Urban violence in Brazil and the role of the media

Communicative effects of systematic metaphors in discourse

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This paper reports on analyses of data gathered from discourse interactions of two focus groups of Brazilian university students (n = 11) as they talk about urban violence in Fortaleza, Ceara, Brazil.[1] The analytical procedure follows Cameron et al.'s (2009) metaphor-led discourse analysis which focuses on the role metaphor vehicles play in the emergence of systematic metaphors in discourse. The findings highlight the trivialization of violence in Brazil by the media/TV, evidenced by the emergence in the talk of three related systematic metaphors: *VIOLENCE IS A PRODUCT MANUFACTURED BY THE MEDIA*, *VIOLENCE IS A SPREADING CONTAGIOUS DISEASE* and *FEAR AS A RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE IS A FORM OF IMPRISONMENT*.

Keywords: media, violence, metaphor-led discourse analysis, systematic metaphors, trivialization/sensationalization of violence

1. Introduction

Brazil's unequal social conditions and lack of concern on the part of the Brazilian authorities give rise to a particular breed of urban violence aimed at individuals and characterized by its continual presence. The average Brazilian citizen has to

contend with this violence on a daily basis at any public place, any time of the day or night. Unemployment, drugs, promiscuity, famine, lack of government protection and/or concern with the poor are some of the factors which contribute to the alarming spread of violence in urban areas of Fortaleza, Ceara, in the north-east of the country. This perverse reality creates a general state of fear and insecurity among the population in general, but, at the same time, promotes on the part of more socially-aware individuals, a sense of empathy with, or 'feeling into' the world of, the less privileged classes in Brazil.

The influence of the media contributes to this scenario. Daily news reports highlight violent acts carried out by individuals or groups from all social classes in a detailed, sensational way. There have also been escalating news reports about corruption in the government, and in the civil and military police forces. The impact of violence in people's everyday lives is thus amplified by the media and this fosters beliefs, attitudes and values related to violence.

Although the effects of the trivialization and sensationalization of violence by the media on people's lives and routines are not clear-cut, several research studies have provided positive evidence in this direction. For example, Rondelli (1998), in a paper about media and discourse practices, identifies the media as an "important macro-witness", one that "acts in a privileged way in the propagating chain of violent acts" (p. 145).

Violence thus stands as a kind of "language — a way of communicating something", so, still in accordance to Rondelli (1998, pp. 149–150), "when the media […] trivializes violent acts, it attributes them a meaning that, as these reports circulate socially, induces other violent acts". This, in turn, affects how people perceive reality and feel about the issue of violence in many ways (Amaral, 2007). Narratives about violent episodes reported in sensational ways over and over again appear to have an effect, for instance, on how people perceive reality and act. In a society marked by social inequalities and rising crime rates, as is the case of most cities in urban Brazil, news reports about violent acts become the fuel for the emergence of a collective imagination, which provides the grounds for the ways people think and act as regards violence. Evidence on these lines was identified in the present research, where the impact of the media appeared as one of the most recurrent discourse topics in the two focus groups analyzed. In this article, we highlight how metaphor analysis of the data reveals the systematic influence of the media on people's thinking and talking.

2. Research questions and applications

The larger project compares focus group participants in Brazil and the UK as they engage in talk about urban violence in Brazil and terrorist attacks in the UK (Cameron et al., submitted). It is of particular interest to analyze attitudes, beliefs and values relative to violence and how feelings of empathy or resistance to such feelings are expressed by the emergence of figurative language such as metaphors and metonymies, as participants interact verbally around the topic of violence. This article gives special attention to the impact of the media on the emergence of systematic metaphors in the discourse of two Brazilian focus group participants based on a dynamic systems approach. According to Gibbs and Cameron (2007, p. 2): "The key to this idea is the recognition that metaphor performance is shaped by discourse processes that operate in a continual dynamic interaction between individual cognition and the social and physical environment".

Here our main focus is to analyze the figurative language which emerges in the talk produced by the two Brazilian focus groups, to understand how the 'sensationalization' of violence by the media exercises influence on people's lives, changing their routines and shaping their outlook towards self and the other.

The analysis of the data gathered in Brazil aims to answer two general research questions, which also guide the wider Brazil-UK cooperation: (i) What are the key themes around urban violence that emerge from the Brazilian focus group discussions? (ii) How do people react to other social groups in situations with a high level of urban violence? In other words: how do they construct, negotiate and resist empathy in an environment of escalating urban violence such as urban areas of Fortaleza-Ceara (Brazil)?

The specific questions to be addressed in this paper are:

a. How do focus group participants construct the Other in their talk?
b. How do they relate to the Other?
c. How do they use metaphor to relate to the Other?
d. How do they categorize the Other?
e. How does the media influence people's talk about violence?

Before we present some preliminary results related to questions (a) through (d), and, more specifically, to question (e), we report, in the next section, on the research methodology.

3.   Method

The level of accuracy required to answer the research questions which guide the Brazil –UK cooperation was attained by following the methodological procedures set out in Cameron et al. (2009). Information about the participants and the steps carried out in the preparation and analysis of the data are explained below.

3.1   Participants and data collection

Voluntary participants, students at undergraduate and postgraduate levels of three universities (one state university and two private universities) in Fortaleza, Ceara, Brazil, took part in two focus group discussions about urban violence. The five participants in focus group 1 (FG1), three men and two women, were aged 17 to 43 years. Focus group 2 (FG2), had six participants, three men and three women, aged 21 to 25 years. The group discussions were moderated by a member of the research team.

