more interlocutors, as happens in cases of acts such as defamation, provocation, humiliation, which aim to stigmatize and exclude the other.

It is clear that, on the one hand, the migrant population is discursively regarded as strange and numerous and as a cause of social disturbance (“illegal, intruder, terrorist, barbaric”), with an accusation constructed based on a derogatory image; on the other hand, in contrast, those who welcome migrants are encouraged, proliferating an inclusive, markedly humanistic, discourse.

Let us now analyze some of the comments on migrants on the social network Facebook. As defined in the previous section, our categories of analysis are: direct personal attack and indirect personal attack. We will use PC and BC when referring to the Portuguese *corpus* and to the Brazilian *corpus*, both collected from Facebook pages, on the dates mentioned in parentheses at the end (*italics added*).

PC₁ – I think we shouldn’t welcome them. *They* come here and do not respect *our* rules!

PC₂ – *They* only want to go to rich countries!

PC₃ – I am not a racist, but all *Muslims* are terrorists, they are *animals* that we cannot trust!

PC4 – Arab countries can have *them*!

PC5 – Because I don't fucking care about *their* suffering!

PC6 – *We don't* want *parasites* here

PC7 – Out with the *intruders*!

PC8 – Besides, they are all *terrorists*!

PC9 – Out with these *illegal people, criminals*, go back to your countries.

PC10 – We don't want to live in the *jungle*.

PC11 – I am not a racist, but... all Muslims are terrorists, they are *animals* whom we cannot trust! Arab countries can have *them*! Because I don't fucking care about their suffering!

PC12 – Unfortunately, the Portuguese are happy with soccer and tours of the chambers, while *these people* take advantage of the opportunity to swipe everything that moves!

(August 22, 2017)

BC1 – There are already many problems here, and yet *these people from outside* still come to bring more *problems*, the government really must forbid *these people* from entering here.

BC2 – Not to mention *diseases* that have been eradicated here for years, they are *here*, all back.

BC3 – Our own problems are not enough for us, we have to cope with those of *neighbors* who are *slaves to dictators*, we are not to blame if, in *their* countries, there are no men of unblemished character, like Sérgio Moro and his companions in battle.

BC4 – It's past time to insert morale into this country. Most of *these people* who are arriving are coming to vote for these shitty communists who have been appearing around here. They are *all* receiving their voter IDs. Why vote for these shitty things.

BC5 – Send *this thug* to their countries because Brazil is filled with thugs BRAZIL.

BC6 – we welcome them and *they* come here to make a mess. the Brazilians are right, expel them. and those who don't like it can take *these foreign troublemakers* into their own homes

BC7 – *This gang of Venezuelan troublemakers*, do they think this is a lawless country? Send *this riffraff* back to Venezuela, because this is not Malboro country [a lawless land]! Close the border urgently! It's the only solution!

BC8 – *They* say they are experiencing difficulties in their country, but how are we here, in ours? And they also started committing crimes? We do not have too many problems here? Let *them* stay there.

BC9 – We have to send *this People* back to Venezuela! Who told you to vote for Communists?

BC10 – Surely, *they are robbing* Brazilians, there are already many *thieves* here, we don't need to import *anymore*!

(August 18, 2018)

As we can see in these examples, the construction of a certain dichotomy is evident: *we/them*, whether explicit through the use of pronouns, or implicit in the verbal construction in Portuguese.

The image of the migrant population that arrives in Europe or in the neighboring country, in the case of Brazil, is discursively constructed as strange and numerous and as a cause of social disturbance, of problems ("*these people from outside* still come to bring more *problems*"), building up, on the one hand, a derogatory image, and, on the other, an image of victimization, in contrast, as it appears that the other is not accepted out of fear, out of intolerance. To this end, commenters resort to the use of lexicon in the field of aggressiveness, especially violent, exacerbated adjectives, which ostracize the other ("illegal, parasites; terrorists, criminals, thugs, troublemakers, riffraff, slaves to dictators"), and to the repeated use of the accusatory denial of eliminating the other ("we *don't* want parasites, we are not to blame, we don't need to import any *more*"); or exclusion markers ("out with the intruders, Send *this riffraff* back to Venezuela, Let *them* stay there") that demarcate a personal and geographical territory that does not allow for invasion.

The use of foul words and expressions reinforces the negative charge that the several messages are imbued with ("I don't fucking care, for these shitty communists") and simultaneously reinforces this hostility.

In European Portuguese, the expression “a gente” (which can be translated as “we”) takes on, in some contexts, a derogatory trait. In example PC12, it testifies to the contempt that is conveyed in the statement, in which, in addition to criticizing the inactivity of the people who welcome migrants, accuses the other of stealing (“rapar”, in Portuguese, which can be translated as “swipe”).

Depreciation, which constitutes a direct attack, in delocutive speech, denounces an uncompromising position, aired, unfiltered, by the use of the term “animals”, as well as by the use of metaphors from the animal domain to describe the other whom is not welcome. Another metaphor refers to the “jungle” a term that is used to describe overcrowded camps, with no living conditions, in which migrants pile up. In the Brazilian case, the migrant is sometimes associated with the semantic field of crime (“thug, they are robbing, thieves”) and sometimes linked to the field of health, such as those who bring diseases and, therefore, represent a threat to the local population (“diseases that have been eradicated here for years for years here, they are *here*, all back”). They are, therefore, *ad hominem* arguments, in the sense proposed by Amossy (2014b), since the projected images outright disqualify the other, which reinforces what was stated by Seara and Manole:

the negative classifications, the follow up and repetition that empower the critique, highlight a verbal aggression that instead of strengthening ties, degrade the other by marking and destroying their image, by increasing the rupture and encouraging the non construction of social ties. (Seara & Manole, 2016, p. 316)

In fact, this strategy, at the service of constructing a xenophobic and intolerant *ethos*, is aimed at the audience. It should be noted that, in the case of the social network, this notion of “auditorium” is important, given its rapid repercussion. The *ad hominem* argument does not aim at the opponent in a dispute, but at the target of the discussion itself, or its theme, that is, migrants. The user who posts the comment does so, most times, to their peers, in order to reinforce a collective *ethos*, or, according to Terkourafi (2008), their own image. It can therefore be said that it is a rhetorical strategy that aims to reinforce the image of oneself before the group they belong to, since, on Facebook, according to Cabral and Lima (2017), people establish relationships due to common interests, because they share the same points of view. Thus, the migrant is attacked to reinforce the collective *ethos*, the image identified by the group, which, in the case of our analyses, is xenophobic and intolerant.

The criticisms expressed by indirect attacks are less frequent, but also aggressively effective, insofar as, instead of addressing insults to migrants, the political class is made responsible, whether due to their inactivity or to their ideals of welcoming and inclusion. In the following examples, this denunciation is notorious. It is expressed either through direct criticism (PC15, BC11, BC12), through irony (PC16, BC12), or through the rhetorical question (PC16 and PC17), always threatening the other’s face, even though they are in

a hierarchically superior position, which mirrors the provocative register, of instigation and affront.

PC15 – The use of the so-called “refugee crisis” raises, in our governing political class, substantial doses of *hypocrisy and a tremendous lack of respect for the Portuguese*. They put the people to sleep with *their small talk*, talk about European values and solidarity while *throwing the Portuguese into deep misery*. But beyond the “refugee crisis”, there is a well-defined agenda for European governments, of which Portugal is a part. It is an agenda that is typical of the times, with unclear objectives for society, in which the debate is a taboo, under penalty of being accused of Islamophobia.

(August 18, 2017)

PC16 – *These are the minds of our governing political class. Repopulating Portugal with Muslim immigrants..., but why aren't the same opportunities given to the Portuguese!?* Wouldn't it be much more logical!?

(July 26 PNR Partido Nacional Renovador [National Renewal Party])

PC17 – *Where are those stupid people who welcome refugees? How stupid are the Portuguese! THEY WILL ONLY OPEN THEIR EYES WHEN A BOMB GOES OFF*

(July 12, 2017)

BC11 – Since *the government left its legs open* [lost control] we have to take control of the situation

BC12 – Either keep the Fatherland free or die for Brazil, we are only helping those who come here to turn it into a madhouse *we need to put it in order or we will suffer the consequences of this government who left its legs open* [lost control].

BC13 – *Misgovernment leads to this*. Congratulations, Brazilian people

(August 18, 2018)

Evidencing an uncompromising and superior position, they express themselves through directive acts, giving orders to government officials and insulting them (PC18, BC14, BC15, BC16):

PC18 – *Stop being stupid*, welcoming refugees is welcoming Terrorists.....
Open your eyes.....you are really stupid.....

CB14 – *We have to close*, really! *Go fight there*, in their country they didn't put the guy there

BC15 – *We can't let* these people come into here no.

BC16 – *It's past time to forbid* more people from entering to be unemployed in the country.

(August 26, 2017)

Returning to the proposed guiding thread, *ab initio*, we can conclude that the discursive strategies that produce social exclusion are similar in the collected *corpora*, in Portuguese and in Brazil.

There is a polarization of opinions, in which enunciators in social media vehemently express their contestation and the non-acceptance of the entry of migrants, citing social, religious, ethnic, and political reasons. The indomitable positions happen, as was demonstrated, mainly by direct, insulting, aggressive attacks, using a violent lexicon and the reiteration of denials of interdiction and blocking; irony, disqualification, discredit, derogatory and vexatious expressions, and acts of repudiation prevail, demonstrating that it is an ideologically marked discourse.

This analysis also allows us to prove that, in an era when social networks disseminate and spread, through the written word, the free opinions of all those who previously did not have access to the public expression of their opinion, we are witnessing the formation of opinions carried out more directly and aggressively, with the underlying intention to exclude the other, the migrant who comes to disturb the established order. These strategies serve an argumentative purpose that consists of the rejection of the other because they are different, but they also aim to influence a vast number of readers of the social network and to reaffirm the belonging to a certain ideological group.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

As we highlighted in our analyzes, the messages on Facebook pages that we analyzed in this study constitute manipulative work, in which vexing expressions, acts of repudiation and insults and, concomitantly, the constant call for migrants to be expelled – expressed through two strategies of *argumentum ad hominem* – prevail. The Facebook messages intentionally carry the purpose of tarnishing the image of migrants based on strategies that serve an argumentative purpose that consists, on the one hand, of influencing a vast number of readers of the social network and of demonstrating belonging to a certain group, aligning with its collective ideological *ethos*, and, on the other, of

forming negative judgments regarding migrants and those who defend them, whose face is threatened by discourteous and even insulting acts.

The argumentative strategies that attack the face are imbued with a controversial nature, reinforcing an image that they are not worthy of respect, constructing, in a broader way, the discredit of people who are already on their own, in a situation of weakness and even giving way to a political blaming of those responsible.

At the end of this paper, we return to the saying by Montecino, who inspired this study: “the researcher finds himself facing his research object as a scholar who seeks knowledge and as an ideological subject who seeks to make sense of that knowledge” (Montecino, 2010, p. 250).

Translation: Sara Luiza Hoff

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REFUGE AND COLONIZATION OF THE FUTURE: BORDERS BUILT BY WORDS

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to think the forced migration to Europe under the perspective of a journalistic narrative which is based in repetitions and reiterations of words. When they produce meaning it results in a strait view where the migrant and refugee are the reason of disorder. Thus, we try to grasp how this process contributes to what we called colonization of the future, according to Giddens (2002) and Gomes (2004) concepts. In this process, an ordering is projected through the words based on a thought built during the European colonization. Its reminiscence is accumulated and form layers that appear in the journalistic narratives and on the borders. Narratives and borders are the metaphor and materialization of the conflict that impose to the migrant and to the refugee the condition of the difference, the condition to be the “other”. We propose that there is a journalistic narrative on the border that contributes to the production of meaning which its result is to discuss just for one perspective or just for one side of the borders. In this border scenery, thinking about a colonization of the future by the words lead us to understand that the journalism is also a constructor of invented time. To this paper, it was analysed some news from Brazilian newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* that were published between September and December 2015. There was in that moment a deeper debate concerning the refugees in Europe. We analysed the news from some keywords as refugees, borders and control.

KEYWORDS

colonization; journalism; narrative; refugees; time

REFÚGIO E COLONIZAÇÃO DO FUTURO: FRONTEIRAS ERGUIDAS NAS PALAVRAS

RESUMO

Este trabalho propõe pensar a migração forçada para a Europa sob a perspectiva de uma narrativa jornalística ancorada em repetições e reiterações de determinadas palavras que, ao produzir sentidos, resultam em uma visão de mundo que estabelece a presença dos migrantes e dos refugiados como razão de uma desordem ao que está posto. Assim, buscamos entender que esse processo contribui para o que denominamos de colonização do futuro, a partir das ideias de Giddens (2002) e Gomes (2004). Neste processo, projeta-se uma ordem, através das palavras, baseada em um pensamento construído ao longo dos períodos de colonização europeia. Seus resquícios se acumulam e formam camadas que se desvelam nas narrativas jornalísticas e nas fronteiras. Ambas nos servem como metáfora e materialização dos conflitos e das relações de

poder que impõe ao migrante e ao refugiado a condição do diferente, do “outro”. Queremos propor que há uma narrativa na/de fronteira no jornalismo que contribui para a produção de sentido no processo migratório que enseja pensar apenas por um dos lados da fronteira. Nesse cenário fronteiriço, pensá-lo sob o aspecto de uma colonização do futuro pelas palavras nos impõe o desafio de entender que o jornalismo também é construtor de um tempo inventado narrativamente. Para este trabalho, foram analisados textos do jornal brasileiro *Folha de São Paulo* publicados entre setembro e dezembro de 2015, momento em que houve um maior aprofundamento dos debates acerca do refúgio na Europa. O recorte para a análise seguiu a partir das palavras refugiados, fronteiras e controle.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

colonização; jornalismo; narrativa; refugiados; tempo

INTRODUCTION

Terms such as “refugees” and “illegal migrants” have been used as categories widely adopted by the media, especially by journalism, to condense or group within the same spectrum the subjects forced to move due to conflicts, wars, persecutions and situations of social vulnerability. Such labels are adopted to refer to individuals in the European border with Turkey, in the Mediterranean, or the Mexico-United States border. Concurrently, in characterizing this label permeated by people seeking survival, a debate on the necessity of order and security arises in the countries with the potential to welcome these individuals. With such bias, these journalistic narratives emulate rocks over the already existing border walls, concealing the borders as potential crossing-points.

Unfolding this argument, we believe that these kinds of narratives are built upon a journalistic trait related to the efforts to discipline the gaze to the events as they are presented, simultaneously, in terms of visibility and surveillance (Gomes, 2009). In this vein, it is possible to identify the dominant reiteration of words and expressions that connote fear and insecurity concerning those attempting to cross borders while suggesting a sense of colonization of the future (Giddens, 2002; Gomes, 2004). By colonization of the future by the word, we mean to reflect upon the reiteration of narratives that result in the actualization of power relations engendered in a different historical moment, and that are yet, corroborated, maintained and have potential to extend themselves in time.

For such a narrative that we describe as colonization of the future, we suggest the identification of the imbrication of the European colonial past which is unveiled in the echoes propagated by the press. To untangle the journalistic field, where journalism and its fonts dispute the production of meaning, with an eye towards the borders in times of migration and refuge, implicates in questioning how the remnants of European colonization are catalysed towards ordering of world-views. In this context, the border that holds refugees and migrants in the margins is hereafter adopted as a metaphor and a materialization of the conflicts and power-relations presented by the colonial difference (Mignolo, 2005).

In this regard, to colonize the future through narratives is a process of ordering the world according to a bias forged in the colonial times. Hereafter, considering concepts of colonization of the future and colonial difference, we problematize the power relations imbricated in the journalistic productions during the forced displacement in Europe in 2015. More specifically, we shall tackle the period between September and December in the same year. We argue that there is a narrative in/of the border in journalism that contributes for the meaning production in the migratory process and provokes one-sided thinking, where the migrant and the refugee are perceived as subjects who disturb the status quo.

FROM THE REMNANTS OF COLONIZATION TO A SOCIETY OF CONTROL

The asymmetric power relations developed on the borders and other spaces of control is intensified when the media, and journalism, as the object of this study, reiterate narratives which aim to order the world according to a consolidated world-view. Therefore, we wish to reflect about the narratives which take place in spaces of contention as a consequence of the migratory flux of displaced individuals who left their homes and their countries to seek asylum in a different territory while facing walls, fences, and an apparatus of control that preventing them from moving forward.

Amidst the over 70 million forcibly displaced people in the second decade of the 21st century those people who landed at the European borders received special attention from the media coverage from 2015 onwards¹, Brazilian media included. These are people from African countries, or the Middle East, especially from Syria, and from Asia, territories that were either colonized or suffered the intervention of Euro American super-powers over the last couple of decades, as the case of Iraq and Afghanistan².

Considering that the bodies of migrants who seek refuge in Europe come from formerly colonized countries, especially in Africa, or which suffered strong political and economic interference, such as the Middle Eastern countries, we evoke Mignolo (2005, p. 36) and Quijano (2002, p. 4), for whom the remnants of European colonization, inaugurated by the colonial/modernity with the 16th century “Atlantic commercial circuit”, is perpetuated in what they describe as “colonial difference” or “coloniality of power”, respectively³. Such concepts can be understood as an attempt to subordinate subjects

¹ The report *Global trends: forced displacement in 2018*, from the United Nations agency for refugees (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]), showed that over 70 million people were forcibly displaced in 2018, out of which 25,9 million were refugees (UNHCR, 2019). Three years earlier, in 2015, the annual report *Global trends: forced displacement in 2015* pointed that the number of forcibly displaced individuals were as high as 65,3 million, 21,3 million of them were refugees (UNHCR, 2016).

² In 2015, Syria and Afghanistan were, respectively, the two countries responsible for the greatest number of refugees. The Syrian civil war, broken in 2011 had as an outcome 4,9 million refugees while an estimate of 2,7 million Afghans had the refugee status (UNHCR, 2016).

³ According to Mignolo, “from the beginning of the sixteenth century, with the triple concurrence of the defeat of the Moors, the expulsion of the Jews, and European expansion across the Atlantic, Moors, Jews, and Amerindians (and, with time, African slaves as well) all became configured in the Western, Christian imaginary, as the difference (exteriority) in the interior

according to a racial/cultural classification designed by those in power, be it political, economic or epistemic power, in which the notion of time and modernity are instrumental for the permanence of the gap separating Europe from their former colonies. According to Mignolo (2017, p. 8), “the logic of coloniality (...) went through successive and cumulative stages presented positively in the rhetoric of modernity: specifically, in the terms salvation, progress, development, modernization, and democracy”. In this process, the linear time emerges as to distinguish societies that had overcome stages of progress from those lagging behind, according to the rhetoric of modernity. Referring to Europe as an adventurer that spread its power across the globe, the sociologist Zigmunt Bauman (2006) emphasised that at the end of the 20th century its concluded mission

proved to be the global spread of a compulsive, obsessive and addictive urge for ordering and reordering (codename: modernization), and an irresistible pressure to downgrade and demote the past and current modes of living and of gaining a living by stripping them of their survival value and life-enhancing capacity (codename: economic progress). (Bauman, 2006, p. 21)

In this light, for Bauman (2006), contrasting with European modernization, are the “modernity latecomers”, which produced the populational leftovers and, consequently, refugees. As the “unforeseen consequence (...) of the success of the European global enterprise”:

hundreds of thousands of people are chased away from their homes, murdered, or forced to run for their lives away from their ravaged and devastated countries. Perhaps the most thriving industry in the lands of the latecomers (deviously and deceitfully dubbed ‘developing countries’) is the mass production of refugees. (Bauman, 2006, pp. 23-24)

A characteristic of coloniality is the stratification, based upon criteria that attributes a fixed position to “the other”. In doing so, it establishes its differences and its stages within an invented time, which “accounts for one of the foundational elements of the current power standard, the basic and universal social classification of the planet around the notion of race” (Quijano, 2002, p. 4). In other words, “the coloniality of power is the axis that still organizes colonial difference” (Mignolo, 2005, p. 36) and turns it into “values and hierarchies: racial and patriarchal on the one hand, and geopolitical, on the other”, as Mignolo underlines (quoted in Gallas, 2013)⁴.

Along these lines, the border fences imposed to the refugees and migrants are tools of the coloniality of power and colonial difference, since the reason for their existence is

of the imaginary” (Mignolo, 2005, p. 35).

⁴ The concept of colonial difference, as proposed by Mignolo, is discussed by the author in an interview to Luciano Gallas, published in 2013 by *Revista do Instituto de Humanitas Unisinos On-line* in Brazil (Gallas, 2013). The interview was published in Portuguese.

to separate, and ultimately, serve the purpose of underlying the distinction from those on the other side. Agreeing with Grosfoguel (2007) in his analysis of the division in the international labour force in the capitalist world-system⁵, we are interested in a reflection on the expansion of such system as based in a hierarchy which is also based in racial discrimination, be it biological, as defended between the 15th and 19th centuries, or cultural. According to Grosfoguel, the post World War II period presents a shift in the global racial/colonial discourse in which the argument on genetic inferiority of the “other” enters into a crisis and is replaced by cultural racism. Such “other” is then framed by a set of characteristics that are less related to their genetic traits than to their ethnic origins. Cultural racism now becomes part of the new geo-culture of the capitalist world-system that floats over subjects once colonized. Grosfoguel (2007, p. 11) argues that the notion of cultural racism presumes that metropolitan culture is different from that of the ethnic minorities, a difference perceived in an absolute and essentialist fashion. The author also adds that cultural racism is always articulated with the discourses of poverty, labour market opportunities and marginalization.

As suggested by Grosfoguel (2007, p. 13), the migrants’ bodies are tied to the structures of the capitalist world-system and remain colonized due to their subordinated position in relation to the metropolitan labour and their ongoing stereotyped representation in the Euro/American imaginary. Those are the very same bodies of the forcibly displaced and refugees who share the mainstay of cultural racism and of a linear conception of time, as invented by modernity. Therefore, to think about forced migration and asylum-seeking, one perceives the aggravation of the asymmetries in the power relations in which coloniality of power and cultural racism are evidenced by the rigid border control apparatus and by what Mbembe (2018) describes as an enclosure society.

As Mbembe (2018, p. 53) underlines, we live in a society where “security state conceives identity and the individual movement (including its citizens) as sources of danger and risk”. In the European anti-migratory context, he notes that “entire categories of the population are indexed and subjected to various forms of racial categorization that transform the immigrant (legal or illegal) into an essential category of difference”, which for Mbembe is “cultural or religious or linguistic. It is seen as inscribed in the very body of the migrant subject, visible on somatic, physiognomic, and even genetic levels”.

Following Mbembe (2018, p. 54), these configurations and categorizations are a reflex of the contemporary world “deeply shaped and conditioned by the ancestral forms of religious, legal, and political life built around fences, enclosures, walls, camps, circles, and, above all, borders”. Let us return to Bauman (2006) for whom such kind of control operation is has a centripetal character albeit not very common in Europe is in line with a policy that seeks to avoid the “modernity latecomers”:

⁵The notion of “capitalist world system” is outlined by Grosfoguel (2007), building upon Wallerstein (1979), and regards the international division of labour between centres, peripheries and semi-peripheries, implicating in different kinds of labour and political structures. In this system, the coercive forms of labour develop mainly in the peripheries (Wallerstein, 1979, quoted in Grosfoguel, 2007).

for the time being, Europe and its overseas offspring, outposts (like the United States or Australia) seem to look for an answer to their unfamiliar problems in similarly unfamiliar policies hardly ever practised in European history; policies inward-rather than outward-looking, centripetal rather than centrifugal, implosive rather than explosive – like retrenchment, falling back upon themselves, building fences equipped with a network of X-ray machines and closed-circuit television cameras, putting more officials inside immigration booths and more border guards outside, tightening the nets of immigration and naturalization law, keeping refugees in closely guarded and isolated camps and stopping the others before they have a chance to claim refugee or asylum-seeker status – in short, sealing their own domains against the crowds knocking at the doors while doing pretty little, if anything at all, to relieve such pressure by removing its causes. (Bauman, 2006, pp. 24-25)

Opposing such a model, migrations present a resistance to the atavisms that insist in remaining and producing a body will only become more visible and whose existence is discomforting as it is face to face with those who invented it as undesirable. Facing those who attributed to this body the condition of controllable, excludable, expellable and eradicable. Such a body, from the migrant or refugee, that is now discomforting, alludes to another body, that which Hannah Arendt (2016, p. 293) identified in 1940, in Europe corroded by the war. Observing that minorities such as the Jews, became outcasts of the Nation-State, Arendt points out that the process of European integration initiated by the French revolution was over: “no one else can be included. In fact, we now have the reverse process: the sum of great human masses and its downgrade as outcasts”.

Such a frame can be redesigned within the same system over which the cultural and identitary bonds, as well as Nation-State, present themselves as vectors guiding integrations and flow of people. Thus, we wish to extend Arendt’s argument to the migrant crisis whose subjects are the current outcasts of Europe. If such a distinction does not simply appear due to the contemporary migratory flux, it is indeed underlined and actualized in the context of the historical process. The conflicted encounter between migrants forced to abandon their homes and the countries which could welcome them somatise the outcome of colonial and decolonial relations in African and Middle Eastern countries subjugated to the European policy of exploitation for those territories and populations.

The European blockade and the restrict policies for migration control since the departure in their countries of origin emerge as the spectrum of European colonizer memory, more specifically, it is that memory which raises the debate on the so-called migrant crisis since the crossing of the Mediterranean implicates in the influx of people that bring with themselves black and Arab bodies in their territories. Territories that were once tainted by colonial looting. The Mediterranean and its borders progressively become places of memory (Nora, 1993) in the symbolic and material senses, as crossing, remembrance and cemetery.

Borrowing Nora's notion of places of memory (1993, p. 12), as places which are, "above all remnants", we shall broaden such understanding in the claim that it is from the remnants from the colonization that the migratory influx arises. Homi Bhabha (1998, p. 26) raised attention to such debate saying that "the Western metropolis shall confront its post-colonial history told by the influx of migrants and post-war refugees, as an indigenous narrative or [a narrative] internal to its *national identity*". In other words, it is possible to say that migrants and refugees are a constitutive part of Europe. The heritage of looting and colonialism now returns sheltered in the bodies of those who throw themselves in the Mediterranean or the borders of Turkey and Greece.

