IDENTITY PROJECTIONS IN UTTERANCES ABOUT IMMIGRANTS FROM THE AMERICAS TO BRAZIL

(Projeções identitárias no dizer sobre imigrantes das américas no Brasil)

(Proyecciones de identidad al decir sobre inmigrantes de las Américas en Brasil)

Carla Nunes Vieira Tavares
(Universidade Federal de Uberlândia - UFU)

Recebido em: julho de 2020
Aceito em: março de 2021
DOI: 10.26512/les.v22i2.32723

1 I thank Gautam Ramesh for his co-work with the translation, technical and language editing of this paper; and Sybele Macedo for the exchange of ideas relating psychoanalysis theory. I also thank CAPES, through PRINT program, for sponsoring the presentation of this research at the 3rd DiscourseNet Congress, in September, 2019, Université Cergy-Pontoise, FR.

2 PhD in Applied Linguistics (UNICAMP) and in Language Sciences (University of Franche-Comté, FR). Professor at the Faculty of Modern Languages: English and Literature, Program of Post-Graduation on Linguistics Studies; Institute of Languages and Linguistics; Federal University of Uberlandia. carlatav@ufu.br.
ABSTRACT
Based on the French-Brazilian discourse analysis, this paper analyzes comments made on cyber news articles in digital news portals. It aims to problematize the Brazilian identity constitution in the confrontation with immigrants from the Americas, especially from Bolivia, Venezuela and Haiti. Although the researched articles from cyber news insist on the insignificance of the impact on the host country generated by this influx, the comments show an ambivalence of the Brazilian regarding the reception of immigrants. The gestures of interpretation have focused the referencing processes, particularly the designation (Guimarães, 2005), and imaginary formations (Pêcheux, [1975]1997), thus enabling to spot a discursive functioning that points out paranoiac traces on the Brazilian identity re-construction. Consequently, referring to some concepts from Freud-Lacanian psychoanalysis, the gestures of analysis discuss the dissonances between the structuring network of identifications of the Brazilian identity constitution and the immigration as a discursive event with the potential to weaken it. Perceptions of the Brazilian subject are evidenced in the sense of fixing and / or redefining the limits of oneself, as well as the protection and / or reaffirmation of identity.
Keywords: Identity; Immigration; Projection; Paranoia; French-Brazilian Discourse Analysis.

RESUMO
Com base na análise do discurso franco-brasileiro, este artigo analisa comentários feitos em artigos de ciber notícias em portais de notícias digitais. O objetivo é problematizar a constituição da identidade brasileira no confronto com imigrantes das Américas, especialmente da Bolívia, Venezuela e Haiti. Embora as ciber notícias pesquisadas insistam na insignificância do impacto no país anfitrião gerado por esse influxo, os comentários mostram uma ambivalência do brasileiro em relação à recepção de imigrantes. Os gestos da interpretação focaram os processos de referenciação, particularmente a designação (Guimarães, 2005), e as formações imaginárias (Pêcheux, [1975] 1997), permitindo assim detectar um funcionamento discursivo que aponta traços paranóicos na reconstrução da identidade brasileira. Consequentemente, remetendo a alguns conceitos da psicanálise freudo-lacaniana, os gestos de análise discutem as dissonâncias entre a rede estruturante de identificações da constituição identitária brasileira e a imigração das Américas como acontecimento discursivo com potencial de enfraquecê-la. Percebem-se movimentos do sujeito brasileiro no sentido de fixar e/ou redefinir os limites de si mesmo, bem como a proteção e/ou reafirmação da identidade.
Palavras-chave: Identidade; Imigração; Projeção; Paranoia; Análise do Discurso Franco-Brasileiro.