The question schedule on urban violence was an adapted version of the one used by Cameron et al. (2009) in UK research about feelings of insecurity brought about by terrorist acts. The guide was adapted for urban violence and translated into Brazilian Portuguese.[2]

The focus groups were video recorded, but only the audio recording is used for analysis purposes here. Recordings were transcribed and translated into English for analysis by the multi-lingual research team. In transcription, participants' utterances were broken into 'simplified' intonation units (IUs), marking pauses and IU boundaries (Cameron et al., 2009; Stelma & Cameron, 2007). This representation of the discourse strings produced during ongoing interactions, tries to capture "something of the temporal dynamics iconically through the use of intonation units and layout." (Cameron et al., 2009, p. 14). Following Cameron et al., 2009; Cameron & Maslen, 2010, we marked minimal micro-pauses with .. and slightly longer micro-pauses with … . For pauses longer than one second, the approximate number of seconds was included, e.g. '(2.0)', for a two second pause (Cameron & Maslen, 2009, p. 201). When the talk included instances of quasi-reported speech, as when a speaker adopted the voice of some other person or organization, these utterances were enclosed in <Q … Q> brackets. The symbol <X…X> represents a stretch of speech which was indecipherable to the transcriber. Each line of the Portuguese data corresponding to an individual IU was numbered. The sheets of transcribed discourse were identified with the following information: data of focus group interaction (i.e. number of people present, age range, academic affiliation and date of the interaction).

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2.   The question schedule is available from the lead author.

The transcribed talk was translated into English by a proficient Brazilian Portuguese speaker of English. The English translations were included in blocks after stretches of data transcribed in Portuguese. The transcribed and translated data (20,789 words) were then subjected to metaphor-led discourse analysis (following Cameron et al., 2009; Cameron & Maslen, 2010). The Portuguese data were coded for metaphors, some metonymies, and narratives. Individual metaphors were collected together into groups to find systematic patterns and framing metaphors were identified. Codes were in English. Coding was done using Atlas.ti software, a computational tool for qualitative analysis (Kimmel, 2008).

3.2 Identification of metaphor vehicles and metonymies

Once uploaded in Atlas.ti, all transcriptions were fully read and possible key themes, or discourse topics, were noted. The overall reading of the documents and identification of key discourse topics allowed for an understanding of the discourse event structure. The next step was to break each discourse event into segments and describe what was happening in each (following Cameron, 2010a). A thematic analysis was then performed. As a first step, key discourse topics were identified and labeled. Next, sections of talk related to each of the key discourse topics were coded.

Metaphor vehicles were identified and grouped into specific families. Identification of metaphor vehicles followed a process similar to the MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure) (Pragglejaz, 2007), which considers metaphorical any different or incongruous contextual use of a term which differs from its more basic, more concrete meaning. However, in line with Cameron (2010a), Cameron & Deignan (2006), Cameron, Low & Maslen (2010), we considered not only words but phrases or clauses as potential metaphor vehicles. This is considered necessary since an "individual word is not always a unit of talking-and-thinking but … units might be words or phrases of varying lengths, often formulaic to some degree." (Cameron, 2010b, p. 593).

Metaphor vehicles and metonymies were coded as 'MetV's and 'Meton's, respectively in Atlas.ti, and then grouped into families. For instance, words or expressions related to metaphorical uses of *see*, were grouped into the 'SEEING family'; expressions relating to inside or outside used with metonymical value were grouped into the 'INSIDE/OUTSIDE meton family'.[3]

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3. Following Cameron's methodology adopted in the research, metaphor vehicles (MetVs) and metonymies (Metons) appear underlined in all cases. While MetVs refer to discourse words or phrases with incongruous meanings in relation to their most basic (concrete, experiential) meanings, Metons preserve their basic, experiential meanings but are used as symbols for a more encompassing state of affairs in the world.

3.3 Categorization of self and others

We also coded as CatP (People Categorization) words or terms used to refer to people or institutions (such as government, or the police), or social markers of the Other. The aim was to understand how participants categorized themselves and their group as opposed to the Other and other groups. In so doing, we aimed to have a clearer picture of the ways people think about themselves and their peers as opposed to strangers. It was felt that ways employed by participants to categorize self and others would work as discursive signals in indicating a higher or lower degree of empathic attitude towards those outside their social group. Such a procedure helped in identifying category shifting episodes and trends in categorizing patterns.

Linking categorizations to metaphor vehicles, discourse topics and themes allowed for the identification and characterization of the systematic metaphors produced by the focus group participants.

3.4 Systematic metaphor identification and analytical procedure

As Cameron (2010, p. 91) notes, "Within the discourse dynamics framework, a systematic metaphor is a collecting together of related linguistic metaphors that evolve and are adapted as the discourse proceeds". We adopted a top-down as well as a bottom-up procedure in proposing a number of systematic metaphors in the discourse of the Brazilian participants and then linking systematic metaphors to themes across the discourse event, in order to identify the trajectories of possible systematic metaphors.