In this regard, the cultural/racial origin of the displaced reflects in the treatment provided in the European borders. Colonial difference and coloniality of power still re-order and justify the retrenchment to those migrants' movement. Thereby, the migrant crisis casts light on the shadows of relations violently forged throughout the past four centuries.

THE EVENT AND THE DISRUPTION OF THE ESTABLISHED ORDER

The enclosure described by Mbembe (2018) is corroborated by Rogério Haesbaert (2009) who reflects about the control society where one lives behind territorial contentions, especially against migrants. Along with this train of thought, Nation-States use their apparatus of control to regulate migratory movements in the name of security and xenophobia⁶. In the same direction, media narratives have a central role in such a debate, given that it is through them that these conflicts are unveiled to the public. Nonetheless, if it is necessary to problematize the power relations fomenting anti-migratory policies, on the other hand, one must consider the role of media, especially journalism, within the asymmetric relations of power and representation.

With that in mind, we evoke Mayra Gomes (2009) who observes that journalism is an apparatus of disciplinary control where the visibility of the events is designed from a certain point of view that attempts to discipline the look. In this process, a series of grades would emerge valuing events responsible for the disorder. With one stroke this movement raises the visibility and surveils.

Before any given selection, we ask ourselves what is important and for whom it is so. The importance, not only implicates in choice, or the choice according to the *way it is presented* from a given time and location, serves as a guideline for what is pointed out as the truth of what is brought into visibility. Admitting that the importance is not the fact itself, but its implication in the institutionalized network, any investigation, any surveillance, outlines

⁶ The Greece–Turkey border became a spot for demonstrations of this kind. The news cover shelters burned by Greek citizens and the use of police force against those on the opposite side of the border, as at the end of February and beginning of March 2020. See "Moradores gregos queimam centro de acolhida para impedir que refugiados o utilizem" (2020).

the horizon to be experienced looking for law and order and, therefore, is disciplined within the subject of its search. (Gomes, 2009, p. 2)

For Gomes, journalism “points out themes that shall be privileged, in other words, the themes to which its public shall pay attention. Its reports announce, implicitly, what is relevant in the reader’s lives” (2009, p. 2). In this regard, it is relevant to underline that the topic of asylum-seeking appears more often in the news as it lands more intensely in Europe in 2015⁷. In that year, roughly four thousand people either died or disappeared in the Mediterranean (UNCHR, 2016)⁸. Death and the flux of ships and thousands of people towards the continent drove the European to adopt measures such as the distribution of migrants and refugees to other countries in the region, spreading them beyond Italy and Greece, as well as implementing a stronger control over the borders (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017).

Originally hosted in the developing countries, the humanitarian crisis had finally landed in Europe and, consequently, made it to the international news. In 2015 over a million asylum seekers crossed the European borders. In a comparison with other territories, Turkey alone had 2,5 million refugees. In contrast, Germany, the European country with the highest rates of requests for asylum, had 316 thousand refugees and 420 thousand people under analysis (UNHCR, 2016). Earlier on (in 2013), Pakistan had 1,6 thousand refugees a number slightly higher than that of refugees who crossed into Europe in 2015 and roughly the total of the absolute number of refugees in entire Europe in 2013 (1,7 million) (UNHCR, 2013, 2014). In 2014, three countries were on the top of the list with those with the greatest number of refugees: Turkey (1.587.374), Pakistan (1.505.525) e Lebanon (1.154.040) (UNHCR, 2015). Lebanon requires an extra note: in the year of 2015, out of 1.000 people, 183 were refugees. For the sake of comparison, still in 2015, other countries presented the following rate: out of a group of 1.000 people Jordan had 87 refugees; Turkey had 32; and in Sweden, number nine in the list of 10 countries with the highest number of refugees per capita, and the only European country in the list, this number falls to 17 (out of 1.000 people). Moreover, in 2015, the developing countries received 86% of the world’s refugees (UNHCR, 2016).

Considering this dataset, we shall problematize the point when the “refugee crisis” or “migrant crisis” becomes an event from a journalistic standpoint. An event that is no longer situated in the invisibility of Africa and of certain Asian and Middle Eastern countries, which have been struggling for a few years with the forced displacement either as countries that receive or produce refugees. In the terms proposed here, the event is a perceived phenomenon which shall be interpreted and framed so that others to re-examine

⁷ A search for the term “refugees” in the Brazilian newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* between 2011, when the war in Syria started, and 2015 indicates a spike in the number of publications in the year of 2015. The numbers are as follows: 2011 - 453; 2012 - 355; 2013 - 06; 2014 - 306; and 2015 - 527.

⁸ Within six years (2014-2020), at least 20 thousand people died in the Mediterranean crossing, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM). See “Mais de 20 mil migrantes morreram em travessias no Mediterrâneo desde 2014” (2020).

it. Therefore, the event is the configuration of disorder into order, it is the application of a gaze which provides meaning to certain phenomena. Charaudeau (2006, p. 100) says that the eventful (*événementiel*) process, or process of interpretation, happens through change, perception and signification of the phenomena, while the first condition is that “something shall cause a rupture in the established order, unbalancing the founding systems of such order”. Following this train of thought, Muniz Sodré (2012) claims that the event, when connected to the mediatic information, as discussed in this research,

is a clear and visible modality of fact dressing, therefore, it is a construction or a production of the real, crossed by representations of the vicissitudes of social life. In other words, is affected either for the, at times, paradoxical fragmentation of occurrences or for the conflicts around the hegemony of representations. (Sodré, 2012, pp. 36-37)

The thousands of ships sailing from northern Africa to cross the Mediterranean and land in Europe, or the migrants and refugees flowing from Turkey to Greece caused the rupture in the European status quo and, consequently, to the media realm. Along these lines, by ordering the event, journalism used its filters to represent it. A practice that suggests a look that is inherent to its own socio-historical conditions. In this fashion, the journalistic narrative is embedded of paradox in organizing the chaos while its representations sustain gaps (Resende, 2017).

As a locus of enunciation where struggles and power relations take place, journalism is hereafter understood as a cultural-discursive practice, subjected to changes through time/space where it is located. What is fixed in it are its discursive rules, strategies and techniques aiming the referentiality of what is narrated. From the vantage point of the narrative, however, a paradox is installed: the organization of quotidian chaos – a pressing task for the journalistic practice – does not guarantee a reliable representation. (Resende, 2017, p. 107)

Thus, we believe that the so-called migrant crisis or the refugee crisis, spread around the globe and sprawled in multiple flows, is only configured as potential disorder and “comes to existence”, in the eyes of those who report it, when considered its points of departure and arrival. In the paradox of organizing and representing with gaps, the journalistic narrative inscribes itself as a disciplinary mechanism, a builder of times and of “existence”.

THE WORD AS ORDERING AND COLONIZATION

It is relevant to stress that the words, a journalist’s toolkit, are ideological signs (Bakhtin, 2010) and, by producing meaning, they expand. Thus, some words institute

themselves as apparatuses that through repetition and reiteration are launched to justify thoughts stratified through remnants becoming “words of order”. As Mayra Gomes puts it:

initially, the already verbalized content can only install and fix itself through repetition, through a message that reiterates some of its signification. On the other hand, repetition, or redundancy as frequency, operates inert in the crystallization of self-created contents. In this way, communication and the message must function in two ways: the first distends itself, moves, and the second, redoubles itself; one inaugurates, the other eternalizes. The one that inaugurates can not be achieved out of nothingness, it is always, and yet, redundancy with its background rubble. It works as an edifice over ruins. The one that crystalizes, which reinaugurates the field is, in fact, what we consider to be word of order. (Gomes, 2004, pp. 85-86)

Hence, the media exercise disciplinary power by presenting such “words of order” (Gomes, 2004, 2009, 2018). “Words of order” that help us organize the world, while the words adopted, in their repetition, maintain ourselves tied to paradigms and conceptions which are hardly overcome. Building upon Deleuze (words of order) and Foucault (disciplinary dispositif), Gomes points out that these are two paths which cross through language, as a framework for the discursive production, as well as for the internalization and reproduction of an ordering of daily life.

Gomes (2018, pp. 41-42) underlines the importance of awareness of the recurrence of certain words often propagated by media “from the perspective of the *disciplinary apparatus*, that of the word as ordination”. The author also points that one shall “examine it [words] not only in the sterility of repetition, of reality experienced as exhaustion. We should take the opposite pathway: that of words as circumscription of a field, definition and ordination in a specific sense which is that of construction of reality and that, being educative, requires reiteration”. The word as an ideological sign contributes to creating a loop of reality that presents itself as shaped. We shall proceed with Gomes, who stresses that

a word is not simply a representation of reality or mere instrument of thought, either in linguistics or semiotics already demonstrate, proposing the notion of presentation of the real and that of a thought shaped by words. Thus, we are confronted with the demarcation operated by words, a frame upon which a segment opens-up imaginary constructions, social productions, mechanisms of production, and above all, the potential for discipline and control (Gomes, 2018, p. 42).

Admitting a reality shaped words, we affirm that the repetition, beyond accumulating remnants, also insinuates that which is forthcoming, colonizes the future (Giddens, 2002;

Gomes, 2004) in attempts to prevent disorder and risk. Notions such as repetition and colonization are grounded in the sliding flow of words and are domination tools. Through two similar perspectives overlap in the notion of colonization of the future. On the one hand, Gomes (2004) defines it as a speech act linked to a future that may come into being, or not, through repetition and fixation. On the other hand, Giddens (2002) claims that to prevent risks, society takes measures to shield itself against imminent threats.

Along these lines, the spoken words control, discipline and aim to prevent disorder. Thus, we shall add that colonization of the future also indicates a certain entrapment of a temporality shaped in the past and whose rubble still rule the future. This temporality is intrinsically connected to human time, coined by language, by narrative (Ricoeur, 1994). We now return to Mignolo (2011) for whom the genesis of modernity marks not only the colonization of space but also of time, through the narration and construction of the past based in a linear temporality which opposes the modern from that which is not. For Mignolo (2011, p. 160), the colonization of time has taken place with modernity which established by the invention of other times, such as the Middle Ages and Antiquity and the cultural differences from the past were classified according to its proximity with modernity itself.

Transmuting the malleable term colonize, stripped of any connotation linked to action over the soil (Bosi, 2014) towards a reading that suggests action unfolded in time through narrative, we wish to incorporate it to the journalistic practices when filled with repetition and reiterations which cast its effects beyond the present time. In this case, unlike colonization of the time past, its effects are designed to rule a near future. To narrate present events is also to inscribe and project its potential effects admitting consequences in the status quo.

Anthony Giddens (2002, p. 117), dealing with the consciousness of modern “high consequence risks” upon the colonization of the future conducts us to a permanent production of reality where the present must be constantly tamed to anticipate risks of any kind. Moreover, Giddens (2002, p. 117) asserts that risk refers to future events – linked to present practices – therefore the colonization of the future opens up new risk situations, some of which are institutionally orchestrated and that high consequence risks constitute a generalized segment “risk climate” characteristic of late modernity – which is defined by regular shifts in knowledge-claims as mediated by expert systems.

Considering Giddens’ reasoning under the light of the migration crisis, border closure as a strategy to avoid migrant’s flow can be regarded as the imposition of a narrative that impacts the press and aims to avoid “high consequence risks”. It is the fabrication of an “official fear” (Bauman, 2006) which discretely implicates in a model of journalism as a mediator of a specialized system which embraces the self-appointed role of indicating that which is out of order while reiterating a long line of narratives.

Some pieces of news illustrate that logic. During the second half of 2015, two events (and its consequences) might be connected to the spike in the number of publications

on refugees in Europe at the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*. The first event was the death of the Syrian child Alan Kurdi, whose body was found at the Turkish seashore in September 02. The second fact revolves around the bomb attack in Paris on November 06. Together, these events raised attention to the debate on the issue of asylum, and the reception of refugees, in Europe. While the first case mobilized the masses for involving a child seeking refuge from the Syrian war, in the second case the debates focused on the identity of those migrants seeking asylum in Europe (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017). In Brazil, between September and December, *Folha de São Paulo* published 310 texts which used the term “refugees” in its section dedicated to world news (*Mundo*). The number (310) corresponds to half of the sum of texts published in the entire year, although not all the texts dealt specifically with refuge in Europe.

Throughout four months of publication, terms such as borders and control appeared 26 times concerning articles on refugees. Our search at *Folha de São Paulo* news portal was based on the following keywords: “refugees”, “border” and “control”. According to our understanding of colonization of the future, the piece “Refugiados e risco de ataques levam UE a rever controles de fronteira” (Refugees and risk of attacks make EU reconsider border control)⁹, published December 04, 2015, is emblematic as a contact point with prior articles which had projections on potential risks. In this piece, the remnants from the past are reinforced while it colonizes the future.

In the title, the notions of “refugees” and “risk of attacks” justify the border control. Albeit holding different meanings, both ideas express a sense of danger. The article’s opening statement follows this reasoning and contributes to a disciplining of the look over refugees and terrorism as realms gravitating closely from one another, and thus, border security would be a measure to diminish threats.

Amidst the difficulties to control the intense flux of refugees and migrants and to the terrorist threat over the continent since the attacks in Paris, European Union (EU) initiated a debate on the issue of border control and the system of circulation among the countries in the bloc.

The excerpt already suggests the reiteration of other publications, such as “Reação a ataques ameaça livre movimento de pessoas pela Europa” (Reaction to attacks threatens the flow of people around Europe) (November 21)¹⁰; “Suécia estabelece controle provisório de fronteiras para conter imigração” (Sweden establishes provisional board control to restrain immigration) (November 12)¹¹; “Eslovênia começa a erguer cerca na fronteira para controlar fluxo” (Slovenia starts building a border fence to control the flow

⁹ The full article is available at <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2015/12/1714958-refugiados-e-risco-de-ataques-levam-ue-a-rever-controles-de-fronteira.shtml>.

¹⁰ See <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2015/11/1709415-reacao-a-ataques-ameaca-livre-movimento-de-pessoas-pela-europa.shtml>

¹¹ See <https://m.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2015/11/1705347-suecia-estabelece-controle-provisorio-de-fronteiras-para-conter-imigracao.shtml>

[of people]) (November 11)¹²; “Plano de cotas trava, e Europa cria barreiras à entrada de refugiados” (Quotas plan is stuck and Europe creates barriers against refugees entry) (September 14)¹³; “Hungria barra refugiados na véspera de elevar pena para imigração ilegal” (Hungary stops refugees in the eve of elevating illegal migration penalty) (September 14)¹⁴; “Alemanha decide restabelecer controle de fronteira ante onda de refugiados” (Facing refugee wave, Germany decides to reestablish border control) (September 13)¹⁵; “União Europeia planeja fundo de 1,8 bilhão para conter migrações” (European Union plans 1,8 billion plan to detain migrations) (September 08)¹⁶; “Crise de refugiados põe em xeque o espaço único europeu” (Refugees crisis jeopardizes single European space) (September 02)¹⁷.

In this vein, we believe that the discursive reiterations on the necessity of closing borders and the entrance of migrants and refugees appear in parallel with the association between these populations and potential risk. Such a debate is corroborated by the press when discussing these issues from the point of view of those who feel threatened and launches a narrative. In addition to that, the article “Refugiados e risco de ataques levam UE a rever controles de fronteira” (Refugees and risk of attacks lead the EU to review border control) keeps on emphasizing the risks posed to Europe, including the loss of mobility of its citizens.

The principle of a free flow of people through the countries in the (EU) bloc is jeopardized by the refugees and migrant crisis, who arrive in Europe fleeing from poverty and armed conflicts.

Over the past months, several countries, such as Hungary and Slovenia raised fences on its borders to control the flow of people.

The reiteration of certain ideas is, in our opinion, an effect of power which victimize not only bodies of the subjects already affected by the conflicts they attempted to flee from but also their soul, in the Foucauldian sense of the term. Enduring trips that bring them closer to death, the exhaustion and the struggle for quotidian life could be the torment of a migrant’s body. In a sense, this process represents the power exercised over

¹² See <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2015/11/1704823-eslovenia-comeca-a-erguer-cerca-na-fronteira-para-controlar-fluxo.shtml>

¹³ See <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2015/09/1681752-plano-de-cotas-trava-e-europa-cria-barreiras-a-entrada-de-refugiados.shtml>

¹⁴ See <https://m.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2015/09/1681430-hungria-barra-refugiados-na-vespera-de-elevar-pena-para-imigracao-ilegal.shtml>

¹⁵ See <https://m.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2015/09/1681167-alemanha-decide-restabelecer-controle-de-fronteira-ante-onda-de-refugiados.shtml>

¹⁶ See <https://m.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2015/09/1679152-uniao-europeia-planeja-fundo-de-18-bi-para-conter-migracoes.shtml>

¹⁷ See <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2015/09/1676642- crise-de-refugiados-do-leste-poe-em-xeque-o-espaco-unico-europeu.shtml>

the migrant's body, as the idea of being an undesirable body could also be the torment of its soul, neither of which are welcome in the territory. Many migrants depart for their journeys embodying the consciousness of such symbolic violence. A consciousness introduced not only when they face a border, but much earlier, in the repercussion of the news suggesting that they are the reason for chaos. In this sense, we march along with Foucault (2014) when claiming that

to say that the soul is an illusion or an ideological effect. On the contrary, it exists, it has a reality, it is produced permanently around, on, within, the body by the functioning of a power that is exercised on those that are punished - and, in a more general way, on those one supervises, trains and corrects, over madmen, children at home and school, the colonized, over those who are stuck at a machine and supervised for the rest of their lives. This is the historical reality of this soul, which, unlike the soul represented by Christian theology, is not born in sin and subject to punishment, but is born rather out of methods of punishment, supervision and constraint. This real, non-corporeal soul is not a substance; it is the element in which are articulated the effects of a certain type of power and the reference of a certain type of knowledge, the machinery by which the power relations give rise to a possible corpus of knowledge, and knowledge extends and reinforces the effects of this power. (Foucault, 2014, pp. 32-33)

The colonization of the future resorts on the maintenance of narratives as crystallized within the near future, it is to implement the effects of power in an attempt to rule over time, space and bodies. The apparatuses are both borders and words, which in through raise visibility through narratives while contributing to the surveillance of the "other", that which is regarded as different. Adding to this argument, Mignolo (2011, p. 161) suggests that the differences in epistemologies and colonial difference did not end with the decolonization of Asia and Africa after World War II. Coloniality is still reproduced in global capitalism and the idea of "time" still nurtures the same imaginary responsible for the colonial difference. In discussing the colonization of the future, we aim to observe the reiteration of narratives that update power relations engendered in a previous historical moment and are yet corroborated and maintained in the present. Moreover, these narratives have the potential to extend themselves in time.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Europe became a reference in the debate on the "migrant crisis" or "refugee crisis" due to the attention raised by the media on the border control operated over migrants at its borders. In this fashion, journalism has fulfilled the role of publicizing the events on border areas. Nevertheless, in this paper, we reflect upon the narratives built over

remnants of a colonial gaze on the bodies seeking refuge. This process happens through reiteration and repetition of “words of order” which place migrants under surveillance and as a potential source of disorder. The migrant, as the “other” then, is identified as a threat and, therefore, is not welcome.

Reiteration and repetition are anchored in a debate that emerges from the crumbs and remainings accumulated by the power relations between Europe and the countries from where the refugees depart. Both movements are an artifice to maintain time, especially the future, colonized, and space, under control. A space of/for “another” developed upon narratives traversed by colonialist memories. Narratives that re-producing geographies of power, invent previously configured spaces (Resende, 2014). Therefore, admitting that some sets of news emphasise a specific agenda, such as the outlining proximity between migrants and refugees, on one hand, and the border closure, fear and risk, on the other hand, a narrative on future time is built. A narrative that unveils the general guidelines of colonial differences, as highlighted by Mignolo.

Naturally, journalism shall not intrude into the issue of border control, especially when it involves the lives of migrants seeking asylum and are prevented from reaching these territories. Nonetheless, in such a borderline scenario, thinking about the colonization of the future by words and “words of order” requires the understanding of journalism as the creator of temporality conceived narratively. In inventing such a time, journalism uses a backwards mirror, a mirror turned to the past. Its reflex illuminates only part of the environment, only one side of the border.

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MIGRANTS, REFUGEES AND OTHERING: CONSTRUCTING EUROPEANNESS. AN EXPLORATION OF PORTUGUESE AND GERMAN MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

The process of establishing the supranational European Union has been accompanied by a construction of the idea of Europeaness (Geary, 2013; Pieterse, 1991/1993), of belonging to a common *us*, creating an idea of what *we* are, as Europeans, and necessarily othering those who do not belong (Butler & Spivak, 2007; El-Tayeb, 2011). The so-called “refugee/migration crisis” is a particularly interesting context in which to explore discourses not only about this *us/them* divide regarding what are presented as non-Europeans, but also who *we* Europeans are constructed as being. The media play an important role in the reproduction of representations about others, with whom the audience does not have direct contact. In this article, we explore discourses, in the Portuguese and German media, from 2011 to 2017, about the so-called “refugee/migration crisis”. Through a qualitative content analysis, we have sought to understand how the idea of Europeaness is constructed, in relation to this phenomenon. This exploratory analysis allowed us to identify that there is not only a construction of the idea of Europe in which migrants or refugees are the other, but also of an idea of Europe that is intrinsically incompatible with the rejection of this other, incompatible with far-right or xenophobic ideas and movements. Being European, thus, is being not a Muslim, not a refugee, and not xenophobic.

KEYWORDS

refugee crisis; Europe; media discourses; othering

MIGRANTES, REFUGIADOS E OUTRIZAÇÃO: CONSTRUINDO A EUROPEIDADE. UMA EXPLORAÇÃO DOS MÉDIA PORTUGUESES E ALEMÃES

RESUMO

O processo de instituição da União Europeia supranacional foi acompanhado por uma construção de uma ideia de europeidade (Geary, 2013; Pieterse, 1991/1993), de pertencer a um *nós*, criando uma ideia de quem somos, enquanto europeus, e, necessariamente, da outrização dos que não pertencem (Butler & Spivak, 2007; El-Tayeb, 2011). A chamada “crise dos refugiados/migratória” é um contexto particularmente interessante para explorar discursos não apenas sobre esta divisão entre *nós* e *eles*, em relação aos que são apresentados como não-europeus, mas também sobre a construção do que somos *nós*, europeus. Os média desempenham um papel crucial na reprodução de representações sobre os outros, com quem o público não tem

contacto direto. Neste artigo, exploramos discursos, nos média portuguesas e alemãs, de 2011 a 2017, sobre a chamada “crise dos refugiados/migratória”. Através de uma análise qualitativa de conteúdo, procuramos compreender como é construída a ideia de europeidade em relação a este fenómeno. Esta análise exploratória permitiu identificar que não existe apenas uma construção da ideia da Europa, na qual os migrantes ou refugiados são o outro, mas também uma ideia da Europa intrinsecamente incompatível com a rejeição desse outro, incompatível com ideias e movimentos de extrema direita ou xenófobos. Ser europeu, portanto, é ser não-muçulmano, ser não-refugiado, e ser não-xenófobo.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

crise dos refugiados; Europa; discursos mediáticos; alteridade

US AND THEM IN THE MEDIA

Cultural Studies have revolved around a critical approach to the concept of culture, deconstructing both its classical anthropological as well as its cultural production configurations. Seeing culture as transversal to all levels of social life, being much more complex and contradictory than traditionally theorized, the field has had an enormous contribution in contesting essentialist theories and concepts, such as that of identity, in its various forms, namely national identity, as an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983/2016). We are particularly interested in the discursive interplay between this particularly strong and institutionally supported collective identity and the supranational European imagined community, which has been promoted, appropriated and constructed along with the process of political and economic integration, since “increasingly the citizens of the European Union are being evoked as a different imagined community: as Europeans, an identity perhaps as problematic as the particularist National identities it is intended to replace” (Geary, 2013, p. 39). European Nation-States have been built on the basis of contradictory discourses about their origins. With the birth of the European Community, the idea of Europe as a cohesive whole became an important part of European integration, raising the question of “what are the new National myths on which a European National identity might be based?” and, a maybe even more important question, “what might be the dangers of such a new identity?” (Geary, 2013, p. 45).

The perils, one could argue, can be the same as those raised by the idea of the Nation-State, namely, who gets to “sing it” (Butler & Spivak, 2007), who is allowed to be a part of *us* or not (Butler & Spivak, 2007; El-Tayeb, 2011), who is othered, what performances are accepted, since, as Judith Butler explains, the State (which we expand to also mean the European supranational State) “can signify the source of non-belonging, even produce that non-belonging as a quasi-permanent state” (Butler & Spivak, 2007, p. 4).

The *non-Europeans* arriving at Europe’s borders raise the issue of the construction of Europeanness in a particularly strong way. The production and reaffirmation of a particular discourse about *us*, could, as argued, be expanded from the imagined community

of the Nation-State to the European supranational realm, creating a European source of non-belonging, as Fatima El-Tayeb argues:

the continued inability or rather unwillingness to confront, let alone overcome, the glaring whiteness underlying Europe's self-image has rather drastic consequences for migrants and minority communities routinely ignored, marginalized, and defined as a threat to the very Europe they are part of, their presence usually only acknowledged as a sign of crisis and forgotten again in the ongoing construction of a new European identity. (El-Tayeb, 2011, p. xxv)

The context of the so-called “refugee crisis” has a strong potential of allowing us to understand what discourses appear in the media regarding collective identities as tied to political belonging, which of them are rendered subaltern and which are presented as common sense (i.e. hegemonic). We refer to it as a “so-called crisis” because the use of the concept of “crisis” as commonsensical already frames the issue in a certain way, it “is a choice that is steeped in racial, gender, and colonialist politics” (Nawyn, 2018, p. 1).