RESUMEN
Basado en el análisis del discurso francobrasileño, este artículo analiza los comentarios hechos en artículos de noticias cibernéticas en portales de noticias digitales. El objetivo es problematizar la constitución de identidad brasileña en confrontación con inmigrantes de las Américas, especialmente de Bolivia, Venezuela y Haití. Aunque las noticias cibernéticas investigadas hayan insistido en la insignificancia del impacto generado por este influjo en el país de acogida, los comentarios enseñan una ambivalencia del brasileño con respecto a la recepción de inmigrantes. Los gestos de interpretación se centran en los procesos de referenciación, en particular la designación (Guimarães, 2005), y las formaciones imaginarias (Pêcheux, [1975] 1997), lo que nos permitió detectar un funcionamiento discursivo que señala rastros paranoicos en la reconstrucción de la identidad brasileña. En consecuencia, refiriéndose a algunos conceptos del psicoanálisis Freud-lacaniana, los gestos de análisis discuten las disonancias entre la red estructuradora de identificaciones de la constitución de la identidad brasileña y la inmigración desde las Américas como un evento discursivo con el potencial de debilitarla. Se perciben los movimientos del sujeto brasileño con vistas a fijar y/o redefinir los límites de sí mismo, así como la protección y/o reafirmación de la identidad.
Palabras clave: Identidad; Inmigración; Proyección; Paranoia; Análisis franco-brasileña del discurso.

INTRODUÇÃO
From 2010 through 2019, Brazil has been experiencing significant growth in the migration movement from other countries in the Americas\(^3\), notably Haiti, Bolivia and Venezuela, due primarily to natural disasters and political and economic crises affecting these countries. Widely covered by the media with contradictory and diverse traits and idiosyncrasies, migration has raised comments in cyber news and journalists’ columns on digital news and online magazine portals. This paper derives from a research project that has collected cyber news from the most accessed news websites in Brazil from 2017-2019 in order to analyze the discursive representations of the self (the Brazilians) and the other (the immigrants from Americas). The websites from which the cyber news were selected rank among the most popular in Brazil. The selection criteria for choosing the articles whose comments are analyzed in this work were: 1) to be available on websites considered popular in Brazil as shown by a high number of hits and comments, which constitute the *corpus* of the research, and 2) to approach the theme of the immigration of American populations to Brazil from a favorable perspective towards the immigrants.

This article particularly aims to analyze the discursive functioning of a parcel of the corpus, in order to discuss the effects of immigration from the Americas to Brazil on Brazilian identity constitution. The corpus selected is composed by the comment section of four cyber news articles addressing the immigration of populations from the Americas to Brazil retrieved from G1, UOL and Veja Magazine during the period of the research. The set of selected cyber news articles highlights the low significance of the impact on the host country generated by the migratory influx and/or the benefits of migration to the host country. Special attention is given to the headlines and leads of the texts, as the content of the cyber news is not the focus of this work.

1. **Cyber News, Identity and Discourse**

Cyber news is comprised of journal articles, columns, and blogs on news websites. The main function of cyber news is to be a participatory and opinionated journalistic practice in cyberspace (LÉVY, 1999), because they are public and, as such, open to the perspectives of internet users in the form of comments. Comments, in turn, are statements made by the public on articles from cyber news sources. Commenting abilities are made available and encouraged, thus they can be considered a discursive practice as an effect of cyber news. Users, while protected by an illusion of anonymity\(^4\), engage with the content by expressing themselves actively and interactively.

\(^3\) Every time America(s) is/are mentioned in this paper it refers do countries from Central and South America.

\(^4\) Anonymity is not guaranteed because it is possible to track the IP of the computer, and, due to the use of cookies by certain websites(and, despite being aware of this), the users are anchored in the illusion, like an imaginary construct, that their identity and privacy will be protected.
Concerning the identity constitution, a fundamental notion to this work, it is considered as a permanent (re)construction of the instance of the ego, this last one defined accordingly to Freud ([1923] 1980\(^5\)), as an imaginary construct constituted by identifications. The identifications are one of the subjectivation processes established with several different traits of objects and discursivities in one’s life course. Another relevant point about identity is that it is affirmed against the difference (Silva, 2000). Thus, its eruption postpones a fixation of meanings or the consummation of an idea. What the identity constitution represents, then, is but a trace of something that cannot be totalized, demanding the consideration of the discursive symbolic systems that supports the idea of identity (SILVA, 2000). Affirming that identities are constructed discursively means that the subject depends on the unstable structure of the language and that the process of signification is always indeterminate, uncertain and faltering, as Silva (2000) and Coracini (2007) point out. Consequently, we are never what we think we are, since the references on which we rely to build our illusion of identity relate to a chain of meanings constituted by language practices and are compared with other identities, which are also not fixed, determined or stable.