Both procedures, however, happened simultaneously. For example, after reading the entire transcriptions of the discourse produced by the two focus groups, we observed that some metaphor vehicles were recurrent across the discourse produced by the participants under the discourse topic Media/TV and that such metaphors seemed to describe the speakers' beliefs and ideas about the roles the media had played in molding attitudes towards urban violence and its agents. Among other things, participants spoke of violence as something produced ('manufactured') and disseminated ('spread like a disease') by the media. One participant said, for instance, that things that "used to be wrong, …become right because you often watch it on TV" and another in accord with the comment, added "I think that the media fabricates it, …when we go out, …what comes to my mind is …the fear of being followed, …right, so, it is the inversion of values that Ana explained." This allowed us to propose the possible existence of a systematic metaphor VIOLENCE IS A PRODUCT MANUFACTURED BY THE MEDIA. In so doing, we used a recursive procedure that springs from the data and gradually forms the vehicle groupings by going up and down (bottom-up, top-down procedures).

Thus the systematic metaphors emerge from the data, from analyzing the flow of the talk. Key metaphors which emerged from the role played by the media in manufacturing and disseminating violence are discussed below in the analysis section (Section 4).

3.5 Reliability checks

Non-quantitative reliability checks were performed for each of the stages just described. Ten percent of the data coded and analyzed was examined by at least one other researcher. The process was carried out blind. The results were compared and disagreements were discussed. Once agreement was reached on possible differences, decisions were noted for the rest of the work.

4. The analysis

This section contains the analysis of systematic metaphors related to violence/media, identified in the participants' discourse dynamics, in the light of the event structure, as described in the previous section.

As explained above, we first identified the metaphor (top-down procedure), and then searched for evidence of its presence in the discourse which emerged in the group discussions by following the transcription of corpus excerpts which support the metaphor formulation in the dynamics of the discourse event (bottom-up search). Thus, the data obtained in the focus group interactions are presented in sequence, so that the discourse topics and themes are maintained. The relevant vehicles which allow for the systematic metaphor construction are underlined and words and expressions which are important for the metaphor emergence appear in italics. After each transcription sequence involving the verbal interaction of two or more participants, an analysis of the discourse dynamics is conducted.

4.1 Systematic metaphors related to [violence/media]

VIOLENCE IS A PRODUCT MANUFACTURED BY THE MEDIA
The metaphor identified above, incorporated in the discourse interaction of three of the participants in the two focus groups, suggests that in Brazil the media 'trivializes' violence by transforming it into a product that is consumed. As such, it has the power to change people's values as regards the severity of the phenomenon. Seeing violence as a product manufactured by the media affects the way it is perceived by people, in general, aggravating their sense of insecurity. The process of trivializing violence passes through a process of sensationalization, just as happens

typically with advertising commercial products. Such an effect can be identified in the discourse produced by some of the participants, as the excerpts[4] in Figure 1 below, make clear.

"What" (".what [that] television <u>transmits</u>") (l.35), suggests, in general, all that is transmitted in terms of news or information across a whole range of TV programs. On line 38, Ana's comment that "…you learn from TV", presents violence as not just something that is transmitted but, more actively, learned. She reinforces this idea on line 39, saying that "…you learn how to make a bomb". This learning process becomes, on lines 59–60, "the cause" for a change "in the mind of the person". This change (see, below, the metaphor *VIOLENCE IS A CONSTRAINING FORCE*) is reinforced by the expression *passa* (literally translated as "<u>passes</u>", meaning 'violence becomes') on lines 64–65, which is associated with a change or inversion of values (l.44), in which what was once "wrong" (l.61, 62) becomes "normal" (l. 65) or "routine" (l.64), by the frequency and intensity of news about violence on television, "of so much that you see on TV" (l.63). We understand that "see on TV" is cognitively related to the conceptual metaphor LEARNING IS SEEING which derives from UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING. However, as suggested by the participant's talk, the intense exposure to violence disseminated by the media appears to be able to cause not only a change in people's minds, but, actually to go beyond the learning process and change values.

It is interesting to note that in her discourse, the participant, not only includes violence in the media but also perpetrators of violence, stereotyped and metonymically represented by the 'robber', who gets a feeling of pleasure/satisfaction for "being in the media" (l.41) as a result of his lawless behavior.

Celso (see Figure 2 below) continues the discussion topic. He agrees with the first participant (Ana), making explicit the idea that what television transmits is a PRODUCT, describing the media as fabricating violence (l. 86). In addition, he reiterates the idea of an inversion of values (l.91). This participant also highlights the idea that the surfeit of news items or information which focus on violence generates fear in people's minds, as stated on lines 89 and 90, "…what <u>comes in the mind</u> is" "..is fear persecution" (see below, the metaphor *FEAR AS A RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE IS A FORM OF IMPRISONMENT*).

Mateus, one of the participants in FG2 develops this topic further by reinforcing the view that violence is intensely and continuously disseminated "from the time you link the television in the morning" "…to the last program" (see Figure 3,

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4. Excerpts from the participants' talk are presented in Figures 1–11. Column one contains the Portuguese transcription, column two a word-by-word translation and column three a colloquial English version (without transcription markings). We have cited the word-for-word translations in the body of the text. Readers are encouraged to check them against the versions in the Figures.