While crisis language can also motivate quick action and additional resources for refugees, in the current climate refugees are the losers in crisis language, as it has motivated hardened borders rather than compassionate assistance and protection. (Nawyn, 2018, p. 14)

And the same idea is reinforced by Fatima El-Tayeb (2011):

the scant references to migratory movements that are present show them as a very recent phenomenon, largely reduced to stories of desperate refugees – presenting migration firstly as an anomaly, caused by some kind of crisis in the region of origin and secondly as something that happens to Europe without the continent having any active part in it. (El-Tayeb, 2011, p. 166)

The media play an extremely important role in this process of constructing the barriers between *us* and *them*, mainly in the reproduction of representations about others, with whom the audience does not have direct contact. Narratives are constantly retold in every news story, resonating with previous stories, creating the sensation of an “infinitely repeated drama” (Rock, 1981, quoted in Bird & Dardenne, 1999, p. 268), while journalists operate under the illusion of simply using the most efficient technical methods to portray reality according to objective criteria of the news values of immediacy, unusualness, simplicity. But the way in which these stories are told, drawing from narrative codes such as villains and heroes (Bird & Dardenne, 1999, pp. 269, 275), is not simply a neutral technique to make news items more engaging, it reflects culturally pre-established “maps of meaning” (Hall, 1993). The media have a noteworthy amount of power to define and

redefine these narratives, since “the telling of a story necessarily excludes all other stories that are never told” (Bird & Dardenne, 1999, p. 277). This power is especially strong in mainstream media outlets (Chomsky, 1997) since news stories are part of a set of practices socially regarded as trustworthy, and with the medium acting as an authority figure towards the public (Bird & Dardenne, 1999, p. 275). Thus, analyzing how the media portrays those who are presented as outsiders allows us to explore the prevalent discourse around the idea of Europeanness, as an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983/2016) tied together by a certain view of European identity.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The analysis performed in this paper is part of a larger research project on ideologies regarding national and European identities in the Portuguese and German online media from 2011 to 2017. The appropriateness of the choice of Germany and Portugal as specific points of intersection between *two Europes*, Northern and Southern Europe, as a way of exploring how this idea of National identities is constructed, extends to the exploration of the construction of an idea of Europe, especially, taking into account the role of Germany in the context of the so-called refugee crisis, regarding these “non-European others”. Following a strategy of strategic selection and saturation (Frow & Morris, 2006), two media outlets were selected by country, according to their “social personalities” (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke & Roberts, 1978, p. 60), namely selecting the most-read online tabloid and elite (Gossel, 2017; Chomsky, 1997), news outlets, at the time of the beginning of the data collection (Marktest, 2018, Schröder, 2018): *Diário de Notícias (DN)* and *Correio da Manhã (CM)*, in Portugal, and *Spiegel* and *Bild*, in Germany, and uses a qualitative content analysis methodology (Bardin, 2007)¹. For this qualitative analysis,

¹ *Corpus* retrieved from:

<http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/bundestagswahl-2017-deutschland-ist-doch-nicht-so-aussergewoehnlich-a-1169649.html>;
<https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/tag-der-deutschen-einheit/die-aktuellen-feierlichkeiten-zum-tag-der-deutschen-einheit-42876322.bild.html>;
<https://www.bild.de/politik/ausland/die-linke/wir-machen-die-eu-sozialer-35913290.bild.html>;
http://www.cmjornal.pt/mundo/detalhe/migracoes_berlim_exige_que_refugiados_respeitem_cultura_e_leis;
<http://www.cmjornal.pt/mundo/detalhe/alemanhaeleicoes-nazis-fora-centenas-de-alemaes-na-rua-contr-extrema-direita>;
<https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/fluechtling/wie-viele-fluechtlinge-koennen-wir-noch-aufnehmen-42590334.bild.html>;
<https://www.cmjornal.pt/opiniao/colunistas/miguel-alexandre-ganhao/detalhe/berlim-e-barcelona>;
<https://www.dn.pt/lusa/maioria-de-muculmanos-na-europa-sente-se-ligada-ao-pais-em-que-vive---estudo-8788069.html>;
<http://www.cmjornal.pt/politica/detalhe/passos-espera-que-merkel-consiga-conciliar-anseios-nacionais-com-expectativas-europeias>;
http://www.cmjornal.pt/portugal/detalhe/eleicoes_pnr_alertou_contra_invasao_islamica_com_burcas_em_lisboa;
<https://www.dn.pt/lusa/interior/refugiada-iraquiana-encontra-e-entrega-a-policia-alema-mala-com-14-mil-euros-8783400.html>;
<http://www.cmjornal.pt/mundo/detalhe/refugiado-viola-e-mata-filha-de-consultor-da-ue>;
<http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/fluechtlinge-aus-syrien-ueber-das-meer-kommen-nur-die-gluecklichsten-a-1051223.html>;
<https://www.bild.de/politik/ausland/fluechtlingskrise/solche-bilder-will-europa-nicht-mehr-sehen-42671288.bild.html>;
<https://www.dn.pt/mundo/supermercado-alemao-retira-produtos-estrangeiros-em-licao-contr-xenofobia-8724962.html>;
<https://www.dn.pt/mundo/berlim-explicada-aos-turistas-por-um-sirio-8794377.html>; <https://www.dn.pt/mundo/interior/coligacao-jamaica-pelos-vistos-nao-ha-nada-melhor-8797931.html>.

we conducted a strategic timeframe selection, around each of the legislative electoral periods in each country, as well as for the European Parliament elections. Elections are seen as particularly rich discursive contexts in which to study issues of identity and crisis, with political conflict and discourse heightened and media coverage on political issues more prolific. For these timeframes, and for each one of the news outlets, data collection started with an online search through the search engine Google, for strategically selected keywords filtered by date (according to the timeframes), which was completed by a second data search in the news outlets' internal search engines and "related news" in the same timeframe². The data was then filtered, in order to reach theoretical data saturation. From the final data selection, for the purpose of this paper, the articles referring to the "migration/refugee crisis" were selected.

To analyze the selected articles, we developed a model, based on Bardin's (2007) content analysis and a combination of Stuart Hall's *Encoding, decoding* (1993) model and his work on *Policing the crisis* (Hall et al., 1978). Our model consists of two sets of tables for each news outlet: the definer tables (in which each discourse is attributed to the sources or definers quoted in the articles), and the newspaper tables (in which the discourse is attributed directly to the newspaper as such). For every individual definer identified in each article, as well as for each media outlet, a table was created, in order to identify what is said about *us/them* in each context and time period. After this first analysis, we were able to group the discourses and draw relations between them, thus creating the categories and corresponding sub-categories and frames.

WHO IS THE OTHER?

This analysis allowed us to identify different main categories of discourses regarding the other, in relation to the so-called "refugee/migration crisis". We identified three main categories of others: the muslim, the refugee, and the political/institutional other. These others were framed in different ways. Regarding the "muslim other", the only frame is "we are not Muslim"; regarding the "refugee other", the main frames are that he "is welcome", "is not welcome" and "is not *our* problem", with a series of variations within these main frames; regarding the "political/institutional other", the main identified frames are: "Europe of the Nation States", "E.U. as the other", and the "far right other".

We will now lay out how these others are framed in the different media outlets, taking into account the sources, or definers, who are quoted, when applicable, and illustrating the frames with examples of the corresponding discourses. The data included in the tables is not an extensive reproduction of the analyzed data, but merely serves illustrative purposes.

² In the case of *Spiegel*, which has articles in English, only the German articles were taken into consideration.

THE MUSLIM OTHER

WE ARE NOT MUSLIM

This category draws on a symbolic representation of identity, naming the other, whether explicitly or implicitly, based on the axis of religion, understood in the broader sense as a symbolic cultural referent.

GERMANY IS NOT MUSLIM

This discourse frames Germany as not being Muslim, or Islam as not being German, even though Muslim people reside in the country. This does not mean that the discourse explicitly rejects the possibility of Muslim presence, or “integration”, but, nevertheless, the underlying idea, is that it is not a part of the idea of *us*. It appears in *Diário de Notícias (DN)*, *Bild* and *Spiegel*, at times, quoting, either directly or indirectly, definers from the German CDU and AfD (see list of political parties).

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
DN	CDU	Asked about the compatibility between Islam and German culture, the chancellor stressed that these are compatible realities as long as the German Constitution is respected. (Gouveia, 2017)	News article
	AfD	This is a question that goes beyond morality. Of course, anyone who accepts our values, our Constitution, is welcome, but we do not want within a few generations to have Sharia established here. (Hansel, 2017)	News article
		He [Gauland, AfD] does not defend the superiority of the Aryan race over the others but says that Germany should not receive Syrian refugees because, I quote, “Islam is not part of German culture” (Tadeu, 2017)	Opinion
Bild	AfD	Border closure! Stop immigration, deport refugees rigorously (“negative immigration”), reduce the brain drain. Burka-/minaret ban. No asylum without papers. No German passport for migrant children. (Vehlewald, 2017)	News article
Spiegel	Spiegel	Muslims living in Germany are less likely than most other EU countries to feel disadvantaged because of their skin color or origin – Germany is in the middle regarding discrimination because of religion. (Reimann & van Hove, 2017)	News article

Table 1: “Germany is not Muslim”

EUROPE IS NOT MUSLIM

The same type of frame can be also found regarding Europe’s symbolic representation as not being Muslim. In this case, these frames can be found in *CM*, *DN* and *Spiegel*, and the quoted definers are representatives of the Portuguese PNR, an NGO, and opinion pieces (op-eds) by an academic and a journalist.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
DN	DN	These results “completely discredit the claim that Muslims are not integrated into our societies” (DN, 2017)	News article
	Portuguese journalist	Especially because Aylan was probably a Muslim – and we are afraid of Islam, and with reason. Especially because the “European leaders” we encourage know as much as we do. (Câncio, 2015)	Opinion
	Portuguese academic	Religious differentiation, which is the most dangerous inspiration for terrorism ever remembered by the Twin Towers of New York, is present. (Moreira, 2015)	Opinion
CM	PNR	Islamic conquest of Europe. (CM, 2015)	News article
Spiegel	Spiegel	EU study: more Muslims complain of discrimination because of their religion. (...) Particularly often headscarf or veil-wearing Muslim women reported from hostility to physical attacks. (Reimann & van Hove, 2017)	News article

Table 2 : “Europe is not Muslim”

PORTUGAL IS NOT MUSLIM

Almost absent from the discourse regarding Portugal, the issue of Islam is only raised by a representative of the PNR party, in *Correio da Manhã*.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
CM	PNR	On Wednesday, the National Renovator Party (PNR) warned, during a street raid in Lisbon in the late afternoon, against the “Islamic invasion” that threatens the country and Europe. (CM, 2015)	News article

Table 3 : “Portugal is not Muslim”

THE REFUGEE OTHER

Regarding “the Refugee” as other, we identified two main frames: the “is welcome” and the “is not welcome”. In each of those frames, different discourses present different justifications for why they are welcome, or not. They also vary, to an extent, depending on who is or isn’t welcoming them, namely, the government or civil society. It has an almost exclusive relevance in the context of Germany, as will be seen in the presented illustrative examples.

IS WELCOME: BY THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT

This discourse appears in all the analyzed media outlets. It presents the German government, or Angela Merkel specifically, as being welcoming to refugees arriving in the country. This policy is viewed mostly as positive, but not exclusively, since, at times, it is presented critically. The definers adopting this frame, aside from the media outlets, are a Portuguese diplomat and a representative of the German CDU, and journalists in

opinion articles, in a positive tone, and critically, a representative of the AfD, as well as the German media.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
<i>CM</i>	Portuguese diplomat	Berlin has given exemplary support to these refugees. (Falcão-Machado, 2017)	Opinion
<i>Bild</i>	<i>Bild</i>	While states like Germany, Austria or even Sweden face up to the challenge, they show a great receptivity and welcome culture. (<i>Bild</i> , 2015)	News article
<i>Spiegel</i>	CDU/German journalist	Now she is the refugee chancellor, who is outraged when she is accused of admitting too many refugees into the country: “I have to honestly say: if we have to start apologizing now that we show a friendly face in emergency situations, then this is not my country”. (Nelles, 2015)	Opinion

Table 4 : “The refugee other is welcome by the German government – positive tone”

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
<i>DN</i>	AfD	The refugee crisis, which is no natural disaster, is a crisis generated by Merkel’s hand (Hansel, 2017)	Interview
<i>Bild</i>	<i>Bild</i>	Is our German asylum law really an incentive for refugees to come to us? Asylum seekers in Germany receive accommodation, meals and up to 359 euros/month. (<i>Bild</i> , 2015)	News article
<i>Spiegel</i>	<i>Spiegel</i>	Merkel must accept the accusation of having favored the rise of right-wing populists with her refugee policies. (Becker & Wiemann , 2017)	News article

Table 5 : “The refugee other is welcome by the German government – critical tone”

IS WELCOME: AS AN ECONOMIC ASSET

This type of discourse frames the arriving refugees as being potentially useful economically, i.e. instrumentalizing them as welcome, because they may be an economic asset, for the workforce. It appears in the German media outlets, having as definers representatives of Die Grünen, SPD and CDU/CSU as well as, in *DN*, in an op-ed by a Portuguese academic. At times, immigrants and refugees are seen as non-differentiated.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
<i>DN</i>	Portuguese academic	Why wouldn’t Merkel take this opportunity for the entrance of a cheap, almost slave labor, who can certainly work at minimal prices in the German economy? Solidarity? I do not think so. (Almeida, 2015)	Opinion
<i>Bild</i>	SPD	The SPD still wants to take on refugees in need, specifically recruit skilled workers as needed. (Vehlewald, 2017)	News article
	CDU/CSU	The Union [CDU/CSU] wants to control immigration “wisely” by a “skilled labor immigration law”. (Vehlewald, 2017)	News article

Table 6 : “The refugee other is welcome as an economic asset”

IS WELCOME: AS LONG AS OUR “CULTURE” IS RESPECTED

This type of discourse is a conditional view of the welcoming policies: refugees are seen as welcome, but being an other, their presence is conditional regarding their “acceptance” of “our values” or “our culture”. Instead of using an essentialist symbolic representation-based othering, it uses a civic type of language to draw the othering line. It appears in the Portuguese media outlets, having as definers representatives of the German CDU, SPD and AfD.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
<i>DN</i>	AfD	Of course that whoever accepts our values, our Constitution, is welcome, but we do not want to have the Sharia established here within a few generations. (Hansel, 2017)	Interview
<i>CM</i>	CDU	Accepting German laws and values means “to tell the real name and country of origin to employers, not to fight, to have patience and to respect others, regardless of religion or gender. (CM, 2015)	News article
<i>Bild</i>	SPD	Our values are not up for discussion. (...) In an open society, it does not matter if this society is ethnically homogenous, but if it has a shared value basis. (<i>Bild</i> , 2015)	News article

Table 7 : “The refugee other is welcome as long as our ‘culture’ is respected”

IMMIGRATION SOCIETY

This type of discourse, inserted in the “Is welcome” category, frames German and European society as being, or urging it to be, solidary, and welcoming of migrants and/or refugees, as a feature of society itself. It appears in *Bild* and *Diário de Notícias*, and has as its definers representatives of the German parties Die Linke and Die Grünen, as well as a German supermarket chain.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
<i>DN</i>	<i>DN</i>	German supermarket removes foreign products to teach lesson against xenophobia (...) “we will be poorer without diversity”, said one of the posters placed on the empty shelves. (<i>DN</i> , 2017)	News article
<i>Bild</i>	Die Linke	Die Linke wants to facilitate immigration (“solidary immigration society”). Specifically: Right to work, health and social care for all immigrants (not only those persecuted) after 3 months at the latest. (Vehlewald, 2017)	News article
	Die Grünen	“The Greens demand “safe and legal ways” to Germany, better family reunification” (Vehlewald, 2017)	News article

Table 8 : “The refugee other: immigration society”

THE “GOOD” MIGRANT

Inserted in the same category, this frame uses an anecdotal story in *Diário de Notícias* about a refugee, presenting a positive view through exemplification. It is interesting to note the contrast to the anecdotal story that will be referred to in the “is not welcome” category, by *Correio da Manhã* (CM, 2017), in the opposite sense.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
DN	DN	German police reported that a 16-year-old Iraqi refugee is in the process of receiving a reward for delivering a lost 14.000-euro handbag inside. (DN, 2017)	News article

Table 9: “The refugee other: the ‘good’ migrant”

IS TRAGIC: CRISIS

This frame, to some extent underlying the general coverage of the “crisis”, presents the situation of refugees, mainly Syrian, as a tragedy, and focuses on the horrors experienced, either in their homeland, or during the migratory process to Europe. It appears in *Bild*, *Diário de Notícias* and *Spiegel*, and its definers are an academics and a journalist, in op eds, and the German news outlets themselves.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
DN	British academic	The powerful images of people traveling long distances on railways and motorways have created a general feeling of crisis in Europe. But much of this tragedy and chaos is preventable. (Betts, 2015)	Opinion
<i>Bild</i>	<i>Bild</i>	Miserable regions and in their desperation often do not fear the dangers of life to find a place of refuge with the perspective of a better life. (Bild, 2015)	News article
<i>Spiegel</i>	<i>Spiegel</i>	Most of the asylum seekers in Germany have fled Russia, Syria, Afghanistan and Serbia, from persecution and hunger, from war, from fear of dying in their home countries. (Roth, 2013)	News article

Table 10 : “The refugee other is tragic: crisis”

IS TRAGIC: EUROPEAN RESPONSIBILITY

The idea of tragedy and crisis is, as stated in the introduction, almost universally transversal to the discourses about refugees and migrants. However, there is one article which shows a breach in the hegemonic idea that the crisis is not caused by Europe. Even if still within the “tragedy frame” and presented as an “error”, or bad political tactic by Europe. It is in an op-ed by a Portuguese academic, in *DN*.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
DN	Portuguese academic	Because what we face now is a human drama that has, among many other causes, Western errors, namely unsubstantiated military interventions, or forgetting the prudential rule of choosing a lesser evil, as, for example, happened in Iraq. The only way to stop this emigration is to be able to establish a good government in the origin of the fugitives, and in the elimination of the companies that grow profits as they cause the transformation of the Mediterranean into a cemetery. (Moreira, 2015)	Opinion

Table 11 : “The refugee other is tragic: European responsibility”

IS NOT WELCOME

This category encompasses the discourses that frame refugees as not being welcome, in Germany or Portugal, both those that contradict the dominant discourse that they are being welcomed by the government (thus emphasizing that they are not as welcoming as portrayed), and those that directly claim that they should not be welcomed, for various reasons.

IN GERMANY: BY THE GOVERNMENT

This frame, as explained, challenges the previously outlined frame of the Germany government as being particularly “welcoming” in the face of the so-called refugee crisis. It appears in both the elite news outlets, *Spiegel* and *Diário de Notícias*, having as definers *Spiegel* and academics.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
DN	German academic	But for Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff, the change in German refugee policy has already taken place. In the coming years, the academic anticipates the transition from an “uncontrolled flow to a controlled flow” of refugees. (Tecedeiro, 2017)	News article
<i>Spiegel</i>	<i>Spiegel</i>	Internationally, it looks like this: Malta (5.000 asylum seekers per million inhabitants), Sweden (4.600) and Austria (2.100) are clearly ahead of Germany, where 930 asylum seekers came for every 1 million inhabitants in 2012. (Roth, 2013)	News article

Table 12 : “The refugee other is not so welcome in Germany: by the government”

IN GERMANY: BY CIVIL SOCIETY

This frame focuses on the ways in which civil society, in Germany, is not being welcoming to refugees, namely through electoral expression, among other demonstrations. It is a frame that is critical of such a posture, and appears, once again, in the elite media outlets, *Spiegel* and *Diário de Notícias*, with the same definers, adding the foreign press in a press review published in *Spiegel*.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
<i>DN</i>	<i>DN</i>	Charlotte is not surprised. "I think there was always a racist base in German society that now sees AfD as what it has always wanted. In Saxony it is like that. (Viegas, 2017)	Feature
<i>Spiegel</i>	<i>Spiegel</i>	Refugees are being labeled as criminals and welcomed in the neighborhood with Hitler salute. Not just members of the right-wing parties. But also – and that is actually dramatic in the current events – frightened citizens. (Roth, 2013)	News article

Table 13 : "The refugee other is not so welcome in Germany: by civil society"

IS A THREAT: SECURITY, ECONOMY, SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION

Differently than the two previous frames, that portray the negative attitude regarding refugees in a critical way, the three following frames represent the views of those who reject the presence of refugees, using a series of justifications, often bundled together: security, economy and symbolic representation of identity or culture.

The security defense, claiming that the arrival of refugees is a security threat, appears in *Correio da Manhã*, *Bild* and *Diário de Notícias*, having as definers, aside from the tabloid media outlets, a Portuguese diplomat (former ambassador) in an op-ed, a representative of the CSU, a representative of the AfD and a journalist in an interview.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
<i>DN</i>	AfD	And then there are security problems, there was an attack in Berlin here, because there is no real border control. This is not xenophobia. It's a fact. (Hansel, 2017)	Interview
	German journalist	After the refugee crisis and terrorist attacks, the population wants to feel safe, better protected. (Schuster, 2017)	Interview
<i>CM</i>	<i>CM</i>	Refugee rapes and kills daughter of EU consultant. (<i>CM</i> , 2017)	News article
<i>Bild</i>	CSU	Bavaria's finance minister Markus Söder (48) warned: Many refugees come from the civil war – "maybe also civil warriors". (<i>Bild</i> , 2015)	News article

Table 14 : "The refugee other is a threat to Germany: security"

In these discourses, closely tied to the two others in this frame, the economic threat of refugees is underlined. It appears in *Correio da Manhã*, *Bild* and *Diário de Notícias*, having as definers *Bild*, the same Portuguese diplomat in an op-ed and representatives of the AfD.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
DN	DN	A supporter of the CDU, she thinks that “many people voted for AfD because they are afraid of refugees and think the state gives them more money than they do. It’s not true. The state helps all the people who are poor”. (Viegas, 2017)	Feature
CM	Portuguese diplomat	Many are those who criticize such openness, as they fear the effects it will have on employment levels. (Falcão-Machado, 2017)	Opinion
Bild	Bild, CDU	The government still wants to reduce the payment (...) The reason: “no false incentives should be set”. (Bild, 2015)	News article

Table 15 : “The refugee other is a threat to Germany: economy”

This type of discourse draws on symbolic representations of identity, or culture, to present refugees as a threat, specifically regarding Muslim refugees (adding to the aforementioned othering of “The Muslim”, in general). It appears in *Correio da Manhã*, *Bild* and *Diário de Notícias*, in the same discourses of the Portuguese diplomat and representatives of the AfD.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
CM	Portuguese diplomat	Berlin has given exemplary support to these refugees, but many are those who criticize such openness, as they fear the effects it will have on (...) German identity. (Falcão-Machado, 2017)	Opinion
Bild	AfD	Burka-/minaret ban. (Vehlewald, 2017)	News article

Table 16 : “The refugee other is a threat to Germany: symbolic representation”

IN PORTUGAL: THREAT

Regarding Portugal, this is the only category in which refugee “issue” appears, exclusively framing the other as a threat, using the triple symbolic, economic and security frame. It appears in *Correio da Manhã*, having a representative of PNR as a definer.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
CM	PNR	“We are the only party in Portugal that denounces this situation and warns of the danger that this represents against our internal security and against our identity”, claimed Pinto-Coelho, considering that the announced support for refugees “represents an affront, an offense” to many Portuguese people who “are not given a home, are not given subsidies”. (Lusa, 2015)	News article

Table 17 : “The refugee other is not welcome in Portugal: threat”

IN EUROPE

Here we find discourses that present the European Union, and its main decision makers, as an institutional other, regarding the response to the “crisis”, criticizing the way in which the E.U. has handled the situation. It is a critical discourse that points to the hypocrisies in dealing with the “crisis”. They are conveyed by *Bild* and *Diário de Notícias*, having as definers, *Bild*, academic in op-eds and a former British Labour MP.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
DN	Portuguese journalist	Especially because the reason why Aylan came to our beach is too complex, too difficult (who has a solution for Syria and ISIS, raise your arm), too contradictory to our vision of Europeans who despair at low birth rates but don't want to nor dream of compensating it with non-Europeans. Even because hosting and integrating the Aylans costs money. (Câncio, 2015)	Opinion
	British academic	Europe needs a clear strategy on who it wants to protect and where and how to assess people's asylum applications. (Betts, 2015)	Interview
	Portuguese academic	It is almost impossible – unfortunately – to fail to observe how the hypocrisy of realpolitik and the world of geostrategic and political interests intersect for (...) offer an even more inhumane dimension to this tragedy. (Almeida, 2015)	Opinion
<i>Bild</i>	<i>Bild</i>	But whether such images of misery, helplessness and exhaustion, created on European soil, will really be a thing of the past here depends very much on whether the European Union finally manages to agree on a common refugee policy. (<i>Bild</i> , 2015)	News article

Table 18 : “The refugee other is not welcome in Europe”

IS NOT OUR PROBLEM

The only other instance in which Portugal appears, in relation to the refugee crisis, in the analyzed data, is, in fact, to frame the issue as virtually non-existent in Portugal, due to the absence of migrants or refugees. It appears in *Correio da Manhã*, having a representative of the PSD as a definer.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
CM	PSD	“In Portugal we have no reason to have the kind of concerns that are felt in Germany and in the center of Europe, which have been particularly sought after by movements of refugees”, he [Pedro Passos Coelho] said. (CM, 2017)	News article

Table 19 : “The refugee other is not our problem”

DE-OTHERING: REPRESENTATION

Regarding the two first others, the Muslim and the Refugee, the non-European or external others, there are only two instances in which these others are the definers. Both are feature stories by *Diário de Notícias*, set in Germany, in which the other is heard when writing about the issue of refugees and migration, namely a representative of a Turkish Community association, and a Syrian refugee who works as a tour guide in Berlin.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
DN	Representative turkish com- munity, DN	Cighan Sinanoglu, a spokesman for the organization Türkische Gemeinde in Deutschland, says the same. “We always knew that there was a potential here for the extreme right of 20%, which previously could be contained by the CDU and the SPD. Now, with immigration and refugees, the situation has gotten out of control. There is racism and, for this, some will vote for AfD, which in my view is a party that did not accept globalization. But there are also those who vote out of fear or fatigue of the big parties”, says the 34-year-old German of Turkish origin. (Viegas, 2017)	Feature
	Syrian refugee, DN	Mohamad fled because he did not want to serve in Assad’s army. In Germany, he studies and takes guided tours comparing the history of Germany and Syria. (...) The tour, which lasts two hours, then ends with a visit to a Syrian restaurant “this is where, in 1953, people displeased with the GDR communist regime protested”, explains Mohamad, to a group that includes people from the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Poland, Uzbekistan, Lithuania etc... Along the way, parallels between the history of Germany and Syria are established, “do you see Checkpoint Charlie? In Syria, checkpoints are something very present in everyday life- It is something that may seem strange to you. But it is something that intimidates. It causes fear”, recalls the Syrian, who just received a scholarship to study Economics and Political Science. (Viegas, 2017)	Feature

Table 20: “De-othering”

THE POLITICAL/INSTITUTIONAL OTHER

In this category, we encompassed those discourses that other either political institutions or political ideologies, in relation to the “refugee/migration crisis”. There is an othering of other European countries/governments and of European institutions, regarding their response to the “crisis”, as well as an othering of the far right.

EUROPE OF THE NATION STATES

This frame portrays a division within the European Union, between countries that are welcoming to refugees in contrast to those who are not, or criticizing an alleged unequal distribution of resettlement efforts. It appears in the German media, *Bild* and *Spiegel*, having as definers the news outlets themselves, as well as a representative of the SPD and a German journalist, in an op-ed.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
<i>Bild</i>	<i>Bild</i>	Other EU states, such as Hungary, are presenting themselves from an ugly side and are putting their faith in a martial deterrent policy, without compassion. (<i>Bild</i> , 2015)	News article
	SPD	Asylum applications should be submitted before entry into the EU, asylum seekers distributed “fairly” in Europe. (Vehlewald, 2017)	News article
Spiegel	Spiegel	In refugee policy, Europe is experiencing a return of nation states that have their own interests in view, at the cost of European values. (...) In the dispute over a refugee quota, a majority of EU states simply overruled dissenters from Eastern Europe. (Deggerich, Müller, Popp, Puhl, Ulrich, Wiedmann-Schmidt & Wilkens, 2015)	News article
	German journalist	Should it have been the Chancellor’s calculation that the neighbors would make an example of our charity, she has thoroughly miscalculated. We are becoming more and more lonely. (Fleischhauer, 2015)	Opinion

Table 21 : “The political/institutional other: Europe of the Nation States”

THE XENOPHOBE OTHER

THE FAR-RIGHT THEY

This category others the far-right, as not being part of the idea of *us*, as a “shock”, and as something that must be fought against. It is used by *Correio da Manhã*, *Diário de Notícias* and *Spiegel*, having as definers news agencies, *DN* and *Spiegel*, representatives of the CSU and the European Commission, academics, intellectuals and journalists in op-eds. It is quite a recurrent discourse, so just a few illustrative examples will be listed.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
DN	Academic	Nationalist and Eurosceptic movements that support the formation of forces opposed to Europeans of unity cannot be ignored, affirming the risk of European cultural values and of Europe’s very identity. (Moreira, 2015)	Opinion
CM	CM	Shouting “all of Berlin hates the Nazis”, or “the Nazis” or “racism is not an alternative”, the quite young demonstrators showed their revolt. (<i>CM</i> , 2017)	News article
<i>Spiegel</i>	German journalist	These differences, as I see it, are above all the history of Nazi Germany and thus the responsibility before the Holocaust, a basic social consensus that was staged again after the reunification of Germany with the Holocaust memorial in the middle of Berlin, but that has lost more and more of its naturalness in recent years. (Diez, 2017)	Opinion
	CSU	Neo-Nazis harm our homeland. (Roth, 2013)	News article

Table 22 : “The political/institutional other: the xenophobe other – the far-right they”

THE FAR-RIGHT IN THEM

Regarding Germany, there are instances in which the far-right is represented as being, in fact, part of the identity, and not a shock, or alien. However, this appears only in the Portuguese media, and is still an instance of othering, since it is a case of a Portuguese intellectual describing German society in an op-ed in *DN*, and, in the case of two feature stories in Berlin, by the same media outlet, the interviewed people are either othering far-right Germans as East Germans, or the example of the aforementioned refugee living in Berlin. In the case of *Spiegel*, this discourse appears in foreign press review.

NEWS OUTLET	DEFINER	QUOTE	TYPE
<i>DN</i>	Portuguese intellectual	The neo-Nazi nationalism of AfD is a problem of “normality” in overdose. (Marques, 2017)	Opinion
	<i>DN</i>	Charlotte is not surprised. “I think there was always a racist base in German society that now sees AfD as what it has always wanted. In Saxony it is like that. I don’t see myself going back there. People in Saxony are afraid of what is normal here in Kreuzberg. A mixture of all” (Viegas, 2017)	Feature
<i>Spiegel</i>	Foreign press	“Country from which the Nazi terror once originated”; “Germany is no longer a “holy special case”, the “moral superiority” to its European neighbors and the USA will, therefore, “decrease rapidly”. (Der Spiegel, 2017)	News article

Table 23: “The political/institutional other: the xenophobe other – the far right in them”

WHO ARE WE?

Even though there are different discourses about migrants and refugees in the media, the othering process in itself is hegemonic. There are only two instances in which the migrant or refugee is not talked about but talked to, as a definer in the media articles. This is particularly impactful in the case of the feature story in which a Syrian refugee establishes, through the reference to material historically charged heritage, a rapprochement between *us* and *them* (Viegas, 2017). This paradox of an idea of Europe as internally diverse, but with clear barriers to this diversity, based on a certain European symbolic sameness, becomes evident in these discourses.

There seems to be a higher possibility for empathy, for bridging the *us/them* divide, in feature stories, where the journalist has direct contact with non-hegemonic definers. This idea that feature stories open up the possibility for counter-hegemonic discourses, nevertheless, does not necessarily eliminate the ideological framework behind the “journalistic common sense” theorized in Hall et al. (1978) model of the dimensions of feature news values. As the authors point out, the “move to feature”, the “[a]ssessment of events as having a background not covered by hard news story”, with the ideological function of placing “the events and the actors on a ‘map’ of society”, could in the general

coverage by the media outlet, end up playing the part of “[r]eintegration of feature into paper’s dominant discourse”, in which the media make “the event and its implications ‘manageable’, i.e. not destructive of, or demanding changes in, [the] basic structure of society” (Hall et al., 1978, p. 99). This dynamic analysis that is contingent on data divided according to the coverage by newspaper is outside the scope of this paper, but needs, nonetheless, to be considered when regarding these preliminary conclusions.

Another discourse that appears to be hegemonic, and in line with the theoretical basis for this study (El-Tayeb, 2011; Nawyn, 2018) is the one that frames migration and the “refugee crisis” as such, as a crisis, and one that is independent from European history and policies. Its causes and consequences are only seen as a European responsibility, at best, in a human rights or solidarity frame, never as an actual political and historical responsibility nor connection. At the most, the situation in the countries of origin is seen as “too complex, too difficult” (Câncio, 2015), and, in the one case where European responsibility is mentioned (Moreira, 2015), it is still in the frame of European exceptionalism. As Fatima El-Tayeb points out, in her critical analysis of the discourses used by the Museum of Europe to represent Europeanness:

a number of questions such as “what policies are needed to offer immigrants perspectives while preventing an upset of the demographic, economic, and cultural balance of the host nations? How should we react to the daily horrors of people risking their lives to reach the promised land called Europe?” frame migration as a new and urgent crisis, detached from the continent’s “hour zero” and the resulting need for cheap labor, decolonization, or “the fall of the wall,” resulting in a mass migration from East to West—instead forever suddenly appearing on the horizon of an unsuspecting Europe that feels obliged to react, within sensible limits, due to its commitment to human rights, not because it already is an active, powerful participant in the process. (El-Tayeb, 2011, p. 166)

Regarding the political othering process, the hegemonic discourse is based on the idea that the far-right is intrinsically non-European or anti-European, a diametrically opposed other, that has to be eliminated because it logically does not belong. Regarding Europe as a whole, the presence of the far-right is seen as an outlier, a “shock”, a logical glitch in the system of Europeanism. This contrasts with the, at times, critical stances taken in relation to the othering of non-Europeans as part of the lack of appropriate policies, which, nonetheless, is a discourse that does not see far right ideas as part of *us*, even if the far-right history, especially Nazi history in Germany, is referred to and mentioned. Europe is framed as having a set of common values, and movements and ideas that go against these values, such as the far-right, are seen as a “shock”, an “abnormality”, as if they are intrinsically not possible in Europe. Far-right supporters are Eastern Europe,

ill-informed people, fearmongers – not “real Europeans”. Even when there is a criticism of xenophobia or islamophobia, it is under the assumption that these are un-European, that they have been overcome, on the “European ideology of colorblindness” (El-Tayeb, 2011, p. 177). A small breach in this commonsensical approach appears in the op-ed by a German journalist, when it is explicitly said that this consensus has “has lost more and more of its naturalness in recent years” (Diez, 2017), but, again, this is a shock, and the idea of consensus is the starting point.

As the collected data point out, there is not only a construction of the idea of Europe in which migrants or refugees are the other, even when talking about their “integration”, but also of an idea of Europe that is intrinsically incompatible with far-right or xenophobic ideas and movements. Being European, thus, is narrated as being not a Muslim, not a refugee, and not xenophobic.

Aside from the general initial conclusions we have outlined in this exploratory study, further analysis would benefit from delving deeper into the dynamic interplay between variables, such as the definers, and the identified frames, merely mentioned here, which is being carried out in the doctoral research project that this paper integrates. Further exploration of the data should take into account the coverage discriminated by each media outlet, as well as by definer, type of article and other potentially relevant variables, as well as the dynamic relations between them.

We believe the context of “crisis” proved to be, as expected, a particularly rich one in which to explore processes of othering, that, although, in this case, are only being explored in the discursive arena, have very real practical, political, social, economic consequences. The *othering* of the “tragic” refugee, whose “jettisoned life is thus saturated in power, though not with modes on entitlement or obligation” (Butler & Spivak, 2007, p. 32), is precisely one of the modes in which the imagined community of the State, or the supranational European Union, are discursively produced as a homogenous whole, separating who belongs and who doesn’t, and defining degrees of acceptability of different lives.

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APPENDIX 1 - POLITICAL PARTIES

List of the mentioned political parties, grouped by European Parliament Political Group in 2020 (European Union, 2020):

- Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats)
 - CDU: Christlich Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union, Germany)
 - CSU: Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union in Bavaria, Germany)
 - PSD: Partido Social Democrata (Social Democratic Party, Portugal)
- Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament
 - SPD: Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
- Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance
 - Die Grünen (The Greens, Germany)
- Group of the European United Left - Nordic Green Left
 - Die Linke (The Left, Germany)
- Identity and Democracy Group
 - AfD: Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany)
- Alliance of European National Movements (not an EP political group, since PNR never elected MEPs)
 - PNR: Partido Nacional Renovador (National Renovator Party, Portugal) (Partido Nacional Renovador, 2009)

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BEING PRESENT THROUGH ABSENCE: THE SEMIOTIC CONSTRUCTION OF RECENT BRAZILIAN MIGRATION TO PORTUGAL IN THE BRAZILIAN MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

Over recent years, a rising number of Brazilians have migrated to Portugal. This phenomenon confirms certain trends that have already been identified in the literature while also revealing important changes in its configuration. These transformations are accompanied by a diversification of discourses about the phenomenon, that occurs across different media platforms. In the case of television, the discourses are transmitted in the form of audiovisual content which, more than just being an alternative language to writing, constitutes an important tool for articulating knowledge. In an attempt to understand the semiotic approach towards this fact in the Brazilian media, we decided to analyse all episodes from the first season of the television journalistic series, *Portugal pelos Brasileiros* (Portugal by Brazilians), broadcast in Brazil by Rede Globo de Televisão in early 2018. The principles of Social Semiotics developed by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen were used from an intersectional perspective as a starting point to unveil how the visual and sound resources used in this series, and the combination thereof, contribute to the construction of discourses about new Brazilian immigrants living in Portugal. In view of the identified arrangements, we conclude that we are facing a media discourse that privileges representation of recent Brazilian immigration in Portugal in a segmented manner, revealing the perspective of one specific group of immigrants, to the detriment of the plurality of voices and experiences that are inherent to the phenomenon as a whole. We view the ongoing intention to separate the representations of the new Brazilian immigrants in Portugal from other representations commonly related to Brazilian migrants from previous migratory waves, through the configuration of new semiotic repertoires to the effect, as a part of broader discursive strategies that might have direct consequences on the social life of the persons in question.

KEYWORDS

media discourse; Social Semiotic; intersectionality; migrations; Portugal pelos Brasileiros

ÊSTAR PRESENTE NA AUSÊNCIA: A CONSTRUÇÃO SEMIÓTICA DA IMIGRAÇÃO BRASILEIRA RECENTE EM PORTUGAL NOS MÉDIA BRASILEIROS

RESUMO

Nos últimos anos, o deslocamento de brasileiros para Portugal tem-se intensificado, o que tanto confirma algumas das tendências já apontadas na literatura quanto revela mudanças

importantes na configuração deste fenômeno. Paralelamente, é possível observar que estas transformações são acompanhadas de um movimento de diversificação discursiva sobre esse cenário e que acontece em diferentes plataformas mediáticas. No caso da televisão, esses discursos são transmitidos na forma de conteúdos audiovisuais que, mais do que apenas uma linguagem alternativa à escrita, são importantes ferramentas de articulação do conhecimento. Buscando-se entender a abordagem semiótica deste fenômeno nos média brasileiros, foi feita uma análise dos episódios da primeira temporada da série jornalística televisiva *Portugal pelos Brasileiros*, exibida no Brasil pela Rede Globo de Televisão no início do ano de 2018. Os princípios da Semiótica Social de Gunther Kress e Theo van Leeuwen foram utilizados em uma perspectiva interseccional como ponto de partida para se desvelar de que forma os recursos visuais e sonoros na série e a sua conjugação contribuem para a construção de discursos sobre os novos imigrantes brasileiros em Portugal. Face aos arranjos identificados, concluímos atestando a veiculação de um discurso nos média que privilegia a representação da imigração brasileira recente em Portugal de forma segmentada, dando a conhecer a perspectiva de um grupo específico de imigrantes em detrimento da pluralidade de vozes e experiências inerentes ao fenômeno em questão. Entendemos essa intenção de se separar, por meio do repertório semiótico, as representações dos novos imigrantes brasileiros em Portugal, como parte de estratégias discursivas que terão consequências diretas na vida social destes sujeitos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

discurso mediático; Semiótica Social; interseccionalidade; migrações; Portugal pelos Brasileiros

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays the media assume a prominent place as a source of information and knowledge about the world (Talbot, 2007). Within the overall mix of media possibilities made possible by technological advances, television, due to its inherent characteristics and reach, is a communicational mechanism that has great social and cultural impact in contemporary western societies. When we understand it as a mediator of reality, it is no longer possible to describe its content as a mere mirror of everyday life. It is therefore necessary to approach television as one of many possible interpretations of the world, that resorts to culturally shared beliefs and values for specific purposes. Especially in view of the proliferation of media content that seeks to disclose the different nuances of the societies in which we live, it is therefore imperative to overcome the assumption of television as a means of information, and instead understand how the editing and format of television content influences its meaning (Araújo, Cogo & Pinto, 2015; Fiske & Hartley, 1978/2003).

In the case of Brazilian immigration to Portugal, over recent years, the media has played a fundamental role in showcasing a new migratory wave of Brazilians who have moved to Portugal. Following a growth pattern that had already been identified in previous years, in 2018, the number of Brazilian citizens residing in Portugal increased by 23,4% compared to 2017, without counting those who were not considered in this official survey because they acquired Portuguese nationality (SEF, 2019). The subject has been covered by many television channels, which has led to the production of content that seeks to show more about the lives of these new immigrants who have moved to Portugal. One such

production was the journalistic series *Portugal pelos Brasileiros* (Portugal by Brazilians), broadcast between January and February 2018 on Rede Globo de Televisão. Produced by the production company Plano Geral Filmes, the series presents an account of the migration experience and the lives of Brazilians immigrants who recently moved to Portugal.

In order to question how television content fosters media discourses about new Brazilian immigrants living in Portugal, we propose to analyse the five episodes of the first season of the series. The fact that the series presents the migratory experience from the perspective of its protagonists was decisive for choosing this object of study, since the biographical approach makes it possible to highlight the voices of these subjects and question social representations that are being built historically, as reflected in the media discourses. We also considered that the change of focus to approach the topic from the perspective of the country of origin, identifying the representations that are emerging and being disseminated in Brazil is not only interesting, but also fundamental. While the topic receives considerable attention in the Portuguese academic world, studying the presence of emigrants in the Brazilian media also involves investigating this phenomenon of being “present despite absence” (Sayad, 2011, p. 183) and how this *presence* delineates this phenomenon and its subjects, a discourse that may, or may not, prove to be homologous to the discourse of the destination country (Sayad, 2011). To conduct this analysis, we started from the principles of Social Semiotics as a way to explore the semiotic resources used in the series from a holistic perspective of the conjugation of the various elements that are present therein, and also those that are absent, while always observing a critical posture, inherited from the intersectional approach (e. g. Crenshaw, 1991; May, 2015). The attention devoted to the image did not sublimate an analysis of the sound. According to Oliveira (2016), the latter is as an important semiotic resource within audiovisual content. Therefore, researchers should thrive to reverse the tendency to neglect this semiotic resource – a situation that, as said by the author, has become common in the field of Communication Sciences. Going a little further, given the little that is still known about this new migratory wave, we compared our analysis with a broader reflection on the discourses that this content helps support, in order to promote the dialogue that is always necessary between culture, social life and its semiotic manifestations.

APPROACH TO SEMIOTIC ARTICULATION IN THE MEDIA

Over the last few years there has been change of discourse regarding the case that is covered by the *corpus* of our analysis. This corresponds precisely to the period in which it becomes more interesting to analyse these new discourses, that are socially constructed (Fairclough, 1995). In this paper, we will approach these transformations at the semiotic level, with the aim of understanding how these new discourses are visually articulated in the media. We consider that it is relevant not only to unveil the socially constituted discourses concerning a specific social issue, but also how they are semiotically articulated, given that this practice is both *reproductive*, since it is based on discourses

that are external to it, and *creative* from the moment that it becomes possible to articulate this discourse in different semiotic manners (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001).

The multimodal nature of television productions requires a methodology that contemplates its content in a comprehensive and articulated manner. In this context, instead of analysing semiotic elements in isolation, it is necessary to see the bigger picture and how the different elements are related to the objective of creating a broader meaning (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). To achieve this, we used some of the dimensions identified by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 15) in their visual grammar that may be applied to moving images, especially those that we believe are being used to create “patterns of representation”. The aspects of multimodal content identified by van Leeuwen (2005) were also considered to identify how the semiotic elements of the television series come together to build social representations about recent Brazilian immigration in Portugal and its subjects. Understanding multimodality as a central aspect of the analysed material proved to be fundamental, since, unlike the still image, which is available to the viewer’s critical eye (Mota-Ribeiro & Pinto-Coelho, 2011), the moving image transports the viewer to its space-time, immersing her or him in that reality (Gervereau, 2007). In addition, when it has a multimodal character, the meaning of the image is achieved through the transversality of its semiotic modes, endowing it with a multidimensional character that should not be ignored (Machin, 2013).

Based on this conceptual framework, we drew up a grid of visual and sound analysis of the television series, identifying the aspects that seemed to be the most important for study of the case in question. In the representational dimension, we chose to observe the constitution of the present conceptual standards and the way that migrants are represented in the series, according to certain parameters, measured by inference. In addition to common indicators identified in research on this topic, such as race and gender, we added the parameter of social status, which we consider to be essential for this case because it explains that the subject’s social position is derived from circumstances that lie beyond her or his economic condition. We also added the indicator of age group, since statistical data on immigrants in Portugal reveal important changes in the age profile of this population segment. In the interactive dimension, in addition to filmic aspects related to camera position and movement, we included the visual and sound modality. In terms of composition, we chose to analyse the framing, through which the relationship between immigrants seen in the television series and the other persons depicted, may or may not be related. Finally, we added the sequential and simultaneous perspective of the dialogue, which made it possible to achieve a more comprehensive view of the time dimension, given that this aspect of the moving image is so vital for the construction of its meaning.

REPRESENTATIONAL MEANINGS	Structures of representation	Conceptual patterns
	Representation of human participants	Race Gender Age group Social status
INTERACTIVE MEANINGS	The image act and the gaze Size of frame Perspective/viewing angle	
	Modality	Illumination Brightness Colour saturation Colour differentiation Colour modulation Sound
COMPOSITIONAL MEANINGS	Framing	
DIALOGUE	Sequentiality Simultaneity	

Table 1: Analysis grid, adapted from Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) and van Leeuwen (2005)

ANALYSIS

The first season of the series *Portugal pelos Brasileiros* reveals the migration path of some Brazilians who have emigrated to Portugal in recent years. Each episode focuses on the individual experience of each immigrant, addressing certain aspects of migration, in the first person, such as why the interviewee chose to emigrate and their daily routine in terms of work, leisure options, family life and the perceived differences between everyday life in Portugal and Brazil. The use of biographical reporting has been widely exploited by the media, increasingly focusing on “slices of life” (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 50) as a way of making known and representing the inherent diversity of human life. In the television series, these lines are interchangeably complemented by a male voice-over narration which, in function of that which is said by each interviewee, shares information and tips for Brazilian viewers who may be planning to emigrate to Portugal.

In what we considered to be a pre-analysis stage, we prepared the storyboards of each episode, so that the visual narrative could be seen from a more distant point of view, through analysis of the individual shots. Analysis of the storyboards corresponds to the first of the six levels of analysis of film and television content (Iedema, 2004). Although the moving image has led us to a methodological approach that differs from analysis of still images, visualisation of the individual shots allowed us to elucidate possible stylistic and visual trends. This exercise was an important guide for preparing the analysis grid and for effective discussion of the specific aspects of the images in question.

Understanding the content on the basis of its structural logic, analysis of the dialogue does not refer solely to verbal interaction, but also to the relationship between semiotic resources used in the series, in terms of their sequentiality and simultaneity. These two perspectives are based on issues of temporality and, through their analysis, it is possible to understand how the series’ dialectical cohesion is created, which fosters interaction between the different semiotic modes present, in order to contribute to creation

of the meaning of the image (van Leeuwen, 2005). Analysis of the television series from a sequential perspective reveals that the sequence of images does not follow a storytelling logic, but instead illustrates what is being verbalised by the interviewee, in the voice-over. Therefore, what we see are previously selected and edited shots from the immigrant's life in Portugal, instead of a sequential narrative about her or his migratory experience. More than history, the content reveals small portions of her or his successful migratory experience¹ and life as an immigrant in Portugal in terms of work, family environment and leisure options. These choices, which have been made by the production team rather than by the interviewee, are combined with ideological and social motivations that go beyond this specific media content, and rely on the authority of the protagonists' spoken testimonies (Ribeiro, 2017) in order to endow the seal of authenticity (Fairclough, 1995). Nevertheless, there are fast transitions between the different scenes, a technique that is commonly used to endow a sense of action and excitement to the subject being shown (Fairclough, 1995).

The dialectical cohesion is achieved through the use of four distinct semiotic tracks: the visual image, written language, the immigrants' spoken testimonies and the soundtrack. The spoken element is the dominant track, and governs all the other semiotic resources. It is also important to highlight the role played by the soundtrack chosen for the episodes. This attention to the sound aspect is crucial because, despite the fact that the academic world often pays little attention to this semiotic resource (Oliveira, 2016), the modality of sound also steers the viewer's interpretation of the content in question. In this context, sounds require a sensitive appraisal (Oliveira, 2016) and, in the case of the series, the musical track follows the orientation of the sensorial coding, which means that it aims to achieve the emotional impact that the perceived musical parameters will provoke in the viewer (van Leeuwen, 1999). Fado music, sung in a Portuguese accent, is present in the series, with songs in more serious and slow tones used at the beginning of the videos. In episode one, for example, we hear the Portuguese singer Ana Moura singing her *Desfado*, in which she says "destiny wants me not to believe in destiny/and my (fate) is not having any *fado* (fate) at all". In episode four, we hear Gisela João, also from Portugal, singing the verses of *Meu amigo está longe* (My friend is far away), specifically "my friend is far away/and the distance is so great". This atmosphere gradually progresses with other songs, sung in a more agitated and high-pitched voice, as we move towards the end of each episode. Thus, as the interviewee continues to talk, the soundtrack becomes more cheerful and agitated, especially when immigrants speak optimistically.

Still from a distant perspective, we also analyse the modality of the image. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), this aspect of the image refers to the semiotic visual indicators that can be applied in order to suggest how the image may be interpreted. Here we consider not only the type of lighting and the brightness of the image, but also

¹ We emphasize this detail with a critical stance, considering that there are still very few news items in the Brazilian media that address the difficulties experienced by Brazilian immigrants in Portugal in their migratory process (Marmo, 2019; Ribeiro, 2018).

the manipulation of colour, such as saturation, differentiation and modulation. One of the aspects that differentiates colour from the other semiotic modes of the image is its ability to appeal to emotions and feelings, promoting a direct connection between the visualised image and the viewer's affective field², often working outside the logical and rational field (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). The combination of these nuances, on scales that are dependent on cultural conventions, means that the content may be perceived as more or less real, or more or less abstract, for example. Since time is a dimension that cannot be ignored in moving images, time-related parameters must be appreciated with an even more critical eye, in order not to overlook modality changes that may occur while the moving image content develops. Such modality changes, however, do not seem to be present in this series. Throughout the different episodes, we noticed very little manipulation in terms of lighting and colour, reinforcing the idea that the content aims to present itself as an exact reproduction of reality – a naturalistic encoding of the image that, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), is dominant in contemporary Western societies. Even so, some aspects of this naturalistic aspect can be analysed critically. In this television series, lighting does contribute to the creation of a springtime atmosphere, although there is no mention of a specific date or season. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2001), the seasons convey a cultural meaning and are organised discursively.

In terms of analysis of the image, the first focus concerned the representative structures (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). In this series, there are almost no scenes that reveal interaction between the immigrants interviewed and other individuals besides family members, spouses, service providers and close friends. It is clear that most of the image content found therein is of a conceptual representative nature, implying that its objective is to characterise Brazilian immigrants living in Portugal, rather than to show how interaction with other individuals occurs³.