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
33.	Eu <u>vejo</u> assim é,	I <u>see</u> so it is,	I see
34.	..aquilo que,	..that what,	that
35.	..o que que a televisão <u>trans-mite</u> hoje em dia,	..what that television <u>trans-mits</u> today in day,	what TV broadcasts nowa-days
36.	…A TV ta na casa de todas as pessoas,	…A TV is in the house of all people,	and TV is in everyone's house
37.	…então eu <u>vejo</u> assim,	..so I <u>see</u> this way,	so I see
38.	…que você aprende na TV como <u>fazer</u> um assalto,	that you learn from TV how to <u>make</u> an assault,	that you learn from the TV how to rob
39.	..você aprende como fazer uma bomba,	you learn how to make a bomb,	you learn how to make a bomb
40.	..você <u>vê</u>	you <u>see</u>	you see
41.	…que o assaltante ele se <u>sente</u> bem por estar <u>na</u> mídia NE,	…that the robber he <u>feels</u> good for being <u>in</u> the me-dia isn't it,	that the robber feels ok for being in the media isn't it
43.	..então eu <u>vejo</u> que é,	..so I <u>see</u> that is,	so I see that
44.	..<u>valores</u> que eu antigamente existiam,	..<u>values</u> that I at old times existed,	old values one used to have
45.	…que a pessoa tinha pelo menos aquela <u>questão</u>,	…that the person had at least that <u>question</u>,	that the person had at least the thought
46.	..que eu tenho uma família	..that I have a family	I have a family
47.	eu tenho um nome a <u>zelar</u>	I have a name to <u>zeal</u>	I have a name to take care of
59.	aaa(2) eu <u>vejo</u> assim o que causa isso na,	aaa(2) I <u>see</u> this way what causes this in,	I see what causes that in
60.	..mente da pessoa então coisa que antigamente,	..the mind of the person so thing that in old times,	one's mind something that in the past
61.	…eram erradas	…were wrong	used to be wrong
62.	coisa que de repente pros seus <u>valores</u> não eram corretas	Thing that suddenly for your <u>values</u> were not right	things that according to your values were not right
63.	de tanto você vê na TV	of so much that you see on TV	because of seeing so much of it on TV
64.	<u>passa</u> a ser corriqueiro,	<u>passes</u> to be routine,	It becomes routine
65.	.. <u>passa</u> a ser normal entao nao tem problema de repente você roubar,	..<u>passes</u> to be normal so there is no problem if sud-denly you rob,	.it becomes normal, so it doesn't seem to be a prob-lem if you rob

Figure 1. FG1: lines 33–40; 43–47; 59–65 (Ana)

below, ll. 122–123). Such intensity in the dissemination of news about violence is metaphorically marked: "…we <u>eat</u>, <u>live</u> and <u>drink</u> violence" (l. 128).

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
84.	só <u>adicionando</u> mais ao que a Ana,	…just <u>adding</u> more to what Ana,	Just adding to
85.	…ao comentário que ela <u>fez</u>,	…to the comment that she <u>made</u>,	the comment Ana made
86.	…a <u>questão</u> da mídia eu <u>acho</u> que ela <u>fabrica</u>,	..the <u>question</u> of the media I <u>find</u> that it <u>fabricates</u>,	I think that media fabricates
87.	..a violência ela vai distinguir,	..the violence it is going to distinguish,	violence it comes in different forms
88.	..quando a gente sai de casa o,	..when the people go out of the house,	when we go out
89.	..que <u>vem</u> na mente é assim,	..what <u>comes in the mind</u> is so,	what comes to mind is
90.	..é medo perseguição,	..is fear persecution,	is the fear of being followed
91.	..certo enfim a inversão de <u>valores</u> como foi explicado pela Ana,	..right then the inversion of <u>values</u> as was explained by Ana,	right so, it is the inversion of values that Ana explained

Figure 2. FG1: lines 84–91 (Celso)

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
121.	…então são coisas que são <u>difundidas</u>	…so they're things that are <u>spread</u>	so they're things that are broadcast
122.	da hora que você liga a televisão de manhã	from the time you link the television in the morning	from the time you switch on the TV in the morning
123.	.. ao último programa que você vai assistir	.. to the last program you watch	to the last program you watch
124.	seja novela,	be it a novel,	be it a soap opera
125.	seja	be it	be it
126.	..qualquer coisa	..anything	anything
127.	a gente	the people	We
128.	…nós <u>comemos</u>, <u>vivemos</u> e <u>bebemos</u> violência.	… we <u>eat</u>, <u>live</u> and <u>drink</u> violence.	we eat, live and drink violence.
129.	.. Do meu <u>ponto de vista</u>,	..from my <u>point of view</u>,	from my point of view
130.	… é até utópico,	…it is even utopian,	it is even utopian
131.	é que a violência não está tão <u>agravada</u>	it is that the violence is not so <u>aggravated</u>	violence is not as aggravated
132.	.. quanto	..as	as
133.	… se pensa que ela está,	…we think it is,	we think it is
134.	ela é mais <u>difundida</u>	it is more <u>disseminated</u>	it is more broadcast
135.	do que <u>realizada</u>	than <u>realized</u>	than it is really taking place

Figure 3. FG2: lines 121–135 (Mateus)

The previously mentioned learning process reaches, in the discussion dynamics developed in two different groups (FG1 and FG2), a conception of a *PRODUCT THAT IS CONSUMED*. This observation is important, since it reflects a recurrent way of thinking across groups. Furthermore, Mateus suggests that the media not only disseminates a product, but creates it, when he says that "…violence is not so aggravated" (l.131), "it is more disseminated" (l.134), "than realized" (l.135).

The next participant in FG2 (Ana Lívia) develops the previous participants' ideas by agreeing with the intensity with which the media, metonymically a person, disseminates its PRODUCT by making it "… more present in the life of all the world." (Figure 4, below, ll. 209–210)

In Figure 5 below, the participant alludes to the frequency of such a PRODUCT in everyday TV programs, at convenient times for exposure and CONSUMING (FG2, ll. 218–224).

The trivialization issue is explicitly resumed on line 232, with the expression *banal*, and with a prototypical example of over-exposure to the consequences of a violent act, such as death, in (ll.233–234), "the people are there", "the corpse is lying". Such trivialization is exemplified by the fact that people at the crime scene which is being broadcast are waving to the audience: "…the people …giving bye," (ll. 235–236). The same way that in (ll. 239–242), these facts become normality: ".. it is like it turned something normal for them, the person not ..gets scared anymore with that "as if it turned into…something normal…the person is no longer shocked with that." Although, the reference is to those at the crime scene, the moral change (change in moral values) indirectly applies to the TV viewers in general. That is, the participant reaffirms the change in values promoted by the media, between right and wrong, or between things that should not be normal, but that become normal due to overexposure and trivialization.

In short, the media manufactures violence as a product to be consumed and that has the effect of changing people's values as regards the severity of the phenomenon of violence, and aggravating feelings of insecurity. The process of trivialization of violence takes it through a process of sensationalizing it, just as for any

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
206.	então assim, a violência,	so, then, the violence,	so, then, violence
207.	.. ela tá presente	..it is present	it is present
208.	e eu vejo que a mídia,	and I see that the media,	and I see that it is the media
209.	ela que faz questão de que ela esteja cada vez mais presente	makes a question that violence be each time more present	that makes a point that violence be more present
210.	na vida de todo mundo.	in the life of all the world.	in everybody's lives

Figure 4. FG2: lines 206–210; 216–242 (Lívia)

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
216.	E <u>trazendo</u> aqui pro Ceará, né	And <u>bringing</u> it to Ceara, isn't it	And bringing it home to Ceara, isn't it
217.	a gente <u>vê</u> que <u>os programas que falam</u> sobre violência,	the people (we) <u>see</u> that <u>the programs that speak</u> about violence,	we see the times the programmes about violence are on
218.	qual é o horário deles?	what is the time of them?	what time are they
219.	São bem na hora do almoço,	They are right at the hour of lunch,	They are on right at lunch-time
220.	.. que é no horário que você chega	..that is the time that you arrive	it's the time you come home
221.	ou chega do trabalho	or arrive from the work	or arrive from work
222.	ou então vai para pra ligar a televisão	or then go to link the television	or then you go to switch the TV on
223.	e as pessoas não se importam de tá comendo	and the people do not give importance if they are eating	and people don't care if they're eating
224.	.. e tá assistindo programas	..and are watching programs	and watching the programs
225.	que	that	that
226.	.. não <u>dá</u> pra <u>passar</u> a imagem,	..not <u>give</u> to <u>pass</u> the image,	are not allowed to show the clear images
227.	mas você vê que eles	but you see that they	but you see that they
228.	desfocam a câmera	de-focus the image	blur the image
229.	e acaba aparecendo	and ends showing	and they end up on TV anyway
230.	Pra população é um pouco,	To the population it is a bit,	For the population, it is a little
231.	já <u>ficou</u> a <u>questão</u> do	already <u>stayed</u> the <u>question</u> of it	already became
232.	.. do banal	..of the banal	trivial
233.	porque as pessoas tão ali,	because the people are there,	because people are there
234.	tá o cadáver estendido,	the corpse is lying,	there's a body there lying on the ground
235.	aí <u>fica</u> o pessoal fazendo,	then the people <u>stay</u> doing,	and there are people
236.	.. <u>dando</u> tchau,	..<u>giving</u> bye,	waving good-bye
237.	<u>fica</u> <u>um monte</u> de menino pulando,	<u>stays</u> <u>a mount</u> of boys jumping,	a bunch of boys jumping
238.	então,	so,	so
239.	.. é como se <u>virasse</u>	.. it is like it <u>turned</u>	it is like
240.	algo normal pra eles,	something normal for them,	something normal for them
241.	a pessoa não	the person not	the person does not
242.	…. se espanta mais com aquilo.	..gets scared anymore with that.	get scared anymore

Figure 5. FG2: lines 216–234 (Mateus)

other product that is typically commercialized. The participants' interactions show that the systematic metaphor is incorporated in the talk of Ana and Celso (FG1) and of Mateus and Ana Lívia (FG2).

VIOLENCE IS A SPREADING CONTAGIOUS DISEASE

The metaphor *VIOLENCE IS A SPREADING CONTAGIOUS DISEASE* is closely related to the metaphor *VIOLENCE IS A PRODUCT MANUFACTURED BY THE MEDIA*, since one of the reasons for the belief in the dissemination of violence is the conceptualization that it is a product broadly disseminated by the media (e.g., [FG1, ll. 121–123] and [FG1, ll.131–135]). We might suggest, from the data, that the media acts as a means of spreading violence contagiously as a disease. At the same time, through the dynamic of the discourse, participants discuss how this contagious disease could be contained or prevented (e.g., the role of the government providing security, as Figure 8 shows). The first move for the creation of this metaphor, in the interaction dynamics between participants, is accomplished by a participant in focus group 1 (Susan), when she expresses the idea that violence "affects" people or groups, as FG1, l. 451 and FG1, l. 453, show. We have to consider that the meaning of *afetado* ('being affected'), in lines 451 and 453, is clearly indeterminate. People can be affected psychologically and/or physically, injuring mind and body (see Figure 6).