In view of the common denominator of the represented participants – they are all immigrants of Brazilian nationality who are resident in Portugal – we sought to explore other aspects that rise from a perceptual difference, so that other information about these people could be inferred. Analyses made in studies on previous migratory waves were made in function of the social categories of gender, race and economic class, for example in Assis, Silva and Frederico (2016). However, we do not consider that it is possible to talk about these aspects in isolation, since they are intertwined in complex and meaningful manners. In order to highlight the existing relationships between the different practices of social positioning through the identities defined in these previous analyses, we adopted the perspective of intersectionality in our analysis. This approach is not defined by a set of specific rules and methods of analysis, but by the approach to the object of study that

² Heller (2012) demonstrates the relationship between feelings and colours. According to this author, different colours or chromatic arrangements lead, according to the context in which they appear, to different sensory and psychological effects. The emotional effects that follow these chromatic arrangements vary, depending on the cultural context.

³ This absence points in the opposite direction of the expectation that there would be some interaction between these immigrants and those of previous migratory waves. This probability is considered based on studies that attest to contact networks that exist between future emigrants and those who have already emigrated to the country of destination, constituting an important aspect in the decision to emigrate (Fonseca, Esteves & Iorio, 2015).

values analytical and interpretive orientation to question dominant ideas about individuals and social groups (May, 2015), in order to unveil the webs of subjectivity that underpin unequal power relations. In the context of migration, the intersectional approach has been adopted to highlight important differences at the intragroup level, especially in relation to issues such as differences in privileges between individuals in the same social group, given that this approach has managed to expand beyond the gender perspective without losing its political tone directed towards social change (Bastia, 2014).

In this context, it is possible to see how the various social categories are intertwined in the representation of contemporary Brazilian immigrants living in Portugal. The racial profile present in the television series is perhaps the social category that is most evident and is projected with greatest force. We observed that all Brazilian immigrants seen in the television series are white, despite the fact that racial diversity is one of the most prominent characteristics of Brazilian society. According to the Brazilian Institute of Statistics and Geography – IBGE (2016), the racial composition⁴ of Brazilian society has changed significantly since 2004. The year of 2006 was a turning point when the number of people who declared themselves to be brown or black surpassed the white population (IBGE, 2018). In 2018, the size of the brown population in Brazil was 46,5%, followed by 43,1% whites and 9,3% blacks (IBGE, 2019). It is interesting to see how the segmented visual representation in the television series of Brazilian immigrants living in Portugal may directly impact not only their social life, but also that of other Brazilian immigrants who already reside in Portugal. As Machado (2004) revealed, the social dynamics within the Brazilian community in Portugal operate according to what the author calls the “centrality game”: Brazilian immigrants whose physical characteristics and behaviour mirror the stereotypes about Brazilians crystallized in Portuguese society hold positions of prominence in hierarchical social structures, even within the Brazilian community itself. In Portuguese society, these social representations support what the author calls “identity-for-the-market” (Machado, 2004, p. 4) because they lack a historical basis and are reduced to the demands of the Portuguese market in relation to Brazilian immigrants. Due to this fact, Machado (2004, p. 11) claims that, in Portuguese society, there is a process of “reversing the Brazilian racial hierarchy” that has ruled Brazilian society since the end of the 19th century: blacks and browns are gaining social visibility, precisely because they are assimilated to the social categories in force and because it is possible to trace expectations about them (Moscovici, 1988). What the visual images in the television series show us, however, makes us question this alleged “reversal”, but instead giving rise to new representational structures in addition to conventional stereotypes in Portuguese society. It is also worth noting the peculiarity of the fact that this process is operating in the Brazilian media scene – the series in question is broadcast in Brazil and not in Portugal – which gives room to reflect about the new configurations that racism is assuming in Brazilian society (Lima, 2019).

⁴ It is important to mention that the question asked in the surveys undertaken by IBGE mentions “color or race” and has white, black, yellow, brown or indigenous as answer options. Therefore, it is not possible to distinguish how many of the respondents answered to this question thinking in terms of skin color and not race, or vice versa.

On the other hand, we know that it is not possible to talk about skin colour in Brazil without entering the terrain of the social disparities that are interlinked with this debate. So, we also decided to analyse the perceived social status of the immigrants represented in the series. The choice of this parameter proved to be relevant, since it makes it possible to analyse representativeness and power relations that go beyond counting of the number of appearances in the content itself (Lobo & Cabecinhas, 2018). The social status of the Brazilian immigrants who appear in the television series was inferred according to several perceived markers, which could be compared, in order to enable cross-sectional readings. In this regard, although there may be differences between the immigrants represented in the series, we observe that these individuals have a medium to high social status. One only has to consider the economic class of these subjects – who, even after residing in Portugal for a few months, acquired their own property and other commodities, such as vehicles – to realise that their social status is significantly different from that of Brazilian immigrants of the second migratory wave, for which migration to Portugal involved a large initial investment – which in some cases required personal savings over several years or family assistance to cover expenses related to airline tickets and bureaucratic issues (Padilla, Marques, Góis & Peixoto, 2015). Other indicators reinforce this identification of social status, for example, in relation to profession, residence in geographical areas that have a high social status and lifestyle – in particular leisure activities. On the other hand, it is interesting to note, however, that indicators that could imply a lower perceived social status of the participants in the television series are compensated through visual strategies and explicit mention of other indicators that suggest a higher social status.

In terms of visual aspects, even though the immigrants in the series may have different social status, the composition of the images nonetheless establishes a relationship between the various immigrants shown in the series, either because they form part of the broader context of the television series or through the use of film techniques such as including them all in the same shot, or absence of visual indicators that distinguish between them. As a result, they are perceived as individuals who are connected to each other and pertain to the same social group (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). It is not possible to conclude, however, whether only an unrepresentative portion of all Brazilian immigrants is being represented in the series, or whether the Brazilian community in Portugal is, in fact, segmented in the way that the series presents to us. One of the biggest obstacles to answering this doubt is the lack of statistical data for various parameters related to migrant communities living in Portugal, including “ethnic-racial issues”⁵. This is a component that is also absent in national census research in Portugal, which has stirred up debate about all the associated issues related to social and cultural origin. Although this subject has gained recognition and importance at a governmental level through the

⁵ There is no room here to discuss the complexity of several issues that we consider to be pertinent in relation to the term “ethnic-racial”, since is not the focus of this article. In this context, we limit ourselves to using the same designation present in the debate on the subject at the governmental level, in particular Ministerial Order no. 7.363/2018 that created the working group *Census 2021 – ethnic-racial issues*.

creation in 2018 of the working group, 2021 *Census - ethnic-racial issues*, effective changes may still take time to emerge, since studying this issue in the Portuguese context is also traversing various trajectories that are not easy to navigate, such as historical awareness and social memory. With regard to immigrants, this absence reinforces difficulties related to legitimising and promoting their cultural origins and practices, and also obstacles imposed by the lack of data on the development of public policies that respond to situations of discrimination and racism suffered by these individuals.

In terms of gender, we note that six of the immigrants shown in the television series are men, whereas seven are women. Faced with a phenomenon that has been represented as being primarily male (Assis, Silva & Frederico, 2016), observing the presence of women as protagonists in the television series enables us to understand the discursive dimensions with which female Brazilian immigrants have been represented in the media. During the first migratory wave, little or nothing was said about female Brazilian immigrants, who appeared in a supporting role in the labour migration of their spouses (Pinho, 2007). Their presence in the media only occurred on a more regular basis in the second migratory wave, which marked the beginning of feminisation of Brazilian immigration in Portugal (França & Padilla, 2018), and established a break with the dominant male profile that persisted until the year 2000, the beginning of the third millennium (Assis, Silva & Frederico, 2016). Even so, the portrayal of female Brazilian immigrants has been often associated with the stereotype of hypersexualized women linked to the “sex market” (Assis, 2017, p. 226; Oliveira, Cabecinhas & Ferin-Cunha, 2011), a legacy much influenced by interpretations made by Portuguese people of Brazilian cultural products shown on Portuguese television stations in previous decades (Iorio & Souza, 2018). In the television series in question, we see female Brazilian immigrants who not only assume a prominent position in characterisation of the phenomenon of Brazilian immigration, but who are given a voice to narrate their migratory journey in the first person. Even though they are inserted in a family context, they are also shown in other social dynamics in the public sphere, such as professional and social activities. In addition, the work positions in which they are inserted involve higher qualifications, which calls attention to possible changes in the labour insertion strategies adopted by Brazilian immigrants in Portugal.

In order to extend our analysis of this dimension, remaining within the framework of representative structures, we also analysed age groups, perceived as another fundamental characteristic. The most representative age group of the second migratory wave was 20 to 30 years old, with an equal proportion of men and women (Padilla et al., 2015), which was consistent with their work character. In the series, we infer that the immigrants are from older age groups, in an interval between 35 and 55 years old. No major discrepancies are observed between the number of men and women. This change is in line with statistical data on the most representative age group in relation to the total number of immigrants who arrived in Portugal in 2018. According to the Immigration and Borders Service (SEF), the most representative age groups were 30-39 years old, for women, and 25-34 years old for men (SEF, 2019). In the case of Brazilian immigrants,

when we compare these statistics with the profile of the immigrants represented in the television series in question, it is understood that the issue goes beyond a simple statistical change. The change in the more representative age group may indicate that there are already other reasons that led these new Brazilian immigrants to move to Portugal, that are not just the economic and family issues (Padilla et al., 2015) which motivated immigrants from the previous migratory wave. When verifying the justifications given for issuing residence permits throughout 2018, we note that, in addition to professional activity, there was a higher number of applications granted for study and investment purposes (SEF, 2019), which are key indicators in order to understand the current situation of Brazilian immigrants living in Portugal.

Having completed our analysis of the representational factors, we proceeded with analysis of the images in their interactional dimension. In this context, we focused our attention on the camera perspectives used in the filming process, since they denote the level of interaction between the represented participants and the viewer. For Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), different angles enable different ways of relating – with respect to the contact between the person portrayed and the viewer, the social distance between them and the attitude of one in relation to the other, in terms of power relationships. In moving images, camera movements also influence these aspects, since such dynamics occur directly in front of the viewer. These forms, in turn, both reflect and influence that which is conventionalised in everyday social practices, whereby this relationship between perspective and subjective positioning towards a given subject or a represented object may be seen as natural for those who become acquainted with it.

The first aspect analysed was that of contact – which refers to a kind of imaginary social relationship between the represented participant and the viewer. In its absence, the represented participant becomes the object of contemplation for the observer. This relationship is achieved by the focus of the represented person's gaze. When the person looks directly at the camera, this establishes a connection between the person and the viewer, whoever they may be me, establishing what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 118) called a “demand” image. We then analysed the intended social distance, which concerns the degree of involvement between the represented person and the spectator who observes him or her and can be measured by the camera's proximity to the person who is being represented. The shorter the distance between the interactive participant and the subject through camera distance, object or setting, the greater the degree of involvement with these elements (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Equally important, the interactive dimension also indicates the power relationships established between the interviewees and the viewer in function of the angles of camera position. In the vertical axis, a low-angle shot denotes that the person represented has greater power over the interactive participant, while a high-angle shot of the represented participant denotes greater power of the interactive participant over the person represented. When the represented participant is portrayed at the same vertical angle of the viewer, both participants stand at the same hierarchical level of power relations, with no discrepancies between the power exercised by one over the other (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). On the horizontal axis, the

frontal angle reveals the participant represented from a central perspective and brings the viewer closer to it, by indicating that it is something that is “part of our world” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 136), while oblique views allow them to be seen from a horizontally displaced point of view, in relation to the frontality of that which is being represented (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), which indicates distance and detachment between the context of that which is being represented and that of the viewer. In the case of moving images, this relationship can be established both in a specific scene and in a sequence of scenes (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The choice between one or other perspective directly influences the degree of subjective involvement between the represented participant and the producer-viewer, and also reveals the extent to which this relationship is based on fostering empathy between these two subjects.

In the television series in question, most of the time, the immigrants direct their gaze towards a possible interviewer located in the same space, but to one side of the camera. However, in specific moments, it is possible to perceive that they look directly at the camera, creating this invented space that connects represented to interactive participants. In relation to the distance between the camera and the interviewee, we conclude that there is no defined standard for use of medium close ups when filming immigrants. When this does occur, the intimacy generated by medium close ups, something that has already been mapped in studies on films and television (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), does not occur solely when the immigrants are talking about their lives, but also in different shots taken of their daily lives, which leads us to conclude that an approach to the aspects of everyday life is desired, in addition to that which is actually being reported. This proximity can also be understood as an elaboration strategy which aims, through repetition and/or reaffirmation, to deepen the viewer’s knowledge about that which is being shown (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; van Leeuwen, 2005). Through the use of close-ups, known as “talking head” shots, social distances are reduced, transmitting an idea of equality between the participant represented in the shot and the spectator (Fairclough, 1995). It is thereby also suggested that the viewer has an in-depth knowledge of that which is being shown to her or him, by allowing a more impersonal dimension to enter subjective spaces, in more private areas (Fairclough, 1995). It can therefore be said that use of medium close-ups and close-up shots is a technique that aims to bring the spectator and the Brazilian immigrants closer together, seeking to foster a feeling of empathy with these persons.

With regard to the camera angles used, we observe that, except in the scenes in which they are filmed at different moments in their daily lives, the immigrants make their statements in a position facing the camera, at the eye-level of the viewer’s gaze. In the specific case we analysed, we highlighted two consequences of positioning the immigrant in this manner, which are explained by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). First, this choice endows the represented participants with symbolic autonomy that makes it possible for them to be transported to other locations and contexts without losing their perceived identity characteristics. This fact requires the establishment of a set of information associated with the person so that he or she can be recognised in different

contexts. The second consequence, on the other hand, is related to the viewer's point of view, since the frontal view suggests that the meaning attributed to the immigrant is shared between the producer of the displayed content and the viewer of the television series (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Although this latter point may raise the idea that there is no interpretive freedom for the spectators regarding the way in which immigrants are conjectured, reception and media studies within the framework of Cultural Studies have been adding new appraisals of this subject. One example is the contribution made by Hall (1973/2001) who talks about the three positions from which it is possible to decode media content, moving from the one that agrees with the dominant discourses to a point where there is greater freedom of interpretation, in which the message is assimilated according to individual codes, that are used as an alternative to hegemonic discourses. Based on this line of thought, although the content codification establishes certain parameters according to which the interpretation will be based (Hall, 1973/2001), the viewer is also an active participant in the construction of the meaning of the message and, consequently, of the knowledge that the media message aims to build.

CONCLUSIONS

The growth in the number of Brazilians who have decided to emigrate to Portugal over recent years has meant that this phenomenon has assumed a prominent place in Brazilian and Portuguese media. Through various platforms, content has been produced in order to disclose the characteristics of this new migratory moment and the people involved. Recognising the importance of audiovisual productions at a time of evolution from the written word to the screen (Martins, 2017), we decided to analyse the five episodes of the first season of the television news series *Portugal pelos Brasileiros*, broadcast in Brazil in early 2018 by Rede Globo de Television, which presents the account of Brazilians who have migrated to Portugal over recent years. In order to understand how the semiotic articulation used in the series characterised the phenomenon of recent Brazilian immigration in Portugal, we conducted an intersectional analysis, anchored on principles of Social Semiotics, based on the multimodal perspective and moving images.

In our analysis of the structural dimension of the television series, we observed that the scenes interact with each other, not so much to create a narrative about the migratory experience, but rather to reveal certain parts of it, highlighting the work of the media in framing and selecting what is effectively shown about the lives of these immigrants in Portugal. In the representative sphere, we observe that the content is marked by scenes that are, for the most part, conceptual, indicating that the series values the characterisation of the new Brazilian immigrants in Portugal, rather than exploring their social dynamics in the country. Nevertheless, the characterisation of these immigrants is carried out using a well-defined cultural, social and economic profile that reveals itself to be closely related to the vicissitudes of Brazilian society. As a result, the migratory trajectories chronicled in the series appear to be similar, homogenising the representation of the phenomenon

and neglecting the obstacles that appear in the path of many other Brazilian immigrants who have decided to emigrate to Portugal, ranging from difficulties in finding long term accommodation to difficulties experienced in the legalisation process.

In view of the presences and absences in the semiotic arrangements of the analysed series, we conclude that we are facing an articulation of a discourse through the media that privileges the representation of Brazilian immigration in Portugal in a segmented manner, focusing on the perspective of a specific group of immigrants, to the detriment of the plurality of voices and differentiated experiences. The representation of the migratory experience of Brazilians who recently migrated to Portugal, shown in the series, advocates the homogenisation of the phenomenon, which is supported by an idea of elitisation of it. In the content analysed, as we have seen, the visual and sound arrangements are the semiotic resources through which these designs are constructed. This tactic highlights the media representation of the “ideal” immigrant (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 18) that operates in Portuguese media, where news about new Brazilian immigrants in the printed media has been reporting the phenomenon in a more “positive” manner (França & Padilla, 2018, p. 1). Consequently, another facet of the phenomenon is being made known, in addition to existing socially stereotypes, and largely derived from the distinct characteristics of previous waves of immigration. Bourdieu (1997, p. 4) states that individuals who agree to appear on television do so to “show themselves and be seen”, especially when their version of the story does not fit the dominant narratives in force, in the social contexts where they live.

We conclude by indicating that, because they deal with subjectivities that cut cross different social structures, the visual arrangements that we identified in the series are directly related to the media discourses that are being construed about Brazilian immigrants living in Portugal, directly affecting the lives of these people. Both discursive strategies that they support – whether the representation of experience within an elitist context or the way that it veers away from common sense, may strengthen certain social processes about which the series in question gives us clues. As an example, we cite the absence of interaction between new immigrants and those from previous migratory waves, which may mean that social segmentations are occurring at the intra-category level in the Brazilian community.

Continuing to observe the relations between the semiotic articulations of the discourse about Brazilian immigrants in Portugal in the media and their interference in the social life of these individuals is, therefore, an important and necessary line of future study.

Translation: Formigueiro, Conteúdos Digitais, Lda.

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VARIA | VARIA 

IMAGES AND POWER: SCENARIO, ERASURE AND PAINTING

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ABSTRACT

This article addresses the power of images in three periods of 20th century history. The use of images, particularly of photography, during these periods became omnipresent, although there are many other examples of the power of images over the relevance of words: the sight of Phryne's partially naked body, for instance, had a big impact in her trial in the 4th century. Two of the examples presented in this paper (Nazism and Stalinism) used images as an instrument of power. They aimed to present simultaneously a sense of heroism and of "normalization" in radical contrast to the brutality that left a decisive mark in history as one of the most tragic dark moments of the 20th century. On the other hand, under Stalin, photos and images were manipulated: erasing people in photos can be understood as a macabre allegory of their annihilation in real life. The efficacy in the re-construction of reality through the manipulation of photos seems to result from an illusional omnipotence, as if dictators had the power to enunciate, create and destroy "reality". The third part of this article discusses the answer open and given by painting to the increasing erosion of images witnessed nowadays. Painting, contrary to the ephemeral nature of photography, survive dark times. It resists in a stubborn way, as we can see, for instance in the example of Tuymans' paintings. You cannot erase its memory. Painting is not "programmatic". It is an attempt to depollute images. And by doing this, it tears open a space for the search for meaning.

KEYWORDS

photography; painting; power; nazism; stalinism

IMAGENS E PODER: ENCENAÇÃO, RASURA E PINTURA

RESUMO

Este artigo procura abordar o poder da presença da imagem em três períodos históricos do século XX, algo que se tornou omnipresente nestas épocas históricas, mas que não é exclusivo das mesmas: veja-se a referência ao impacto da visão de parte do corpo descoberto de Frine, levada a julgamento no século IV a.C. A imagem, em dois dos casos aqui apresentados (o nazismo e o estalinismo), constituiu um instrumento ao serviço do poder, com o objetivo de encenar simultaneamente a "heroicidade" e uma normalidade em contraste radical com uma brutalidade

que marcou decisivamente a história e constituiu um dos principais momentos de trevas vividos no século XX. Por seu turno, sob Estaline, a imagem é manipulada, tornando o processo de rasura de personagens uma alegoria macabra da sua aniquilação real. A eficácia da reconstrução da realidade, através da manipulação da imagem, passa, assim, por uma ilusão de onnipotência: como se os ditadores tivessem o poder de enunciar, construir e destruir a “realidade”. Na terceira parte, partindo da questão da acentuada erosão das imagens na atualidade, a discussão centra-se na resposta que a pintura abre e problematiza. Ao contrário do carácter efémero da fotografia, a pintura sobrevive a tempos sombrios, persiste teimosamente, como se pode ver no caso de Tuymans. A memória não pode ser apagada. E porque não é programática, porque constitui uma tentativa de despoluição da imagem, rasga o espaço para a busca de sentido.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

fotografia; pintura; poder; nazismo; estalinismo

INTRODUCTION

This essay aims to follow the trajectory of the power held by images in three different periods of history: Nazi, Stalinist and contemporary times.

The choice of these three points in time has an explanation: the two first periods present the beginning of an appropriation/manipulation of images (especially of photos) by power in order to use them in a convenient and efficient way. Contemporaneity brought saturation, indistinctiveness and even the vulgarization of images. This situation begs an obvious question: how shall images be rescued from this banality?

In fact, Heinrich Hoffmann, the official photographer of Hitler during the Nazi regime, mythicized the dictator according to the circumstances, that is, according to what was needed at specific moments. In some situations, Hitler was pictured as a warrior released from prison and ready to fight. On other occasions, the photographer presented Hitler as a kind man in a family environment. Stalin adopted a different strategy to rewrite the history of his time: he erased, through oblivion or literally, people that were seen as problematic to the regime. Trotsky is a representative example of this strategy: Stalin ordained his execution in 1940. Another strategy used by the dictator was transforming a group photograph into an iconic painting of a singular providential man: himself.

In contemporaneity there is an attempt to depollute images and pictures through painting. Paintings, in comparison with a – many times innocuous – super-exposure of pictures, cannot be manipulated. They may be destroyed, but they (re)appear as a critical hermeneutic of the current “Babel” of images. In other words, this section of the present essay is not interested in discussing the utilization of pictures nowadays. Our aim is precisely to understand how painting appears simultaneously as an answer and as a questioning of the constant volatilisation of pictures. This aim enables us to return – although with different intentions – to the horror of totalitarianism: Luc Tuymans’ (1958/2006) work, for example, evokes the Nazi concentration camps and the “final solution”.

To summarize: this essay focuses on these three moments seeking to answer the following question: how do we look to pictures and what power can they have?

THE PRESENCE OF IMAGE

Happiness consists of being able to tell the truth without hurting anyone. (Fellini, 1963)

Phryne, a *hetaira*¹ of the 4th century was taken to court on allegations of impiety. The penalty for this crime could be death, since she had profaned the mysteries of Eleusis.

The extremely beautiful Phryne, who had posed for Praxiteles and Apelles, was defended in court by Hyperides. The trial came to a point at which Hyperides, with no more resources to persuade the judges, stripped the *hetaira* to her waist:

she was lucky to have the help of Hyperides – a wise and tried speaker from Athens. When he realized that the cause was lost, he approached the client and tore her clothes to near the waist, calling on the mercy of the judges in the face of such a rare beauty. (Junior, 2008, p. 13)

Confronted with this gesture and with Phryne's beauty (she was a disciple of Aphrodite) the court dismissed the courtesan: the view of Phryne's partially uncovered body produced an effect that words were unable to reach (Dyck, 2001).

According to some classicists, this moment of Phryne's trial should not be considered real. Crain Cooper, for example, in an article written in 1995, clearly says that this episode is a fabrication. Cooper suggests that the trial was due to a dispute between Euthias (the disrespected lover) and Hyperides (the recent admirer) and asserts that only a reckless interpretation of the sources would result in the idea that the stripping of Phryne actually happened: "the evidence, then, indicates that the disrobing scene was invented by Idomeneus, perhaps to parody and ridicule the courtroom displays of Athenian demagogues" (Cooper, 1995, p. 315).

Konstantinos Kapparis, in a recent book with the title *Prostitution in the ancient greek world*, claims that there is no evidence that would prove, strictly speaking, what happened: "the colorful episodes which might or might not have secured her acquittal are impossible to verify or deny conclusively, and perhaps it is best if they are left in the sphere of the popular mythology surrounding this legendary figure" (Kapparis, 2017, p. 384).

Regardless of whether it is a legend or reality, this episode suggests the power images already had in the 4th century, and their impact when confronted with words. While it is true that the final aim of rhetoric is persuasion and the specific objective of Hyperides, in this situation, was the acquittal of Phryne, all resources are valid to achieve the goal. This was precisely what the speaker achieved with the ostensive exposure of Phryne's beauty. In fact, this was a common *topos* in the Classical World: the power of beauty explored, for instance, in the famous story of Helen (see Górgias [1993] "Encomium of Helen", and the already mentioned work of Curado [2008], especially the chapter: "O poder da beleza").

On the December 20, 1924, Heinrich Hoffmann, Hitler's official photographer took the picture presented below. His aim was precisely to announce the release of the future

¹ "A *hetaira* was not considered a mere prostitute. She was considered a woman that practiced free love, a woman much more independent than a legitimate wife. *Hetairai* were prestigious women" (Curado, 2008, p. 380).

dictator, after nine months in the prison of Landsberg in Bavaria. Hitler had been accused of treason.



Figure 1: Hitler leaves the prison in Landsberg on December 20, 1924

Source: Moorhouse, 2014, p. 7

The problem of this photograph, which was seen all around Germany and the world, is that, according to Moorhouse (2014), it is a fraud. The prison guard forbade Hoffmann to take the picture at the prison gate. Therefore, Hoffmann moved Hitler to the city's gothic entrance, since the atmosphere of that place was similar to the one in which the future dictator had been imprisoned. Actually, the prison did not have a medieval gate such as the one we see in the picture, from which Hitler seems to be leaving.

It was precisely with this implication that the famous photograph was published and commented upon: as if Hitler was really coming out of prison. There was even a title in the news of the time with the by-line: “the fortress gate has opened” (Moorhouse, 2014, p. 7), assuming that the gothic gate of the town of Landsberg was literally the prison's entrance.

According to Moorhouse, Hoffmann and Hitler understood from the beginning the power of images and the power images have to bend the truth: “it shows Hitler, and Hoffmann, not only as being acutely aware of the political importance of the image, but moreover willing to bend the truth in the process” (Moorhouse, 2014, p. 7).

On September 18, 1931, Angela “Geli” Maria Raubal, Hitler's step-niece, living with her uncle since 1929, was found dead in the house where both lived. There is huge speculation around Geli's death². The import for this text is that the timing could not have been worse for Hitler. Apart from the suspicion of there being a link with the death of his niece, this incident threatened the political strategy of the future dictator right in the middle of the campaign that was to bring him to power.