The second move is realized by Celso (Figure 7), who "adds" (l.455) that such affection creates a prejudiced look, on (l.457), with the comment "we create this view prejudiced of everything". Additionally, prejudice, as a kind of affection, is incorporated in people, it penetrates people, as he states on line 460, "…we are full of prejudice". Therefore, the PERSON as a CONTAINER, PUTS IN SUCH PREJUDICE, and prevents other people from getting close. That is, as a side effect, if getting close is avoided, 'beneficial' interactions are impeded. If we take the sense of well-being as a state of healthy attitude, prejudice is a signal of social malaise, creating attitudes of social weathering. In a continuum, we have the INSIDE/OUTSIDE metonymy, as

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
450.	então eu acredito,	so I believe,	I believe
451.	..assim que não tenha um grupo que não seja afe-tado por conta da violência urbana,	..that there isn't one group that is not being affected by account of urban violence,	that there isn't any group that s not being affected by urban violence
452.	..de uma forma ou de outra,	..in one form or the other,	in one way or another
453.	..as pessoas vão ser afetadas.	..people will be affected.	people will be affected

Figure 6. FG1: lines 450–453 (Susan)

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
455.	E eu acrescento mais,	And I add more,	And I add more
456.	..nós temos um olhar precon-ceituoso,	..we have a look prejudiced,	we have a prejudiced view
457.	…nós criamos esse olhar preconceituoso de tudo,	…we create this view preju-diced of everything,	we create this prejudiced look of everyone
458.	…por conta da violência,	…by account of violence,	because of violence
459.	…já tinha porque nós somos preconceituosos,	…it already had because we are prejudiced,	it was already there because we are prejudiced
460.	..de um modo geral nós so-mos cheios de preconceito,	..of a general mode we are full of prejudice,	.generally speaking we're full of prejudice
461.	…agora nessa questão mais nítida,	…now in this question more clear,	now about this clearer issue
462.	..a questão da violência que está em evidencia,	..the question of violence that is in evidence,	the issue of violence is what is in evidence
463.	..o seu olhar é preconceituoso,	..your viewing is prejudiced,	your view is prejudiced
464.	..é sempre preconceituoso,	..it is always prejudiced,	it is always prejudiced
465.	..se se aproxima alguém,	..if if comes close someone,	if someone comes close
466.	…você já fica assim,	…you already stay like this,	you already keep your distance

Figure 7. FG1: lines 455–464 (Celso)

people keep their distance from anyone who might be likely to cause them any sort of harm or injury.

At another point of the previous interaction between participants of FG1, (Figure 8, below), Antonio uses an extended analogy to speak about violence and government action, in response to violence in terms of sickness, remedy and pre-ventative measures.

The analogy begins on lines 213–214 with the setting of the scenario in which "you are sick" and develops on lines 215–216 to a remedy prescribed by the doc-tor. In a further extension of the scenario, the audience is asked to imagine the inevitability of getting sick if preventative measures are not taken (ll. 217–218); in a metaphor within the analogy, the sickness comes "to knock on the door" (l. 219). On line 220, mention of the government shifts the analogy into a metaphorical scenario, in which the government stands as the agent who could prevent the sick-ness of urban violence but decides not to do so.

Since there is no prevention (by the government), you let "the disease arrive" (l.218). The idea of something contagious is transmitted by the expression *deixar a doença chegar* ('let the disease arrive'). That is, what is not contained spreads itself. However, it is important to observe, in the sequence, the expression "to knock on

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
213.	você muitas vezes prefere remediar,	you many times prefer to remedy,	you prefer to treat
214.	..você esta <u>doente</u>,	..you are <u>sick</u>,	when you are sick
215.	você vai no médico que receite algo pra você ficar bom	you go to the doctor that prescribes something for you to stay good	you go see a doctor who prescribes something for you to get better
216.	daquilo que você já esta <u>sofrendo</u>,	from what you are already <u>suffering</u>,	from what you are suffering
217.	..quando você sabe que você pode <u>ficar doente</u> mas você não se <u>previne</u>,	..When you know that you can <u>stay sick</u> but you do not <u>prevent</u> yourself,	when you know you may get sick, but you don't protect yourself from that
218.	..então você <u>deixa</u> a <u>doença</u> <u>chegar</u>,	..so you <u>leave the disease</u> <u>arrive</u>,	then you let the disease arrive
219.	..<u>bater na sua porta</u>,	..<u>to knock on your door</u>,	it knocks on your door
220.	Então, assim, o governo <u>faz</u> assim,	So, thus, the government <u>does</u> so,	So, the government does the following
221.	..eu <u>vou tomar</u> uma atitude de remediar aquela situa-ção,	..I <u>go to take</u> an attitude to remedy that <u>situation</u>,	I'm going to take action to avoid that situation
222.	..me <u>fugiu</u> a palavra mas é mais ou menos isso,	.. from me <u>escaped</u> the word but it is more or less this,	I can't remember the word not, but, it is something like that
223.	eu prefiro <u>fazer</u> assim do que atitudes <u>preventivas</u>,	I prefer <u>to do</u> so than at-titudes <u>preventive</u>,	I prefer to do like this than to take preventative attitudes
395.	os direitos humanos não estão <u>aí</u>	the human rights they are not <u>there</u>	human rights are not there
396.	eu <u>volta</u> pras atitudes pre-ventivas,	I <u>go back</u> to the <u>preventive</u> attitudes,	I go back to preventative measures
397.	..eles não estão <u>lá</u> no inicio,	..they are not <u>there</u> in the beginning,	they are not there in the beginning

Figure 8. FG1: lines 213–223; 395–397 (Antonio)

your door" (l. 219). Here, we find the limit of protection — the door — the barrier between INSIDE and OUTSIDE. Violence as a disease, gets so close that it is able to reach the body which, in the metaphorical process, represents in terms of human rights, the security limit (l.395), which is represented by 'being inside the house'.