² There is a long article from Ron Rosenbaum (2012) published in *Vanity Fair* with the title “Hitler's doomed angel”. This article is a good source to understand the huge amount of speculation about Geli's death and about her relationship with her uncle. According to some of the hypotheses mentioned in this article, it was an unfortunate accident; Geli could not bear her uncle's paraphilias; Hitler or her Jewish teacher had got her pregnant; she was a menace to the party, and so on.

Hoffmann's 1932 photograph-album with the title *Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt* (*The Hitler no one knows*) was a fundamental piece of Hitler's ruse to escape the scandal (Görtemaker, 2012, p. 25).

As Maiken Umbach says in the documentary *The rise of the Nazi Party* (Kloska, 2014), Hoffmann's photographs and postcards had the purpose of presenting Hitler as a common man, a man of the people: Hitler was presented on a picnic, playing with his dog, enjoying moments of leisure in a family and "fatherly" environment. Hoffmann's book, a best-seller, played, naturally, a role in restoring the public life and the political career of the future dictator.

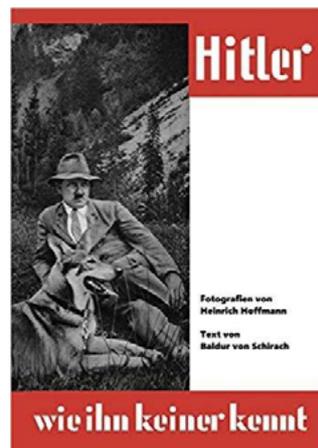


Figure 2: Book-cover of Hoffmann's work *Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt*, 1932

Source: Hoffmann, 1932

The rest of the story is well known: Hitler, with the "Geli" incident already forgotten, travelled to his campaign rallies by plane – a first – during the elections of 1932 (Görtemaker, 2012, p. 27) and appears as the saviour who would reinstate Germany's prestige. The "crowning" happens in January 30, 1933: the same year of the burning of the Reichstag, on the February 27; the elections in March and the parliamentary approval of the estate of emergency on the 23rd of the same month, events that conferred on Hitler, in a democratically and paradoxically, the dictatorial power that would come to haunt the world. To summarize: Hoffmann's pictures were decisive, among other things, to a fascist aesthetic which understood from the outset that politics had entered definitively the "era of image" and took profit from that. Images, as the Greeks said of speeches, are easy to manipulate. That is what Hoffmann did: "as Hitler's official photographer, Hoffmann's photographs were largely taken as a record of Hitler's achievements and used as propaganda, manipulating the power of photography to create a public image of the Thousand-Year Reich and the superiority of Germany" (Brett, 2016, p. 235).

THE ABSENCE OF IMAGE

Sometimes, photo doctoring meant going back to the past to change the historical record. (Blackmore, 2019, § 11)



Figure 3: Photo of Stalin carrying his daughter

Source: Montefiore, 2017, p. 25

Simon Sebag Montefiore, in his book *Stalin: the court of the red tsar* (2017, p 25) published a picture of the dictator with his daughter Svetlana, at the beginning of the 30s. The photo appears in a chapter of Montefiore's book in which the author mentions that Stalin loved his daughter dearly, an emotion that is also mentioned, for example, in Rosemary Sullivan's biography of Svetlana (2016).



Figure 4: Svetlana, Stalin's daughter sitting on the lap of Beria, chief of NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs). At the back, we can see Stalin working

Source: Sullivan, 2016, p. 83

Stalin expressed an authentic love for his daughter, particularly after the death of her mother – Nadya – in circumstances that are not completely clear. According to Sullivan (2016, p. 61), he called her “little butterfly”, “his little fly”, “his little sparrow”. He

also called her the “hostess”, saying that she was the one that ruled their home where his “beloved family” lived (Montefiore 2017, p. 20). His “beloved family” included members of the Politburo, brothers and sisters in law, people like the one Svetlana called her “Uncle Lara”, with whom she played and who sat her on his lap – Lavrenti Pavlovitch Beria (Milhazes, 2018; Overy, 2016).

If the aim of Hitler’s pictures mentioned in the previous section of this text was to create the illusion of normality, Stalin’s pictures in his “family context” seem to signal the existence of a parallel world – the world of his *dasha*, where he calmly worked, while his daughter played with the regime’s executioner, the executor of Stalin’s orders including those to eliminate members of his “beloved family”. It is a reasonable assumption that these pictures were not deliberately staged, as was the case with Hitler’s photos. The aim does not seem to be staging the family day to day life. However, the issue here seems to be even more disruptive: Stalin showing his genuine love for his daughter and Beria playing with Svetlana, apparently all one big happy family, lived in a duality between the “normality” of ordinary men and the monstrosity of elimination, of erasing their real and their imagined opponents³.

Stalin’s characteristic paranoia that resulted in a persistent feeling of being threatened led him to exterminate people whoever they were, including members of his own family, especially during the infamous times of “terror”. In fact, the majority of people posing for a family photograph in 1934 – taken on Stalin’s birthday –, including members of the politburo, wives of soldiers, but also scientists and close family members, would all be expunged from Stalin’s family entourage in the 40s. Since this picture was a “family photograph” the presence of those people was not erased, as was the case with other pictures in an official, public context. Their faces remain in the picture, but exclusion had already happened.



Figure 5: Photo of Stalin with his family on his birthday on December 21, 1934

Source: Sullivan, 2016, p. 83

³ For the period of terror and persecution of individuals or of groups (for instance, of physicians) see the already mentioned oeuvres.

This was the destiny of some of the smiling faces in this “family photo”⁴, with Stalin at the centre: in the back row, on the left, we can see Ana Redens. She was arrested in 1948 (Stanislav, her husband is not in the picture. He was executed in 1940). In the middle row there is Maria Svanidze (on the left). She was executed in 1942. Although Sashiko Svanidze (the third person from the left) survived, her sister Marijko was executed in 1942; Polina Molotov (on Stalin’s left) was arrested in 1948. Finally, Zhenya Alliluyeva, the second person on the left in the front row was arrested in 1947. The picture taken in 1934 is intact. In the following decade, most of the people posing for the photographer would be eliminated.

Real eradication including the eradication of images was an increasing element of political propaganda, of the re-construction of reality, moreover, it was used as an instrument to dissuade dissent through the “punishment” of disappearance from the historic memory – a strategy that shows the dictator’s power to re-construct history, wiping from it the names of his enemies. In the case of Hitler’s pictures mentioned in the first part, the aim was to convince people that he was a man of the people, with a normal family life – actually, this can also be seen in pictures (albeit unstaged) of Stalin with his daughter and his “beloved family”. However, in Stalinist pictures where his enemies were literally erased, there is a clear intent to manipulate history and memory. Erasing pictures reinforced an environment of fear, of submission to a version presented as the one “you should believe”, as if reality were an issue of belief dictated by the “great leader”. In the words of Leah Dickerman (2000, p. 143), “by making the violence of the imagery explicit, such marking of absence reminds the viewer of the pervasive power of the system”.

Thus, Stalin becomes omnipotent. At the same time, he makes his enemies disappear. One of the best-known cases is the disappearance of Trotsky – the arch-enemy of Stalin – from the pictures⁵. Stalinist propaganda’s aim is to wipe out the visual memory, the historical-photographic register of the existence of Trotsky and of his relevance in the Red Revolution. Propaganda positions itself as the broadcaster of the “historical truth”: manipulation replaces facts, merging ideology and mythology. Once again in the words of Leah Dickerman (2000, p. 141): “much of the manipulation aims to produce a seamless illusion of plausibility that naturalizes ideology as mythology”.

⁴ The same picture appears twice in Sullivan’s book: first with a reference to the date of the photo and then again when the author mentions the destiny of each of these persons in the 40s (Sullivan, 2016, pp. 7-131).

⁵ Although this photograph is, perhaps, the best-known picture, there are many others in which Trotsky was erased. The same thing happened with other people that stopped being considered faithful to the regime, that is, to Stalin – the one who defined the regime and had the power of life and death over other people. It is enough to recall the erasing of Nikolai Yezhov in a photograph with Stalin (Gessen, 2018).



Figure 6: Vladimir Lenin speaking to the Red Army Soldiers in Moscow before the departure to the polish front, in 1920

Source: Gessen, 2018



Figure 7: Leon Trotsky erased from the same picture

Source: Gessen, 2018

Reconstruction of history, using re-composition of images is linked to the glorification of the hero. However, suppressing the images of unwanted people was not the only strategy: this glorification also employs the erasing of a face by covering it with ink stains. Such was the case with the picture of Djakhan Abidova, member of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan.



Figure 8: Djakhan Abidova, a female member of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. Her picture was damaged on purpose in the 30s
Source: Gessen, 2018

The violent eradication of someone's face in a picture that is not withdrawn but in which its shameful elimination (covering the face with black ink) is exhibited, accords with the burgeoning two-pronged process that eliminated opponents while glorifying the leader. His pictures are transformed into paintings. That was the case with a photo from 1929 where we can see Nikolai Antipov, Stalin, Sergei Kirov and Nikolai Shvernik.

The elimination of the other people present in the original photograph together with the transformation of the image of the only remaining person into a painting – since paintings live on, as dead Stalin's "heroic acts" – emphasize and appeal to a personality cult: we are no longer simply dealing with what might be an ephemeral record. We are dealing with an icon⁶.



Figure 9: The picture on the left is the original, with Nikolai Antipov, Stalin, Sergei Kirov and Nikolai Shvernik in Leningrad, 1929. The image on the right is an oil painting inspired by a photo

Source: Blackmore, 2019

⁶ For an analysis of other forms of propaganda used during the Stalin dictatorship (posters, for instance) see Pisch (2016).

THE CONTEMPORARY IMAGE: BANALITY, SACRALIZATION AND MEANING

Eyes and ears are bad witnesses to men who have barbarian souls. (Heraclito, quoted in Pereira, 1971, p. 124)

As Heraclitus tells us, *the senses deceive*. The contemporary image, grounded on a wide spectrum of technological devices, spread at an impressive speed and the status of its inherent value, in its referentiality to the real, is constantly changing, a phenomenon that Benjamin unveiled in his renowned writings on technical reproducibility and its impact on aesthetic development and daily life (Benjamin, 2006). His insight that “it is another nature which speaks to the camera as compared to the eye” (Benjamin, 2006, p. 246), creates the basis of an understanding centred on the difference between photography and painting, playing with conscious and unconscious dimensions of optical scales.

Sensitive to the “mechanical unconscious” of photographic innovation, but also to the fact that *plein air* painting during the same period had captured new perspectives, thanks to the work of the impressionists, Benjamin explores the concept of aura that so absorbed him, “a strange tissue of space and time: the unique apparition of something distant, however near it may be” (Benjamin, 1995, p. 254). We know that the discovery and widespread use of photography, especially from the mid-19th century (Freund, 1995), is associated with the modernist shift, with its attendant abandonment of the naturalistic/realistic approach to painting, and the advent of the more demotic bourgeois portrait⁷.

Modernism, as we know, led to the fall of the Fine Arts, of the harmonious concept of beauty, which it ultimately made paradoxical and secular. The end of all canons, instituted in the Dadaist breviary that prefers to replace the term “work” with “thing” (Duchamp, 1990), gives more weight to an aesthetic awareness of the common object. “I think the painting dies, you see? After forty or fifty years, a picture dies because its freshness disappears. Sculpture also dies. This is my own little mania, which no one accepts, but it does no matter” (Duchamp, 1990, pp. 103-104). After *the death of art* came a world of things, a reign of images made things, an apotheosis of vulgarity, amplified by screens and television programming.

⁷ “Photography, resulting from the cooperation between science and the need for new artistic expression become a field of violent controversy right from the beginning. To know whether the camera was simply a technical instrument, capable of a mere mechanically reproducing what ‘appeared’, or if it had to be considered as a true means to express an individual artistic sensation, set the spirits of artists, critics and photographers on fire”. And the question spread to the theological sphere with the Church arguing that God has created Man in His image and that no human machine could capture this image (Freund, 1995, p. 79). This quotation precisely expresses the core of the current question of photographic uses and practices, at a time when anonymous subjects using massified devices create photographic and video records of relevance and sometimes of aesthetic interest. It is precisely the individual needs and happenstances of ordinary people that bring them closer to an idea of art for all that finds its reverse, or its specular projection, in practices of intellectual and artistic elites. These occupy the social and cultural spaces of what Danto calls *the artworld* (Danto, 1961). Philosophers of analytical aesthetics (Danto, Jerome Stolnitz, Morris Weitz, George Dickie, Nelson Goodman) are all thinking along the same lines when they invite us to reflect on the answer to the question “when is there art?”, rather than focusing in questioning an understanding of art reflected in the question: “what is art?” See *inter alia*, Carmo d’Orey’s (2007) anthology. In a time when everything is merged and a photograph on an iPhone can look like a Leica shot by one of Magnum’s great photographers, deciding in which situation we are in face of art is something decisive. The photographs of the Magnum Agency (Robert Capa, Cartier Bresson, etc...) have the status of works of art.

This means that a critical response to the political, ethical, social and economic problems conveyed in the contemporary flow of images must be organised on the basis of painting defined as a concept rather than a *technique*. This implies a re-organization of the way we look at images, being grounded/anchored in the process and the imagery of painting, in a reinvented plasticity. Deleuze, Derrida, Perniola, Foster, Bourdieu, to name but a few of the thinkers – not to mention the theoretical input of countless artists – have been fuelling this debate, which also embraces the rhetorical status of the images, its mythological plane (Barthes, 1976) and its spectacle condition as commodity (Debord, 2018), together with anthropological specificities, rituals of collective memory. Such a response still allows us to find our bearings in a universe of *things*. Thus armed, we can hazard an intelligibility transformed into an open experience of what is meaningful, where infinite personal encyclopaedias are conjoined and declined (Eco, 2004).



Figure 10: Pablo Picasso “Las Meninas”, after the painting by Velazquez, 1957. Picasso *Challenging the Past Catalogue*

Source: Cowling, 2009, p. 124

Mechanical images can be manipulated, erased, reworked or staged and still be perceived and accepted as indicators of reality. They are massified heirs of a noble history that was buried, after being denied and then erased. When Picasso revisits Velazquez and “Las Meninas” (1656), or Edouard Manet and his “Le déjeuner sur l’herbe” (1863), he demonstrates how images unfold and reinvent themselves through painting and its auratic condition. But it was not only in relation to these two key works enshrined in the great classical tradition, that Picasso responded, modifying them as if offering a challenge and to some extent a modification of the past. El Greco, Goya, Jaques-Louis David, Rembrandt, Ingres, Van Gogh, and other great masters were also revisited, never “copied” or repeated. As Cowling points out:

but the notion of collaboration is revealing because it implies not only a sense of comradeship and equality, but also that history and chronology are irrelevant: for Picasso, all these “dead” artists from different eras or generations

were alive, and indeed would never die, and what is more were driven by fundamentally the same imperatives as himself. (Cowling, 2009, p. 13)⁸

This situation is a starting point to understand how images collaborate (now) with each other. This is a broad question that calls both for an analysis of the evolution of cinema and for the museological framing of the experience of moving images, and, on the other and, for hermeneutics of painting from the 1980s to the present. This historical moment is characterized by appropriations of cinema and its legends, by the politicization that aims to denounce and counter a contemporary dystopia, through a reformulation of the concept of installation, performance, and parody. A key name in this context is Richard Prince (1948), who appropriates famous advertisements from American cultural mythology such as the Marlboro cigarettes' cowboy, making this image (and others of the same nature) cohabit in the same imaginary with paintings of nurses and other icons of popular fiction.



Figure 11: Thomas Struth, Museo del Prado, Room 12, Madrid, 2005

Source: <https://www.phillips.com/detail/thomas-struth/NY030219/359?fromSearch=struth&searchPage=1>

If we dwell more exclusively on the immanence of (auteur) photography, then Cindy Sherman (1954), Wolfgang Tillmans (1968), Jeff Wall (1946), Douglas Gordon (1966) and Thomas Struth (1954) are extraordinary examples of how photography rises to a level of notoriety that bolsters its capacity for aesthetic action. The works of these artists substitute and/or negate oil or acrylic painting in an attempt to proclaim a different autonomy for the images. However, the registers and methods for artistic creation nowadays are many and varied. One only needs to consult any of the Taschen books or peruse the

⁸ Between February and June 2009, The National Gallery in London organized a very important exhibition with a title “Picasso: challenging the past”. For the first and only time, works by the Andalusian artist from various collections and museums were brought together in a dialogue with pieces of art by painters that Picasso particularly admired and who creatively intrigued him. To mark this event, the British Museum published a catalogue of essays by various experts and academics, including an essay of Elizabeth Cowling, “Competition and collaboration: Picasso and the old masters”.

programme sites of the great contemporary arts museums, not to mention the real and effective distribution in the exhibitions media, to be aware of this eloquent diversity that renders images porous, enmeshed in reciprocal contamination. In this milieu of communication, painting resurfaces and stands with a mission to interpret, decanting the chaos of senses conveyed by most other images.



Figure 12: Thomas Struth, Art Institute of Chicago II, Chicago 1990

Source: <https://www.phillips.com/detail/thomas-struth/UK040216/67?fromSearch=struth&searchPage=1>

There is an extensive chapter in the oeuvre of photographer Thomas Struth (1954) that includes series of photographs taken in major museums of the world (the Louvre, Paris, the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, the National Gallery, London, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and the Art Institute of Chicago) which suggest a kind of co-protagonism⁹. In other words, a shared protagonism between the painting and the world, theatrically displayed, with all the grandeur of a ritual gesture, in line with a discursive protocol that tends to the sacralization of the image, perceived as timeless, unique and exclusive. Then we have the public. Hundreds of people, passers-by en masse perpetually wandering around the halls and galleries. Visitors give way to those waiting outside, in long lines, undifferentiated masses, as at any major airport, in railway stations or seaside resorts... People looking for an attendance certificate, with Leonardo's Gioconda in the Louvre being an absolute example, inevitably sealed nowadays with a selfie. While the canvas portrait, without truly being seen, and vested with compulsive admiration, occupies its room with sovereign indifference, the visitors seem to want to reverse the logic of perception, without suspecting that they are the ones who are being watched.

In the already mention Struth's photographic series we observe precisely the passers-by returning the gaze of the photographer's camera which attempts to find an impossible hierarchy, since the canvases of the great classical painters have been reduced

⁹ See Thomas Struth Photographs 1978 -2010 (2010), available at <http://www.thomasstruth32.com/smallsize/index.html>

to a condition of images like any others, thanks to an imaginary whirlwind, a kind of ontological disfigurement through which being, representing and seeing have become indiscernible categories. It seems fitting then to transpose to this type of socio-cultural environment the figure of the urban crowd as synonym for the modern hero, as was so well characterized by Baudelaire. In this overlapping of images and situations, the crowd ultimately replaces the sacred heroism of painting. “for the *flâneur*, the joy of watching is triumphant” (Benjamin, 1995, p. 71).

In this tangle of images, practices and possibilities, painting is a condition of plastic materiality. To all intents and purposes, establishes a binding relationship with memory, but also with the painting of the past. This was possibly the decision that inspired and animated Francis Bacon (1909-1992), whose visceral, sexual painting deconstructs and rebuilds such notions as portrait, self-portrait or still life, and Lucien Freud (1922-2011), creator of powerful representations of bodies, faces, landscape frameworks, imprisoned in a equally visceral and cruel realism¹⁰.

In these two oeuvres the materiality of the painting, its happening, as a unique aesthetic fact, has a huge impact. On the other hand, its “making” requires an ability to handle shadow and light, colour and form, which are inscribed in the field of judgement, creating a space for a critique of images that could not be achieved otherwise. Painting has become a minority, it’s true. However, this does not prevent it from being permeated by an intensity that give it the authority to judge and discuss the value and power of images in time. An impossible task for photography and cinema that construct space and time, document and comment, confront reportage and poetry. They create illusions and allusions, make-believe and suspicions, which is, after all, their task.

Recent decades have been marked by a re-evaluation of painting. The subject has been present throughout the critical, media and communications debate, following the Frankfurt School theses on the cultural industries, the post-modernist debates (Lyotard, Vattimo and others), or Bauman’s perspective in defending a liquid fluidity at a time when identities have become unstable.

There is a text by Zelizer (2010), which deals with the relations between image and memory crossing them with journalism. In this text she amplifies a reflection on the discourse about the crisis and the climate of uncertainty. From her reading of a dialogue between Bauman and Carlo Bordoni, in which the latter argues that “modernity has withdrawn its promises”, and then that post-modernity has “underestimated” them, and that appearances have triumphed at the expense of the loss of substance (Bauman & Bordoni, 2016, p. 75), she points out that the crisis presupposes the imaginary of an overcoming. Actually, it should be noticed that Bauman expressed doubts as to whether it was the promises that were withdrawn; rather, he believed that it was the strategies and “models of a society that failed” (Bauman & Bordoni, 2016, p. 80).

¹⁰ The catalogue raisonné of his Bacon’s work was published in 2016 in five volumes, edited by Martin Harrison, published by The Estate of Francis Bacon (2016). The catalogue raisonné of Lucien Freund is the product of a collaboration between David Dawson, director of the Lucien Freund Archive, who worked closely with the painter and was his model, the art critic Martin Gayford, and the editor Mark Holborn. The two-volume work was published by Phaidon, London.

A combination of risk, contingency, indetermination and liquidity by means of which Zelizer articulates key notions of Ulrich Beck, Rorty, Eisenstadt and Bauman himself, leads her to conclude that “although the crisis is a phenomenon with material dimensions”, it is also a phenomenon “shaped by discourse” (Zelizer, 2018, pp. 91, 95).

In cultural terms, painting is also inscribed in the materiality of crises in the same way as do unemployment, insecurity, death and fear, economic recession, or even the stalemates of journalism itself. Surviving its own crisis, in an act of intellectual persistence and with its own exclusive logic of image, painting restores a nexus in our questioning of what is real (and therefore in our questioning of all the mechanical images that absorb it and now become entangled with it). This is why Zelizer’s warning (2018, p. 106) acquires a worrying tone in this context: “since institutions are, necessarily, a fertile soil for a crisis, it remains to see if uncertainty will ever disappear in a landscape with outlines established institutionally”. Painting is thus an stubbornness in the contemporary art scene.

Tuymans (1958), widely considered as one of the most important painters of our time, presented an anthological exhibition in Venice (at the Palazzo Grassi) entitled “La Pelle” which brings together works produced between 1986 and 2019 as part of the Pinault collection¹¹. Tuymans dedicated himself to cinema in the 1980s and his subsequent painting reveals the importance of cinema in the reflection that leads from reality to dream and fiction. In his work, painting stems from cinema and other de-materialized images to explore ambiguity and incompleteness work. Motifs from the press, from the internet and spontaneous photographs taken by the artist with his own mobile phone are the raw material of a painting that is capable of giving significance to the images¹².

One of the main works of the exhibition is named *Schwarzheide* (2019), after a forced labour camp in Nazi Germany where some of the prisoners secretly made drawings and hid them to prevent confiscation. It is these drawings and this camp which the artist makes present in a painting that refers to the beautiful forest that cradled a horrific and hideous place at its heart, camouflaged from the gaze of the inhabitants living nearby. The visitor has to walk through the interior of the Grassi Palace and, immersed in its beautiful architecture, climb to the level of the balustrade encircling the atrium where the painting was installed in order to realize this powerful metaphor. As Caroline Bourgeois stresses, it has been proven that distance and the viewpoint are essential in the reading of a work (Bourgeois, 2019).

Germany and the holocaust are not a recent concern in Tuymans’ work. The painting explores light and twilight, the play between concealment and evidences, the submerged and the floating. “Dusk” is the title of another exhibition by this artist in which he uses photographs of Nazi concentration camps, evokes strange illnesses, abandoned and phantasmatic spaces. At the root of this exhibition was a combination of paintings,

¹¹ See <https://www.palazzograssi.it/en/about/collection/>

¹² See the guidebook with texts by Caroline Bourgeois available at https://www.palazzograssi.it/site/assets/files/7599/guidina_la_pelle_tuymans_fra.pdf. Exhibition open to the public between 24/03/2019 and 06/01/2020, curated by Caroline Bourgeois and Marc Donnadieu; the catalogue includes texts, in addition to the already mentioned artist, Jarrett Earnest and Patricia Falguières, Marsilio Editori (2019). See, *inter alia*, Nuno Crespo’s critical review, “Luc Tuymans: a persistência política da pintura”.

images and the objects. The exhibition was part of a project dear to the artist that consisted of transposing, using the time (a Heideggerian time?) of Villa Wannsee, where on January 20, 1942, “the final solution” was discussed at the highest level¹³.



Figure 13: Luc Tuymans, “Schwarzheide” in the “La Pelle” exhibition at the Palazzo Grassi, Venice

Source: Siegal, 2019

For Tuymans (1958/2006, n.p.) “the static image can be infinitely more powerful in the memory than the moving image”. Although the image is “fixed”, the mental equivalent is constantly and increasingly in movement. We are therefore, as *committed spectators*, led to unravel the intricacies of subjective (pictorial) representation, instant recording (photography) and projection (cinematography), with their Freudian resonances based on transference. To orient ourselves in such meanderings, which after all are those of history itself, we must recover their meaning. And this is, increasingly, in a process of loss: “the question of whether photography, film, television or even the internet is art by no means offsets the question of the quality of a particular communication of meaning” (Tuymans, 1958/2006, n.p.).