The idea of containment is elaborated further in connection with another sys-tematic metaphor *FEAR AS A RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE IS A FORM OF IMPRISONMENT* to be considered next.

FEAR AS A RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE IS A FORM OF IMPRISONMENT.

The metaphor *FEAR AS A RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE IS A FORM OF IMPRISONMENT* first emerges in Celso's discourse in Figure 2, (ll.89–90), where fear is highlighted, and again in lines 455–466, Figure 7, where it is stated that prejudice impedes people's interactions. Therefore, in various ways, this metaphor is pervasive across the discourse dynamics. It emerges in the discussions related to different discourse topics. In Figure 9, Celso elaborates metaphors of CONFINEMENT, such as not being able to walk and not being able to see horizons (l.253). The human being "by account of the violence" (l.255), has his freedom limited and "stays imprisoned" (l.252).

In another section of the same discussion, Susan uses the metaphor of closing oneself to the world (l.342) and limiting one's life (l.345). As a mother and teacher, she finds the need to have her son "live inside of a box" (l.348), due to fear caused by violence.

Antonio, in Figure 11, uses a more explicit PRISON metaphor: "…you are in private arrest" (l.362). Like Susan (ll. 342, 348, Figure 10), he expresses the idea of CONTAINMENT (l.363), and limiting life. Such an idea is now manifested in Antonio's discourse as deprivation (l.364), and also in Susan's (l.345 in Figure 10).

Earlier in the talk (Figure 12), Antonio described how "going out of the house" (l. 61), is limited by a mental "calling in ring" (ll. 62, 65), reinforcing the lack of freedom already expressed by Celso (l.253, Figure 10), as a city (or nation) in a war zone area.

In the second focus group, Mateus, in Figure 13, also uses the metaphor/ metonymy of locking to describe how people respond to the fear of violence (ll. 670, 671)

Figures 9–12 demonstrate how the INSIDE/OUTSIDE metonymy and metaphors operate through the dynamic of discourse. Expressions, such as: *fica preso* ('stays imprisoned') (Figure 9, l. 252); *se fechar* ('close yourself'), *limitar* ('to limit'), *dentro de uma caixa* ('inside a box') (Figure 10, ll.342, 345 and 348 respectively); *cárcere privado* ('private arrest'), *se tranca, se priva*, ('lock yourself, 'deprive yoursel') (Figure 11, ll.362, 363 and 364 respectively); *cárcere privado* ('private prison'),

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
	..e eu vejo essa questão da	..and I see this question of	and I see this issue of
252.	liberdade o ser humano ele fica preso,	freedom, the human being he stays imprisoned,	freedom, the human being gets tied
253.	..ele não caminha,	..he doesn't walk,	he doesn't walk
254.	..ele não consegue ver horizontes,	..he doesn't get to see horizons,	he can't see horizons
255.	..por conta da violência	..by account of the violence	because of violence

Figure 9. FG1: lines 252–255 (Celso)

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
342.	a cada dia que <u>passa</u> os efeitos são você <u>se fechar</u> pro mundo,	at each day that passes the effects are you <u>close your-self</u> to the world,	every day the effects are you lock yourself to the world
343.	…porque você <u>tem</u> medo,	…because you <u>have</u> fear,	because you're afraid
344.	..e tanto a Ana como eu somos mães e a gente,	and so much Ana like me are mothers and the people (we),	and just like Ana, I'm a mother too and we
345.	..tem que <u>limitar</u> a vida dos filhos da gente,	..have <u>to limit</u> the life of our children,	.have to limit our children's life
346.	..quantos adolescentes que a gente conhece que o pai e a mãe não deixam <u>pegar</u> um ônibus,	..how many adolescents that the people (we) know that the father and the mother not leave to <u>catch</u> a bus,	we know of so many adolescents whose parents don't allow them to catch a bus
347.	..com medo de alguma coisa acontecer com eles	..with fear of something happens with them	for fear something might happen to them
348.	..você meio que faz com que seu filho viva <u>dentro de uma caixa</u>,	..you half that make with that your son live <u>inside of a box</u>,	you kind of make your child live inside a box
349.	..pelo medo	..for the fear	because of fear

Figure 10. FG1: lines 342–349 (Susan)

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
361.	Era mais ou menos isso que eu ia falar,	It was more or less this that I was going to say,	It was more or less what I was going to say
362.	…você estar em <u>cárcere privado</u>,	…you are in <u>private arrest</u>,	you are under house arrest
363.	..você <u>se tranca</u>,	..you <u>lock yourself</u>,	you lock yourself in
364.	..e você <u>se priva</u> de tudo que você poderia fazer,	..and you <u>deprive yourself</u> of all that you could do,	and you deprive yourself of everything you could do

Figure 11. FG1: lines 361–364 (Antonio)

se trancar ('lock yourself'), *toque de recolher* ('curfew'), *se privar* ('deprive your-self') (Figure 12, ll.59, 60, 62, 68, 73, respectively); *se tranca* ('lock yourself'), *se prende* ('imprison themselves'), *[não] sair* ('[don't] go out') (Figure13, ll.670, 671 and 672, respectively) are representative of the INSIDE movement as a response to fear or insecurity. By being INSIDE, creating limits or barriers in order to keep their distance from acts of violence, people believe they are safer, since being OUTSIDE metonymically represents being exposed to danger.

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
58.	viver como a gente falou anteriormente	live like the people (we) spoke before	to live, as we said before
59.	em <u>cárcere privado</u>	in <u>private prison</u>	in private prison
60.	se <u>trancar</u> numa nação de atitudes sensatas,	<u>lock yourself</u> in a nation of reasonable attitudes,	to lock yourself in a nation of reasonable attitudes
61.	…ou alguém que não saia fora de casa <X…X>	…or someone that not go out of the house <X…X>	or someone who doesn't *go out*
62.	a gente tem <u>toque de recolher,</u>	the people (we) have <u>calling in ring,</u>	we have a curfew
63.	…né,	…isn't it,	right
64.	…A gente assim,	…The people (we) so,	I mean
65.	não tem <u>um sino que soa</u>	not have *a* <u>bell that rings</u>	we don't have a bell that rings
66.	e a policia <u>fica fazendo</u>	and the police <u>stays</u> <u>doing</u>	and the police doesn't
67.	<X…X> casa,	(X…X) to the house,	(tell you to go) home
68.	…mas tem um <u>toque de recolher</u> até determinada hora,	…but has a <u>calling in ring</u> until certain hour,	but we have a curfew, up to a certain time
69.	…a gente pode ficar na rua,	…the people (we) can stay on the street,	we can stay on the streets
70.	…depois volta pra casa,	…after goes back home,	but afterwards you have to go back home
71.	…Então,	…Then,	So
72.	…sim, sim a sensatez está,	…yes, yes the reasonableness is,	yes, the reasonableness is
73.	…em como se reage nessa <u>coisa de se privar</u> de <u>se trancar,</u>	…in how you react in this thing of <u>depriving yourself</u> of <u>locking yourself,</u>	how you react in this thing of depriving yourself
74.	… talvez sim	… maybe yes	maybe yes

Figure 12. FG1: lines 58–73 (Antonio)

Therefore, the participants' discourses converge as regards the effects of suffering threats of violent acts. If these acts are powerful enough to paralyze people, interfere with their life prospects, limit their actions, lead to a feeling of imprisonment which interferes with or impedes their well being, it is possible to infer that fear leads to a life of self-punitive restrictions, like the kind of life which is lived in a prison. It is worth highlighting that this metaphor is linked to the first two metaphors already discussed because the media's actions reinforce the perception of insecurity and the feeling of fear, powerfully interfering with people's behaviors.

The global appreciation of the discourse dynamics allows us to infer that the media usually render violence so spectacular or intense that people have an indirect experience of violence inside their homes, reinforcing beliefs, values,

	Original Brazilian Portuguese	Word-for-word translation	Colloquial translation
667.	é a fase da defesa	it is the phase of the defense	it is the defense phase
668.	que é onde a <u>maior</u> <u>parte</u> da sociedade	that is where the <u>bigger</u> <u>part</u> of the society	that is where the majority of the society
669.	vive atualmente,	live nowadays,	lives nowadays
670.	.. <u>se tranca</u>,	.. <u>lock themselves,</u>	they lock themselves up
671.	<u>se prende</u>	<u>imprison themselves</u>	they imprison themselves
672.	não deixa o menino <u>sair</u>	not allow the boy to <u>go out</u>	they don't allow the boy to go out

Figure 13. FG2: lines 667–672 (Mateus)

stereotypes, and emotions related to such acts and their actors. Violence becomes ubiquitous. It is everywhere, increasing the sense of insecurity, uncertainty, and strongly inculcating fear in the population. Such a state of affairs creates severe constraints to people's everyday lives as expressed by INSIDE/OUTSIDE metonymies and metaphors.

5.   Final considerations

We have argued that the systematic metaphors described in the previous section, built from the analysis of the complex discourse dynamics of the focus groups, contribute to the framing metaphor VIOLENCE IS A CONSTRAINING FORCE, given the media's sensationalization or trivialization of violence with the exacerbation of insecurity and fear as a result. The understanding of violence as a disease that spreads itself by various forms and, among them, by the programs broadcast by the media, leads to impediments related to the exercising of freedom and interactions with other people. Additionally, an interesting issue to be addressed further by future research has to do with the fact that, although not substantiated by the data gathered from the participants' discourse, it could be hypothesized that there is a relation or link between the systematic metaphors VIOLENCE IS A SPREADING CONTAGIOUS DISEASE and VIOLENCE IS A PRODUCT MANUFACTURED BY THE MEDIA where the latter (the PRODUCT) could be thought of as the poison that causes the contagious disease. However plausible such an inference cannot be incorporated as part of the evidence from the analyses performed on the data and remains, therefore, only as an issue which can be investigated by future research. For the purposes of the major project, which includes this research, it is hypothesised that the systematic metaphors identified, as well as the framing metaphor, constitute ways of thinking that affect people's perception of violence, of themselves, and

of others, and become complicating or impeding factors for the development of values, attitudes and beliefs that promote human empathy. Discourses about violence, prime among them, the media agenda, lead individuals, communities and nations to develop conceptions, values and behaviors relative to growing urban violence that reinforce individualism and a retreat to the 'inside'.

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