Painting cannot be manipulated or deleted. It ages, is restored, takes on the scars of time. Or else it can only be destroyed, in the same way that witnesses are wiped out. But still it leaves a trail, a furrow of emotional sacralization. And it is essential to the critical understanding of all images, since it enables the viewer to coexist with uncertainty, perhaps to cope with it. Its material presence and its metaphysics call for a cleansed gaze. The filmmaker Mizoguchi (1898-1956) said: the eyes must be washed between each

¹³ Luc Tuymans “Dusk/Penumbra” was shown to the public between 14/07/2006 and 14/10/2006 at Casa de Serralves, Porto, Portugal, Serralves Museum of Contemporary Art. See specifically the introductory text by the then director of the museum, João Fernandes, which highlights the confrontation between a place/space whose significance is not immediately apprehended and whose meaning is always on the verge of being betrayed, in its representation. In this respect, we should keep in mind that Tuymans intended to exhibit a set of his paintings in the space where the Nazi meeting that defined the “final solution”, chaired by Reinhard Heydrich (head of the SS), took place in the Villa am Grossen Wannensee. One of the paintings shows a photograph of Heydrich from an old Nazi propaganda magazine. As Fernandes noted, “Tuymans’ original intention was to break the chain of signifiers and establish a violent confrontation between his paintings and one of the original scenarios of a reality that challenges representation” (quoted catalogue. Museu de Arte Contemporânea de Serralves, Porto, 2006). Exhibition curated by Hans Rudolf Reust who wrote in the catalogue referred to here: “what remains is the wordless fascination of unique paintings, which leave no one at ease, because the process of thought, with its meticulously painted lacunae, can never be closed” – what was left unfinished, the History to which we are returned, to fill (other painful and tragic) gaps in memory.

look. A quote that a film historian evokes on the subject of John Ford, a director with an evident visual clarity. A technical clarity, which in the case of Ford (a man of westerns, duels and rivalries moved by a biblical sense of justice true to his Irish roots), entrenched him in the industrial pragmatism of the Hollywood system¹⁴.

In this other canvas of which paintings are made, like skin covered with “paint”, the image is cleansed of accumulation and saturation. The imaginary of the equivalences between “true” and “false” in the world of representation is now a mine-free field. Spectators can finally isolate themselves from barbarism and subjectivities in order to claim, should they so wish, the condition of true witnesses.

CONCLUSION

Thanks to technical reproducibility and the multiplication of their impact, images have gained a speed of propagation and an exchange value that rivals the word, especially the mediatized word. Images can be used precisely to expunge the words or memories of the very existence of outcasts (as is the case with the alteration of images under the Stalinist regime). And they can be manipulated, staged, to replace undesirable realities (think of the need to normalize the unformalizable as is the case with Hitler’s “family album”). However, in both cases, we have taken images from a time not yet subjected to the banalization of photography that we see nowadays. We might even ask ourselves if the images that appear here, were they contemporary to us, and went through a process of vulgarization resulting from repetition, would continue to have the same impact. Probably not, if we think of democratic contexts.

However, the answer may be different if we think of dictatorial contexts in which the repetition of images may be associated with the perpetuation of strategies of terror, as if the image itself were a kind of vigilant, ever-present “eye” and, potentially, a way of normalizing fear. Not in the sense of removing the drama, but in the sense of “getting used to” an existence under surveillance. By making it thinkable, the extreme mainstreaming of the image, in each of these situations, would have the same impact: a kind of acquiescence with the unacceptable. This would lead to indifference or, conversely, to the absence of a prospect of escape from fear. Now, it is the landscape of conformism, of banalization, of compliance, determined by irrelevance or by fear, that painting seems to want to rescue. And it assumes another power: the power of the gaze. While photography, in the cases analysed here, is manipulated by a prescriptive power of seeing, painting, and some photographs or images contextualized (Tuymans in Palazzo Grassi, for example), produced and thought out in accordance with the logic of painting, stubbornly challenge the existence of a meaning, of a questioning of what is real that does not fade

¹⁴ See John Ford catalogue, literary organized by João Bénard da Costa, published at the presentation by the Cinemateca Portuguesa and the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (Lisbon, Portugal) of the film cycle dedicated to film-maker John Ford, with the support and under the auspices of the United States Embassy in Lisbon, November/February 1984. The reference to Mizoguchi comes specifically from the text by Luís de Pina “John Ford – a luz e o olhar”, which the cinema historian, critic and ex-director of the Cinemateca Portuguesa, wrote for the event.

away: painting cannot be erased. Painting becomes etched into the real as a witness and it calls forth witnesses.

Translation: Allison Byrne

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UNPRODUCTIVE EXPENDITURE AND SPECTACULAR MERCHANDISE

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ABSTRACT

In order to fully grasp the spirit of our times, we need to analyse fully the contemporary relationship between spectacle and consumption: spectacular consumption and the spectacle of consumption. The chain of sign merchandise (Baudrillard, 1968) is simultaneously a mean and a vehicle of adherence to the productive and political system. It takes on extraordinary value from the moment it welcomes all that is non-rational in a rationalised society, as well as it embodies the anti-utilitarian aspect of a social system based solely on the logic of utilitarianism. In this sense, the cycle of spectacular consumption coincides with the consumption of bourgeois individuality, while the mass that has become public becomes the matrix in which the subject loses itself and cushions the weight of change in a way to express the impulses marginalized by the social system.

KEYWORDS

spectacle; imaginary; consumption

A DESPESA IMPRODUTIVA E A MERCADORIA ESPETACULAR

RESUMO

Para apreender corretamente o espírito de nosso tempo, é necessário analisar em profundidade e na superfície a correspondência contemporânea entre o espetáculo e o consumo: consumo espetacular e espetáculo de consumo. A cadeia das mercadorias-signos (Baudrillard, 1968), meio e veículo de adesão ao sistema produtivo e político, assume um valor extraordinário a partir do momento em que acolhe tudo o que é não-racional numa sociedade racionalizada, bem como o aspeto anti-utilitarista de um social focado, precisamente, na lógica do utilitarismo. Nesse sentido, o ciclo dos consumos espetaculares coincide com o consumo da individualidade burguesa, enquanto a massa que se tornou público se torna a matriz na qual o sujeito se perde para amortecer o peso das mudanças e exprimir as pulsões marginalizadas pelo sistema social.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

espetáculo; imaginário; consumo

SPECTACULAR COMMODITY

The spectacle presents itself for the city-dweller as a distraction from the alienation to which he is compelled in order to produce goods; however, it is only from the moment that he is linked to productive activity and its demands that he can achieve a perfect connection between labor and time of leisure, the latter becoming the vital lymph of the former. When such a network of reciprocal links is established, all spectacle is commodified and all merchandise becomes spectacularized. The use or exchange value of the object loses its centrality to become the prerogative of its symbolic value and, precisely, by virtue of the possibility of staging, through different tools or screens, the nature of the social body, its relationships, its dreams and even its hallucinations. This is why cinema represents the fundamental moment in which confusion between merchandise and spectacle becomes realized, the former becoming the object of the latter, and vice versa, but above all, both functioning as containers of a social content: the public.

The history of cultural industry is thus superimposed on history from the moment that the social body finds in the binomial consumption-spectacle the axis that orients social togetherness, beyond the imperatives of established order. The whirlwinds of communication inaugurated by the phantasmagoria of spectacular commodity encourage, on the one hand, the city-dweller to distract himself from his alienated condition to which he is nevertheless forced by social constraint. On the other hand, these impulses comfort the lowest bodily (Bakhtine, 1965/1998), spirits of the masses, weaving new networks of horizontal solidarity between social groups and relativizing the values in which the system finds its core, first of all undermining the principle of utility.

We think possible, at least in principle, to make the dimension of spectacle as well as the consumption it promotes, functional within productive order and its economic, political and moral demands. Better still, this field must remain in constant reference to the value of work and its imperatives, remaining a kind of parenthesis always referring to Prometheus. All social energy must be directed and projected towards this goal. As we have seen, it is for this reason that cinema presents itself as an “art of the factory” (Abruzzese, 1973/2001). According to the same logic, the public of the cultural industry is foreshadowed within the scenario of great Universal Exhibitions, where masses were called upon to gaze with wonder and admiration upon the prodigies of technology, and therefore produced by their alienated labor.

This basis nourishes fetishism of commodity, ultimately addressed, in many ways, to the body of its producer, to the one who it stems from. We thus end up more or less directly adoring our own activity. In this sense, social networks – through which we end up worshipping what we are – are merely the culmination of a long process aimed at making the user the true fetish of its social environment. This narrative represents a contradictory element, dangerous for the order that generates it. It is true that the chain of commodification strengthens the industry that presides it. Its phantasmagorias, especially from the moment they are linked to dreamlike devices of *spectacle*, trigger at the same time desires and needs in which the happiness of the social body tends to transcend the

limits of the factory. They project themselves into imaginary worlds where every object is no longer a reference to its market value but to sheer emotion, to the body that internalizes it and makes it its own self. The very origin of its *dépassement* is however inscribed in the cultural industry and in consumer society. In spite of this element, those who are concerned with promoting the political-productive structure tune in ardently on the productivist myth, censoring the dissolute pleasures to which the spectacular drifts give access. So much so that

any general judgement on social activity implies the principle that any special effort must be reducible, in order to be valid, to the basic necessities of production and conservation. Pleasure, whether it consists of art, accepted debauchery or play, is reduced in the intellectual representations that are in force to a concession, that is to say, to a neglection whose role would be end up being subsidiary. The most appreciable part of life is given as the condition – sometimes even as the regrettable condition – of productive social activity. (Bataille, 1949/2003, p. 26)

In fact labor and reason must be the foundations of a togetherness inscribed within the framework of an abstract project based on production and sacrifice. It has its projection into future and its identity substratum rooted in ideology. The chain of produced objects serves to establish relations between “individuals” in a continuous reference to principles that transcend them: the social contract, the political-productive order of nations, perfect society... This way reveals the potentiality of the social to become a single body and to discover itself as a common entity. On the other hand the impulses that inhabit it and constitute its deep imagination, are suppressed and always kept at bay. The achievement of modernity thus inaugurates, as a great novelty of History, a rationalized, utilitarian way of relating to objects and people, projected towards a higher goal than that of just “inhabiting” the social body.

In the economies and law systems that preceded ours, there is hardly ever a simple exchange of goods, wealth and products in the course of a deal between individuals. First of all, they are not individuals but communities that oblige each other, exchange and contract. (...) Moreover, what they exchange is not exclusively goods and wealth (...). It is above all politeness, feasts, rituals, military services, women, children, dances, festivals, fairs, the market for which is only one of the terms of a much more general and permanent contract. (Mauss, 1934/2004, pp. 150-151)

The exchange of goods, in Western context, becomes the means and the end, generating a machine capable of separating individuals, reuniting them only when they serve to perpetuate the utilitarian structure. Dances, shows, fairs, all the institutions which, in pre-modern times, reinforced the togetherness of the social body (Durkheim, 1912/2005), are now relativized and bent to the service of the triumphal march of reason

and progress. All the discourses deployed by the political system tend to name, and thus to construct, a social reality that conforms to a criterion of balance and usefulness, and disregards any waste, non-activity or excesses that may harm political-productive institutions. They oppose the instincts that have always constituted the way in which the social body has melted, through trance, celebration or waste, giving life to this coming and going between oneself and the other (the divine, nature, the foreigner).

The core of modern culture dominates these basic instincts and bases its own morality on this domination, through the exercise of its power-knowledge, constructs discourses stigmatizing any unproductive waste. On the other hand

it is true that personal experience, if it comes from a juvenile man, capable of wasting and destroying without reason, belies this wretched conception every time. But even as he lavishes and destroys himself without taking the slightest account of it, the most lucid person ignores why, or imagines himself sick; he is incapable of justifying his conduct in a utilitarian way, and the idea does not come to him that a human society can have, like him, an interest in considerable losses, in catastrophes that provoke, in accordance with defined needs, tumultuous depressions, anxiety attacks and, in the final analysis, a certain orgiastic state. (Bataille, 1949/2003, p. 26)

The cultural industry serves to link the impulses of the masses that go beyond bourgeois order to its productive and moral system, allowing society to live potentially unbridled passions with restraint, even contentment; it might even simulate an expenditure that is impossible to experience concretely because it is endowed with a destructive soul regarding the texts and contexts of modern life.

It is likely that the Party has encouraged prostitution as a safety valve for instincts that cannot be completely suppressed. A little debauchery meant little, as long as it was practiced in secret and without joy. (Orwell, 2008, p. 70)

THE CROWD BECOMING MEDIA

The accumulation of masses in the metropolis, the intensification of communication flows – especially in the nocturnal dimension and outside of labor – have unleashed practices that tend to nuance categorical imperatives. They disarticulate the utilitarian system, and along that, the backbone of political order. Each time these gatherings take place, imagination is filled with figures who constantly allude to waste, dissolution, death, or any act that carries within itself the sabotage of the system. This is how metropolitan legends proliferate, weaving the praise of great delinquents and prostitutes, increasing the fascination and fear of the stranger and the desire to get out of oneself and lose oneself in something greater than oneself.

Metropolitan lifestyle, as well as its extension into the territories of collective imaginary, generates urban and electronic effervescence that makes the masses vibrate, covering the instituted morals and their economies with emotions. When the cultural industry takes up the challenge of crystallizing the agents of the nocturnal imaginary, the individual who, according to Bataille (1949/2003), was not capable of imagining an order other than utilitarian and rationalist, begins to discover all the potentialities immanent to his being there, in the mass. The phantasmagoria of the spectacular commodity thus succeeds in supporting the dreams of the individual, projecting him beyond his identitarian cage, in which he is locked in. On the other hand, it confers a new splendour, another life, beyond economy, on the chain of industrial objects. It was necessary to endow the objects produced by the factory with an aura capable of welcoming the body of the masses, of activating with it a game of exchanges, of amorous excitement and nostalgia.

Only the dimension of spectacle will make this conjunction possible. The crowd thus becomes the *medium* (Rafele, 2010) to which all objects and images must refer. They have the mission of conveying a symbolic order that is more complete and dense than the one actualized in factories, where the individual prevails over the mass. It is this delicate passage that allows the individual to access another subjectivity, from which the pivot of sociopolitical structure sees its bases modified. When the stroller, or the *blasé*, enters the mass and enjoys its emotional fullness (Benjamin, 1989/2006), the whole order of Leviathan is relativized (Marramao, 2000) by the subjectivity that should submit in an orderly manner to its own representation. The individual is no longer isolated, the social contract that binds him to others only insofar as they project themselves together into the transcendence of the sovereign body, substituted by an affective contagion that prevails over everything and globality.

The stroller is still on the threshold, both of the big city and the *bourgeoisie*. Both have not yet won him over; he does not feel at ease with either; and he seeks refuge in the crowd. (...) The crowd is the veil through which the well-known city appears to the stroller as a phantasmagoria. In this phantasmagoria, it is sometimes landscape, sometimes space. (Benjamin, 1955/2000, p. 155)

The cycle of spectacular consumptions coincides with the consumption of bourgeois individuality, while the mass that has become public becomes the matrix in which the subject loses himself to cushion the weight of change and express the impulses marginalized by the social system. If it is true that the spectacular commodity becomes the sublimation of commodity, we cannot ignore the corollary of such a radical shift: the displacement of matter that channels societal energy towards illusions unleashed by images and objects. This is opposed to reflection in the cathedral of the factory and of the town hall. When Debord (1988) insightfully writes that “the humanism of commodity takes charge of the ‘pleasures and humanity’ of the worker, simply because political economy can and must now dominate these spheres as political economy” (p. 71), he forgets to

add that “the humanism of commodity” does not only follow the meaning of the social system. On the contrary, it becomes capable of agitating new initiatory pilgrimages on the part of the masses precisely because it gives them, albeit in the form of a simple illusion, the possibility of living an experience different from that of instituted social systems. It provides the desire of holidays, shivers of love and dreams that are irreducible to the productive and political goals that have been established. What society, moreover, is not shaken and stirred to the core by the proliferation of “illusions”?

Despite the most inflexible and systematic deployments of images and messages from above, no social paradigm, even totalitarian, has ever succeeded in imposing a privileged meaning on such hallucinations, enjoyments and symbolic drifts. Consumption and the spectacle thus serve the system only to the extent that they support its economic order, whereas, as far as the imaginary is concerned, they tend to constitute a subjectivity, an immaterial placenta, idiosyncratic in relation to instituted morality. Here, the mass and its fragmentation into tribes, networks or clouds prevails over the individual, the ethics of aesthetics over ideology, unproductive expenditure over controlled utilitarianism (Joron, 2009). On the other hand, *homo oeconomicus* is as much a novelty of History as it is an ideal-typical subject, even before it is effective. According to Mauss, indeed,

it is our Western societies that have, very recently, made the human an “economic animal”. But we are not yet all such beings. In our masses and in our elites, pure and irrational spending is common practice; it is still characteristic of the few fossils of our nobility. *Homo oeconomicus* is not behind us, he is before us; as the man of morality and duty; as the man of science and reason. For a very long time, man has been something else; and not long ago he was a machine, moreover a calculating machine. We are fortunately still far from this constant and icy utility calculation. (Mauss, 1934/2004, p. 271)

The advent of the cultural industry coincided with the cracking, in the depths of collective life, of the adherence to the order of values of society based on the leitmotif of progress, utilitarianism and abstract reason. The debauchery that escapes from the darkest recesses of the metropolis merges with the massification of society and becomes, as it were, its incipit, its secret thread. Uncontrolled emotions, performances, hallucinations and phantasmagorias become the daily bread of the masses (Auclair, 1970), to the point of pushing social systems to attempt to manipulate them. It is interesting, moreover, to verify the different paths taken by the United States and by Europe: whereas, in the first case, the discourse of the commodity and the spectacle becomes the mediation and the motor of the relationship between public and established powers, in the second case, it is directly the political – in its totalitarian versions – that incorporates, in the most exacerbated way, the principle of spectacle and its emotionality.

While in the United States the discourse of the commodity becomes the link, albeit a precarious one, between mass and politics, in Italy, Germany and the former Soviet Union, politics contain the need for emotional crossing and imaginary bathing that the

mass that has become a public feeling together. Like merchandise in America, politics in Europe are thus transformed into a fetish in which the monstrous nature of the mass is revealed. It is useless here to dwell on the reasons for this investment and on the effects it provokes, when it seems more relevant, in the framework of our discourse, to show how, in both cases, the emergence of the mass coincides with the tragic manifestation of sacrifices, consumptions and destruction of pre-existing structures. The humanism of the spectacular commodity will only emerge victorious because it is the most apt to correspond to the nature of the social body and its playful and festive imagination, to its indispensable fantasies, always betrayed by political regimes based on historical ideologies. Moreover, the spectacle of commodity and the commodity of the spectacle are closely linked, from a proxemics and emphatic point of view, to the space-time of daily life. They are absorbed by its belly while being similarly absorbed.

In the wake of the paradigm shift imposed by spectacular society from the second half of the twentieth century onwards, the principle of reality on which the social systems were based came up against and shaken, despite the intentions of its producers. The logic of spectacular consumption, based on the preponderance of the imaginary, illusions and unbridled enjoyment, manifests itself as ever less controllable within the framework of schemes that want to prescribe order to it. “The real consumer becomes a consumer of illusions. The commodity is that illusion which is actually real, and the spectacle is its general manifestation” (Debord, 1988, p. 72).

DISTORTION AND CONVALESCENCE

The spectacular *dispositif* intensifies the public’s imaginative faculty and disseminates interpretations, dreams and experiences of reality that corrode the monolithic pedestal on which our civilization was built. The dissemination of images and distractions cannot be limited within the intentional framework of the producers, since, on the one hand, consumption is always socially situated and, on the other hand, the semantic basin in which the transfiguration of reality takes place is the dreaming body of the mass. Thus a process of weakening of the “being” takes place that dismantles identity and the processes of identification prefigured by the system to maintain itself and reveals all its limits, as well as their artificiality. Thus the fulfilment of the technological system – circulation and reproduction of objects, images and spectacles – carries within it the fulfilment and dissolution of metaphysics.

According to Martin Heidegger, the imposition of the world of modern technology, the *Ge-stell*, is not only the moment when metaphysics reaches its highest peak, but also, and for this very reason, “a first spark of the *Ereignis*” (Vattimo, 1987, p.180). This means that there is intrinsically something in the world of technique that escapes it, which is not simply “technical”. It is only through a *Verwindung* of the *Ge-stell* that the possibility of an *Ereignis* (event, appropriation) is inaugurated. The first term refers to a tragic acceptance that is also in itself overcoming, distortion and convalescence. This is, according to

Vattimo (1987), the essence of philosophical postmodernity: the dissolution of modernity, of its technique and metaphysics, thus coincides with the radicalization of the tendencies that have constituted it since its origin. From the moment when political-economic systems shift the challenge to the symbolic order of goods and spectacles, pushing the alliance of these elements to confirm their own order, they also lend themselves to their own distortion. This is because defending a collective imagination excited in the hand-to-hand struggle of consumption and distraction becomes even more difficult.

In this field, the possibility of putting into discourse (Foucault, 1976) the most disturbing, destructive and voluptuous substances presents itself as a painful undertaking, although constantly repressed by the productive order and by scientific power. Societal action abandoned to the matrix of spectacular consumption is in itself the bearer of a chain of linguistic games, interpretations, distortions and creative destruction that undermines the foundations of social systems, substituting small mythologies, sacralisations of what is profane at the origin, a universe of meanings made up of tribal or local micro-narratives. All these factors lead to a reappropriation-distortion of technique, to a de-realisation of the real (Vattimo, 1987). This is how the “real world”, the “story of an error”, “ends up becoming a fable”.

The true world, accessible to the wise, pious, virtuous man – he lives in it, *he is that world*.

The true world, inaccessible now, but promised to the wise, pious, virtuous man (to the “sinner who does penance”).

The true world, inaccessible, which can neither be reached, nor proven, nor promised, but which, by the mere fact that it is thought, is consolation, commitment, imperative.

The true world – inaccessible? In any case, not yet reached. And, since not reached, *unknown*. It is therefore neither consolation, nor salvation, nor obligation: how can we be committed to something we do not know?

The “true world”, an idea that no longer serves any purpose, that no longer even commits us to anything – a useless, superfluous idea, *therefore* a refuted idea: let us abolish it.

We have abolished the real world: what world was left? Perhaps the world of appearance? ... But no! *Together with the real world, we have also abolished the world of appearances!* (Nietzsche, 1889/2001, pp. 46-47)

Interpreting the advent of the communication society and the logic of spectacular consumption that results from it, in the light of the convergence between the philosophies of Heidegger (quoted in Vattimo, 1987) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1889/2001), leads us to discover the flaws of modernity. As well we read, behind the disorder, the social re-appropriations and the dark side raised by the collective imaginary, the elaboration of an order other than the one shaped by the long narrative of progress. Any illusion fomented by the spectacular devices generates a form of enchantment of the social body, a series of uncontrollable dreams, and yet always well founded on the nature of daily life and its most tragic and banal aspects. In this way, the ideology of happiness ceases to serve history and is incorporated into the practices of social subjects – in the being itself – in such a way as to push the individual to “let go of the being as a foundation” (Heidegger, quoted in Vattimo, 1987, p. 126).

The images and spectacles promoted by reality, and thrown into the viscera of consumption, into the heart of sociality, promote the actualization of several worlds beyond and below the social, each with a different meaning. In this sense, the advent of postmodernity, which has manifested itself completely with the sparks stirred up by the society of spectacle, can be read as the “death of God”, or nihilism (Nietzsche, 1882/1998, p. 202). It would be a condition in which man explicitly recognizes the absence of foundation as constitutive of his reality. This means the crumbling of all universalism and the proliferation of fragments, splinters, micro-narratives, of everything that as chaotic as it is vital, disturbs the generalized asepsis into which the social has been reduced to a general rationalization of existence (Weber, 1904/1964).

We can argue that within the system itself lie the possibilities of its overcoming-distortion (*verwindung*), and thus that at the very moment when the modern order reaches its flourishing and apparently most glaring stage, that it paves the way for its decline. When ideology presents itself in the guise of the ideology of happiness, when the panoply of fetish objects produced by industry is dematerialized in spectacular phantasmagorias, the societal order is over-stimulated in its symbolic productions and creations. It is comforted in its being-together as pure sentient corporality, excited by an energy that goes beyond the rational order from which it stems.

Reality becomes unreal, fatally consumed through experimented games in the sovereign dimension of the imaginary. There each sense is reduced to a show, linked to the sensations of one or more bodies in love and re-enchanted. This is why the *Ge-stell*, in its amphibious nature, weapon of the Social. It is at the same time, an order in the hands of daily life, that carries in its maximum deployment, the accomplishment of the “all” and its sinking nature. The hybridization and reciprocal grafting that daily life achieves with the system of objects and, more generally, with the ecology of spectacle, cause the crumbling of the architecture on which the reality elaborated by modernity has been erected. The distinctions that served as a basis – object/subject, real/irreal, elite/masses – are melted and generate chaos at the heart of collective life.

By losing these determinations, man and being enter an oscillating domain *schwingend*, which, in my opinion, must be imagined as the world of a “lighter” reality, made lighter because it is less clearly divided between truth and fiction, information and image: the world of the total mediatization of our experience in which we already find ourselves to a large extent. (Vattimo, 1987, p. 189)

In such a “lightened” reality, in which the content of real life is dematerialized in the flows of performances and communications, in the sparks stirred up by the societal aesthetics of Instagram, Tumblr or Snapchat, the resulting relativization of the political is superimposed on the emergence of an anomic sociality. All this mass previously separated into individuals separated by labor. Its irruption on stage, in one way or another, *volens nolens*, represents a continuous jamming of the official engine of History.

The logic of spectacular consumption, the matrix of collective experience from the second half of the 20th century onwards, is driven by the convergence of iconophilia and neo-paganism, sensitivities of a polymorphous nature in the sense that they are based on the interpretative richness of the imagination. They are also based on the polysemy of the imagination and on the adoration of different objects, places, images, thus always undermining the foundations of all universalism and transcendence. The loss of self identity in the archetypal basin of unbridled consumption, the fusion with the other that takes place at the moment of sharing an ecstatic excitement for a product, a show or any element that refers to the relationship with the other, brings back to the stage the losses, excesses and unproductive expenditure that the human being cannot do without in order to counter the limits of the principle of reality in which he finds himself. As Bataille observed

human life, as distinct from legal existence and as it actually takes place on a globe isolated in celestial space, from day to night, from one country to another, human life can in no way be limited to the closed systems assigned to it in reasonable conceptions. The immense work of abandonment, flow and storm that constitutes it could be expressed by saying that it begins only with the deficit of these systems. At least it admits that order and reserve has meaning only from the moment when the ordered and reserved forces are freed and lost for purposes that cannot be subject to anything for which it is possible to be held accountable. It is only through such insubordination, however miserable, that the human species ceases to be isolated in the unconditional splendour of material things. (Bataille, 1949/2003, pp. 44-45)

Translation: Matthijs Gardenier

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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BOOK REVIEWS | *LEITURAS* 

BOOK REVIEW OF *IMAGES OF IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN WESTERN EUROPE. MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS, PUBLIC OPINION, AND REFUGEES EXPERIENCES*

RECENSÃO DO LIVRO *IMAGES OF IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN WESTERN EUROPE. MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS, PUBLIC OPINION, AND REFUGEES EXPERIENCES*

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d'Haenens, L., Willen, J. & Heinderyckx, F. (Eds.) (2019). *Images of immigrants and refugees in Western Europe. Media representations, public opinion, and refugees' experiences*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

A child, wearing only wrinkled and dirty clothes, stares at a gigantic wall of bars and barbed wire. She seems resigned; the obstacle is too high to climb over. Looking at this picture, no caption is needed. Probably this photograph was taken in a refugee camp or in a border area where the circulation of people is not allowed. This is the book cover of *Images of immigrants and refugees in Western Europe* is titled. *Media representations, public opinion, and refugees' experiences* (2019), written by Leen d'Haenens, Willem Joris and François Heinderyckx, which collects the work of several researchers about the implications of migratory movements from a communicational, media and sociological point of view in the European context.

Multiculturalism is at the heart of the European Union, which brings back “a portrait of memories, cultures and identities, raising multiple discussions through constructive and transformative dialogues” (Silva, Cabecinhas & Evans, 2019, p. 7). In the political agenda of the European Union, migration is a permanent topic within government representatives, especially with the hot-spotted dilemma of illegal migratory movements. The current migration crisis in Europe, which has reached its peak in 2015, “is already considered to be the largest displacement of people, motivated by armed conflicts, which occurred after the Second World War” (Abdo, Cabecinhas & Brites, 2019, p. 17). This is the general background of the reviewed book. Moreover, the authors believe that the current migration crisis is directly related to the so-called Arab Spring, which dates back from 2011. Unprecedented uprisings triggered massive exodus of people from Syria, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Egypt, just to name a few countries. Many of these revolutions, which were intended to overthrow dictators, did not last longer, and citizens continued

to struggle with economic and political instabilities. Egypt is one of them. Following the recent death of Hosni Mubarak, the former president, on 25 February 2020, who ruled the country for more than 30 years, the Portuguese newspaper *Público* explained that the Egyptian Arab Spring was nothing but a pyrrhic victory: “the Arab spring that detained him [Mubarak] did not hold out for so long” (Fernandes, 2020).

From an historical and demographic point of view, the problem of migration, particularly those involving people seeking to leave their countries of origin without any legal documentation enabling them to live in another, is not exclusively to Europe. Saskia Sassen (2016), one of the world’s most renowned scholars in the field of Sociology of Development and Demography, presents three crucial migratory flows to understand this problem worldwide: 1) in Central America, where children and teenagers autonomously escape to USA; 2) in South-East Asia, with the ongoing refugee crisis in Myanmar, Thailand and Malaysia, heading to Australia and New Zealand; 3) in the Mediterranean Sea, in the aftermath of the oil crisis, massively relevant since 2015.

Some diplomatic efforts seem to show that Europe is keen to solve this problem. On June 29, 2018, European leaders reached an understanding to rescue refugees to European territory by transferring them to “control centres” with the support of several Member States. According to *The Guardian*, the agreement was a result of intensive and long talks, but its relevance remains unclear. The distribution of refugee quotas for each country is no simple issue within delegations (Henley, 2018). In addition, this endless geopolitical tension has not been easy to handle with recent events. In February 2020, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan decided to suspend border control of the country, allowing Syrian citizens to reach the European border. Erdogan argued that Europe was not properly cooperating with Turkey on this issue (Turquia abre as portas da Europa aos refugiados. NATO solidária, 2020). As a response to this drastic decision, the Greek coastguard welcomed with gunshots the arrival of migrants who had crossed the Turkish territory (Guarda costeira grega dispara para afastar migrantes, 2020).

Taking into account recent events in the migration scope and the multiple lack of understanding in the diplomatic field, this book presents a different perspective to the political and legal debate, by engaging with both sociological and media framework. As Vliegthart (2015) stresses out, Communication Sciences scholars should include a third dimension of analysis when studying migration topics, alongside cultural attitudes and public policies: the role of media. However, it is probably not accurate to consider the research about the intersection of media and migrants as scarcely explored in the Communication Sciences field. Some literature has been published around this topic. Studies addressed the role of refugees as “objects of symbolic violence” (Butler, 2004) or as a symbol of “poor information” about the world (Wall, Campbell & Janbek, 2015). Through a simple search¹, one can easily find papers in this subject, namely in the scientific publications with the highest impact factor worldwide in the Scimago/Scopus

¹ The data were collected in March 2020.

ranking². The *New Media and Society* journal, the second most rated one highest rated, includes 61 articles that could fit this subject, discussing, for example, the Islamophobia regarding refugees (Poole, Giraud & de Quincey, 2020) or the “nightmare of multiculturalism” (Nortio, Niska, Renvik & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2020). *Digital Journalism* presents 23 papers in this area, including the use of virtual images in news coverage of refugees (Mast & Hanegreefs, 2015), whilst the latest of the top ten, *Political Communication*, published 54 articles, featuring topics such as the humanitarian crisis in Somalia and the response of the international community (Livingston & Eachus, 2010).

This very up-to-date and documented book joins this whole effort of scientific production on migration and refugees in general. Common sense typically puts portraits the word “refugee” in an illegal perspective of migration, defied by risk and subjected to all sorts of constant dangers. However, although not all migrants are refugees, in this negative sense of the term, the authors choose not to distinguish the two concepts.

This book addresses four challenges: discussing immigration and integration policies in Europe; evaluating media representations about refugees; measuring public opinion features about migrants and its consolidation; presenting reports and experiences of citizens whom, in these conditions, are seeking a better life in the Old Continent. Each of these challenges are transformed into specific parts within the text, featuring 10 chapters, of more than a dozen researchers, mostly Belgian and Swedish. This is probably a potential flaw of the book, as Netherlands and Sweden remain as constant contexts of observation. However, it is must be noted that this is related to the scientific production of the research project “Images of immigrants in the media: thought-provoking effects” (IM²MEDIATE), carried out in the University of Louvain, in Belgium, from 2015 to 2019.

The first chapter is something but a preface, thus highlighting the overall 209 pages of the book. Leen d’Haenens and Willem Joris start out with a very simple, yet obvious, idea: “there are no simple solutions for the migration crisis in Europe” (p. 7). However, the authors acknowledge that the number of people asking for legal permission to work in the European Union decreases every year – around 600,000 in 2018. Applicants are mostly male (67%), it is said. Although the authors do not justify this number, one can wonder possible reasons: bureaucracy; some disbelief in the public institutions; or the political signals showing xenophobic and nationalistic perspectives, such as those made by Salvini, in Italy, or Viktor Orbán, in Hungary, just to name a few. Regardless this speculative discussion, d’Haenens and Joris explain why Belgium and Sweden are constantly used as study object throughout the book. They state that “both countries face identical realities in terms of the number of refugees they receive” (p. 13), establishing long-lasting policies capable of promoting tolerance and openness among migrants.

In the first part of the book, different integration policies in Europe are discussed. Starting with the Belgian and Swedish case, Paul Puschmann, Ebba Sundin, David De

² This top 10 highly rated journals in the field of Communication Sciences includes: 1) *Internet Research*; 2) *New Media and Society*; 3) *Information Communication and Society*; 4) *Communication Theory*; 5) *Digital Journalism*; 6) *Journal of Communication*; 7) *Journal of Advertising*; 8) *Human Communication Research*; 9) *Media Psychology*; 10) *Political Communication*. Retrieved from <https://www.scimagojr.com/journalrank.php?area=3300&category=3315>

Coninck and Leen d'Haenens argue that these countries foster multicultural policies, which is said to be the most reliable fact to justify why far-right movements are not successful in these regions: “it is therefore better and wiser to put the greatest efforts into the integration of immigrants and to develop policies which counteract segregation and discrimination in all domains of society” (p. 34).

The second part of the book is the longest one. Four chapters discuss media representations on migration and integration. In the first, through a content analysis of the news published on migrants and refugees between 2015 and 2017 in several Belgian and Swedish newspapers, the authors state that media coverage can be quite different when these people are at stake. Swedish newspapers publish in depth articles, focusing on numbers within this subject. However, they share a common feature: the migrant performing the role of “good” and “bad” individual, with some pieces highlighting the “dreams” that motivated them to start this journey.

The second text, written by Valériane Mistiaen, examined the media coverage of French-language television – RTL-TVI (public) and La Une (commercial). Using a lexical analysis of 300 news items, dating back from 2015, the author concluded that there are no substantial differences between the public and private service operators, i.e. both offer a stereotyped view of these minority groups, which is somehow distant from previous studies such as De Bens’s (2004). Still, commercial television typically reports on refugee crime problems. The possible positive contribution – social or economic – of integrating these people remains silent in such coverage.

The third text, by Lutgard Lams, addresses one of the most traumatic events Europe has faced: an unprecedented migration crisis in 2015. According to *BBC* (Migrant crisis: migration to Europe explained in seven charts, 2016), as more than a million people tried to reach Europe by air, most of the migrants defied the Mediterranean Sea, using precarious and overcrowded boats to illegally flee to the continent. The political context in Syria, but also the dramatic war situations in Afghanistan or Eritrea, triggered such massive flows of people. Looking at some newspapers in the Netherlands, and the way they portrayed this particular crisis, Lams identified different approaches in the “journalistic semantics”: *De Volkskrant* (Netherlands) and *De Morgen* (Belgium) often put the emphasis on the positive role of the European Union, although the latter did not fail to make some criticism, pointing the finger at German Chancellor Angela Merkel. The author also concluded that these newspapers see refugees as individuals disconnected with reality, powerless and distant from political decisions.

Finally, the fourth article studies journalists’ views on this subject. The authors – Stefan Mertens, Leen d’Haenens, Rozane De Cock and Olivier Standaert – analysed the opinions of 24 journalists from Western countries about the integration policies of migrants and refugees in their countries. They felt a bit surprised to find that countries with multicultural and tolerant journalistic traditions have fewer integration policies. Although the majority of the journalists reinforced tolerance and diversity as crucial social

values, it is curious to observe that previous studies highlighted opposite ideas in the way media often presents refugees and migrants, negatively.

The third part of the book discusses the way public opinion is involved in this issue. In the first text, David De Coninck, Hanne Vandenberghe and Koen Matthijs studied how Belgian and Swedish citizens (from 18 to 65 years old) feel about the way migrants are portrayed by the media. In Belgium, citizens tend to argue that commercial television presents negative images towards refugees, in contrast to public service. The authors also tried to measure if media texts influence peoples' ideas towards this topic, by presenting them specific information (positive or negative) about migrants. They concluded that media played a little role in the public opinion. This idea follows similar recent studies (Correia, Jerónimo & Gradim, 2019), proposing that the agenda setting theory is completely outdated.

The text that is followed deals with the concept of "information bubbles", as media engage with audiences to filter public perceptions. This somehow plays a different perspective in the book, taking into account the last study presented. Through an online survey, researchers evaluated the attitudes of six thousand people towards specific media content and concluded that there is a strong correlation between individuals' beliefs and media content that fits into one's perspective. However, they admit that "public opinion is split (if not negative) and generally uninformed or misinformed on the issue, tending to overestimate both the numbers of the newcomers and any association with crime and terrorism" (p. 155).

In the third part of book, a text very close to the previous contribution. Willem Joris and Rozane De Cock tried to understand if a certain journalistic framework is able to influence one's attitude. In a study involving one thousand and four hundred Belgian citizens, the researchers concluded that the frame effect³ was not effective, as exposing individuals to a different perspective contrary did not change their attitudes or opinions. Moreover, the authors found that such influence is not decisive if citizens are more aware of the subject of refugees.

Finally, the fourth part of this book presents the result of an investigation about the discourses of the refugees themselves. After contacting with various agencies and non-governmental organisations, researchers studied the perceptions of 44 refugees – 24 from Syria, 11 from Afghanistan and nine from Iraq – living in Belgium since 2015. Using online questionnaires and in-depth interviews, the authors concluded that refugees invariably felt represented as "victims" by the mainstream media, thus recognising the lack of news about the positive contribution they could make to European economies and societies. This idea is not new in the book. However, the refugees strongly believe that the media can change this negative paradigm, which can be decisive for more effective political actions.

³ This means the effect towards a specific group of images or content.

The book ends with the chapter of François Heinderyckx, a renowned academic, who sums up the general guidelines of the discussion. The author brings back a not so much discussed topic throughout the pages: how political extremism – from left to right – easily takes over migration subjects for their own agenda: “migrants, refugees, and other visible minorities have proved to be the perfect scapegoats for the scourge of the moment: economic crisis, unemployment, poverty, criminality, terrorism, health hazards, cultural homogenization” (p. 199). As Heinderyckx tries to highlight areas of discussion that other authors did not emphasise that much, he also decides to leave some note towards a paradigm shift: media professionals should avoid the use of *clichés* in the representation of migrants, snubbing negative perspectives in a group of “convicts”; journalists should be aware that only diversity will be able to change attitudes and mentalities.

Theoretically relevant, reflecting a highly topical problem, the book *Images of immigrants and refugees in Western Europe. Media representations, public opinion, and refugees' experiences* is a very reliable scientific document due to its methodological focus, as plenty research techniques are tested, from the survey to the focus group. This is probably a very suitable study tool for university students and academics in general. The book is also available in open access⁴ in the Leuven University Press website.

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⁴ Available at <https://lup.be/products/119590>

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GLOBALISATION HAS SPREAD AND BECOME EVEN MORE DISSIMULATED AND EFFECTIVE. CHANGE INVOLVES REVERSING THE INVISIBILITY OF THE UNDERPRIVILEGED

**A GLOBALIZAÇÃO DISSEMINOU-SE E É MAIS DISSIMULADA E EFICAZ. A MUDANÇA
PASSA POR INVERTER A INVISIBILIDADE DOS MAIS DESFAVORECIDOS**

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Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2000). *Empire*. London, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

In the end of 2019, in order to celebrate 20 years of the publication of the book *Empire*, its authors, Michael Hardt (scholar) and Antonio Negri (philosopher and political activist, who was arrested for allegedly being a member of the *Red Brigades*), wrote an essay for *New Left Review*, in which they analysed different eras and the process of globalisation. One might say that the book's key idea kept absolutely current because globalisation is increasingly more on the agenda. Its development is more dissimulated, hence more effective. The dominant forces and the control exerted by the global order have not subsided in any way, regardless of the often histrionic positioning of national sovereignty ideologists. The authors, though, advocate that we lack a new international cycle based on a cleverer investigation on the structures of the dominant global order. This supports the notion that, when it comes to teaching, the theoretical work carried out within social movements may prove more effective than a visit to the library. That is why the authors believe that movements such as alter-globalisation (also known as alternative globalisation) may be the first step to challenge and, eventually, overthrow the structures of the "empire", which can ultimately reverse the invisibility of the underprivileged.

The book was written in the mid-1990s and published in 2000, and theorises about the continuous transition from a modern phenomenon which stands for imperialism, focused on individual nation-states, to a post-modern construction created within certain governmental powers which the authors decided to call *Empire*. As mentioned in the book's preface, seen as reference still, it was written between wars: starting long after the end of the Gulf War and being concluded long before the Kosovo War. This is precisely where they wanted the reader, as well as the narrative, to be situated: at the half point between those two events featured prominently on *Empire*. The book's key idea is presented to us right on the first sentence, like a shotgun blast: "Empire materialises before our eyes" (p. XI).

The rise of the *Empire* coincided, then, with the end of national conflicts, being that the new “enemy”, regardless of who it was, became another and quite far from a previous rationale based on ideology. The new enemy was portrayed as some kind of criminal or someone who posed a threat to the current legislation, but no longer linked to a political system, or a nation: in short, the new enemy was embodied in the “terrorist”. 9/11 (2001) could serve as an example since it happened after the book was written, even though both moments were not that far apart in time. The same happened with the so-called second Iraq war, which was sort of an American response to the suicide attacks to the Twin Towers (New York). In this new world order and new context, the enemy is simultaneously trivialised (reduced to an object of routine police repression) and absolutised (posing as a threat to ethical order). The angle of the narrative fits like a glove to New York’s post-attacks moments, just like a prophecy.

The *Empire* consists of a monarchy (United States, G8 and other international organisations such as NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization, IMF – International Monetary Fund or WTO – World Trade Organization), an oligarchy (multinationals and other nation-states) and a democracy (several non-governmental organisations and the UN – United Nations). Part of the analysis is about imagining resisting this state of affairs, bearing in mind that the *Empire* is totalising and, in this sense, resistance comes down to denial in the form of being against. Despite being totalising, the *Empire* does not prevent economic inequality and, as all identities are shattered and replaced by a universal one, the identity of the poor, migrants, and those who cannot access power, persists. This notion distances itself from the concept that uniformity is not the same as homogeneity (Bayly, 2004) and presupposes that there will be certain determinations to consider, such as legislation, which does not mean that people who, at least theoretically, are equal under the law have to be the same as each other. That is why ethics, even if conceptually typified, seems to be out of step with the actions of nation-states. And, despite being in consonance with the determinations of the most important international organisations such as the European Union (EU), the fact is that this dynamic may actually counteract real life experience, which seems to be a little counterintuitive regarding what institutions advocate. If one were to pay attention to the way European state members act on the subject of migrants, one could conclude that diversity, while being a key word within the EU, is constantly being called into question.

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri emphasise the fact that, in the past few decades, and as colonial regimes were overthrown, the Soviet bloc collapsed and there was a consequent openness to the western world, globalisation became evident by making economic and cultural exchanges fluid. However, after the end of colonial empires another one remained, taking the role of “political subject that effectively regulates these global exchanges, the sovereign power that governs the world”, from which has emerged a new world order and “a new logic and structure of rule – in short, a new form of sovereignty” (p. XI). And, so that no doubts remain, the authors point out that “the Empire we are faced with wields enormous powers of oppression and destruction, but that fact should not make us nostalgic in any way for the old forms of domination”, even though they add

that there are “new possibilities to the forces of liberation” which denote that globalisation is not a univocal process (p. XV).

Far from being a pessimistic essay, it aims at highlighting new possibilities of struggle for the liberation of labour subjected to capital during the process of globalisation. It develops a look on a new hope based on an interdisciplinary intersection which tends to bring narrative closer to reality. This is why, according to its back cover, the book is described as a new Communist Manifesto, and a true utopia whose aim is to look beyond the regimes of exploitation and surveillance characteristic of the new world order. It seeks an alternative political paradigm that can be the basis for a truly democratic society, even more so because, as according to the authors, the *Empire*'s fate is to sink into generalised corruption, which is transversal to the logic of domination.

We stand before a comprehensive Neo-Marxist vision of a new world order in which the authors advocate that globalisation is not corrupting sovereignty, rather it is transforming it into a diffuse system of national and supranational institutions, that is, into a new *Empire* which encompasses modern life. Hardt and Negri analyse the multiple processes of globalisation and argue that the new world order is decentralised and deterritorializing. And, even though the *Empire* is responsible for uniting different aspects of structuralism and post-structuralism, the discourse is kept simple, written down in a clear and accessible way. The narrative goes beyond the academia, often kept in a closed circuit, by taking a keen look at the political and economic scene, which is compared to a quagmire that entraps the present.

The authors describe the multitude as the proletariat subjected to the logic of capital accumulation which pervades every aspect of life. The proletariat includes not only industrial workers, but also everyone that contributes to the production of the so-called services, on a global scale. They start by mentioning that the social conflict between the *Empire* and the multitude creates a considerable revolutionary potential. This being so, apart from the consolidation of the imperial dynamics, which privileges capital above anything else, the multitude must build up counter-*Empire* forces that originate a new biopower, different, though, from the one coined by Michel Foucault in 1977 (besides Foucault, the book addresses authors such as Machiavelli, Espinosa, Hegel, Hobbes, Kant and, obviously, Marx). To this effect, they propose a few possible directions, such as creating some kind of global citizenship related to the end of restrictions regarding workers all over the world; the right to a social salary, regardless of the productive framework; the right to the collective control over production means; and the right to political self-determination in all quadrants. Hardt and Negri's narratives challenge the establishment and provide some encouragement to the people excluded from globalisation, urging them to fight the system, and create an alternative *statu quo*.

In the essay that they published in *New Left Review*, to mark 20 years of the publication of the book, the authors analyse social reality and try to connect it with past works. Two decades ago, globalisation was just starting to impose itself on the world scene. Nowadays, despite being still the centre of attention, political commentators of the establishment – especially in Europe and North America – go on regretting the decline of

the international liberal order and the death of the Pax Americana, announcing its post mortem on a regular basis. Just like before, even if more emphatically, the forces that the authors call “newly dominant reactionary” ask for the return of national sovereignty, undermining commercial pacts and anticipating trade wars, denouncing supranational institutions and cosmopolitan elites, while feeding the flames of racism and violence against migrants. This situation is transversal in the political spectrum and “even on the left, some herald a renewed national sovereignty to serve as a defensive weapon against the predations of neoliberalism, multinational corporations and global elites” (Hardt & Negri, 2019, p. 67).

They applaud alter-globalisation movements by pointing out that “the extraordinary virtue of these protests was their theoretical practice” (Hardt & Negri, 2019, p. 91) because they have built a global critical view and were able to make readable the political meaning of the relatively obscure dominance of global economic institutions. Furthermore, instead of a movement, they could be better perceived as a vast collective research about the nature of the emergent world order. Activists knew that big corporations and dominant nation-states, like the USA, were massively powerful but also, intuitively, that world order could become something more. Every event lit up yet another knot of the emergent network of the global power structure: big world organisations, trade accords and so forth. The cycle of alter-globalisation movements was, therefore, a massive pedagogic project to those who took part of it and those who were willing to learn from the process.

On a wider scale, still not very legible, migration is still a strong herald for internationalism and a continuous insurrection against nation-states’ border regimes and the global system’s spatial hierarchies. Most migrants, however, may not be able to articulate the political nature of their flight let alone regard their actions as part of an internationalist struggle, since “there is no central committee, no platform, no statement of principles” (Hardt & Negri, 2019, p. 77). The authors mention the spectacular pilgrimages to and across Europe in the summer of 2015 which, meanwhile, were replaced by the Mediterranean crossing that threatens Europe’s own border regimes. The same way, they point out the caravans made of children and families coming from Central America that crossed Mexico heading for the United States border, in autumn 2018, which helped uncovering the crisis of American borders. But, because it is an unusual kind of internationalist insurrection, those highly mediated events are hardly recognisable as political. They are merely seen as peaks of a varied range of global migrations, not only from the South to the North, but in all directions: from Nigeria to South Africa, from Bolivia to Argentina, from Myanmar to Bangladesh, and from rural China to urban China.

Regardless of being for officially sanctioned reasons, like fleeing from war or any other type of persecution, or as a simple quest for adventure, migrants state their freedom through mobility, which may become the basis for other sorts of freedom. One would have to go back in time to grasp what is at stake and “appreciate the political significance of global migrations as an ongoing insurgency” (Hardt & Negri, 2019, p. 78). The dominant authorities recognise the threat, with the insurgency power being corroborated by cruel and costly counter-insurgency strategies migrant-related, “from

the EU-backed concentration camps in Libya, to the barbaric policies at the US border” (Hardt & Negri, 2019, p. 78). Migrant insurgency, then, threatens to make “the various walls that segment the global system crack and crumble” (Hardt & Negri, 2019, p. 78).

They maintain that a precarious life aims to grasp the way legal, economic and governmental changes have increased the insecurity of a wide range of populations already or at risk of becoming subordinated (women, transgender people, gays and lesbians, people of colour, migrants, the disabled and others). This means that “there is a notion of precarity that speaks the language of the working class and another that promotes an intersectional vision”. By joining the two, we will find a solid basis for theorising the multitude (Hardt & Negri, 2019, p. 86).

Even though the relative positions of the various powers within its mixed nature have simultaneously increased and decreased, the forces that rule over and control the world order certainly did not lose visibility, they have just become less visible and legible. The authors mention that we are in need of a new international cycle which includes cleverer kinds of struggles, in the sense of investigating the structures of the dominant global order. Besides, the theoretical work performed in the area of social movements seems more useful and educational than whatever material we might find at libraries, which means that “reversing its invisibility is the first step towards challenging and, eventually, overthrowing the Empire frameworks” (Hardt & Negri, 2019, p. 92).

The fact that there are those who perceive globalisation as *post mortem* is no different from the dissimulated process indicated by the authors 20 years after the book’s publication. Right away they find the process to be more effective because it is more socially naturalised. This fact does not even have to do with the so-called fragmentation of the time period which results from acceleration but, rather, from discontinuity (Han, 2016).

Also, the way power is generally exercised has always been more detrimental to the ones with less access to decision making, like the marginalised populations. If you take a look at history, the struggle between the parts is quite visible, and it does not show any signs that it might stop. On the one hand, it embodies the authors’ sense of hope, since they wrote *Empire* 20 years ago, but also more recently when they published the essay which marked the date. The fact is that the process of radicalisation is mutual and benefits both sides of the conflict. According to Fathali Moghaddam, groups and nations push themselves towards the extremes. This radicalisation is automatically boosted thanks to social networks, which does not seem to make regimes weaker, just the opposite. The author quotes Donald Trump as an example, in a context that is apparently distant from an eventual war, but in which the tension among parts (whatever they may be) is necessary as to keep power on the rise. In order to counteract that narrative, the author upholds a different process from the one suggested by Hardt and Negri, which has to do with a shift in mentalities based on the idea that it is necessary to foster our understanding towards the other. He, therefore, advocates “omniculturalism”, which is nothing but an interaction approach based on the similarities towards the other, instead of the differences, an idea that distances itself from the logic of diversity so popular and promoted by international institutions (Borges, 2020). Byung-Chul Han (2018) had

already made clear that unifying globalisation and erasing the “other” does not envisage a positive outcome for the dissemination of what is similar and responds to the stimuli determined by capitalism in the same way.

Unlike Hardt and Negri, who assume that confrontation may be necessary to reverse globalisation, since it excludes the underprivileged like migrants, Moghaddam focus on strengthening democracy because it needs time to get consolidated. This may pose a problem since “in order to learn from history we need to learn History” (Borges, 2020, p. 11). Such a statement remains in the antipodes of the current presentism (Hartog, 2003), in which there is a risk that history ends up compressed into contemporary history.

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