The guiding hypothesis of the analysis in the corpus defends that, despite the alleged favorability of immigration purported by cyber news, comments on the journal texts produce contradictory meanings, exposing the fragile constitution of the Brazilian identity when confronted with the foreign Other. The gestures of interpretation of the corpus were anchored in discourse studies, proposed by Pêcheux, drawing upon some concepts and elaborations from Freud-Lacanian psychoanalysis (LACAN, [1949] 1998) as support for the purpose of this research. This reference to psychoanalysis has allowed us to focus on the subjectivity aspect, in order to question how the constitution of the Brazilian identity is affected by the historical event of immigration from the Americas to Brazil, revealed in utterances\(^6\) about it, thus making it a discursive event (PÊCHEUX, [1983] 1997). From the discursive perspective, the concept of subject of language (CORACINI, 2007), constituted by and in language practice, divided by the unconscious and characterized by an inherent contradiction made evident by enunciation, allows us to look at the notion of discourse as a historic and ideological frame to language practices, referred to as the articulation of structure and event (PÊCHEUX, [1983] 1997). Therefore, the analysis of the comments benefits from the investigation of the discursive memory and the interdiscourse (PÊCHEUX, 1999; [1975] 1997), understood as a the functioning of pre-constructed utterance within

---

\(^5\) The first date refers to the year of the copyright whereas the second, to the year of the edition consulted.

\(^6\) Utterance(s) here refer(s) not only to the linearity of a word, statement or any other materiality that express meaning, spoken or written, but to the level of what is said, written or pictured about a certain discursive object, thus materializing a discursive practice. In French, the term commonly used is “le(s) dire(s)”.
the universality order that establishes networks of memory grasped by linguistic traces. Within the same theoretical frame, the concept of imaginary formation (PÊCHEUX, [1975] 1997) has contributed to discuss the discursive positions attributed to the immigrant opposite to that of the Brazilian's in the comments. The imaginary formation refers to the anticipation of the image an interlocutor makes of the other and of oneself in the discursive practices. These concepts along with those from the Freudo-Lacanian works (FREUD, [1923] 1980; LACAN, [1949] 1998), especially the concept of imaginary projection and identification, have enabled the gestures of interpretation of the corpus to address the identity constitution of the Brazilian subject.

The analysis of the comments discusses the marking of the discursive places attributed to the ego and the other in the users' comments, indicating imaginary projections which assumes paranoid contours (DUNKER, 2015). Similarly, the discussion approaches the ways Brazilians are affected in their relationship with the immigrant from the Americas. The imaginary projections were indicted by the way immigrants are referenced in the utterances of the comments, with particular focus on designation (GUIMARÃES, 2005), as well as by the imaginary formations perceived in the corpus, which mark subject positions represented and indicted deictically. The intersection of historicity and subjectivity in the comments builds elements of meaning that point out the imaginary threat immigrants from the Americas represent to the identity construction of the Brazilian subject, whose traits take up paranoid features.

2. THE IMMIGRANT FROM THE AMERICAS: BRAZILIAN'S SELF-SPECTRUM

The analysis of the process of referencing immigrants from the Americas in the comments has privileged the designation addressed to them, which contributes to the discussion of subject positions constructed in their reference processes and by certain special deictics.

For this paper, a set of comments were selected from the corpus. Their discursive functioning points towards generalizations about the immigrants. The utterances within the comments identify the people from the Americas as a cohesive and closed group, characterizing them based on a discursive memory filled with devaluing undertones. The titles and headings of the cyber news articles selected for this work, along with the designations (in italics) in the comments are listed below. They were chosen from the corpus and reproduced here as they appear in the websites, so grammar mistakes were kept in their translation. The whole set of comments is reproduced in full and in Portuguese at the end of this article:

These concepts will be further approached in topics 2.1 and 2.2.
“There is no Immigrant Grant for Venezuelans arriving in Brazil” – Date: Sep. 08, 2018

*Foreigners (UOL01); refugees aggregated from other countries (UOL06); these guys (UOL07); THESE PEOPLE, POOR, THESE IDLE PEOPLE (UOL09)*

“There is no Immigrant Grant for Venezuelans arriving in Brazil” – Lead: Carla Nunes Vieira TAVARES

“Brazilians travels for the third time to bring food to Venezuelans in RR: ‘love for others’” – Lead: Luiz Pimentel, 56, traveled over 5,000 KM in 13 days to carry humanitarian aid. Material will be distributed by the Armed Forces to Venezuelans and underprivileged Brazilians - Date: May, 29, 2019

*venecas; lazy race (G1A01).*

“Bolivia in the Promised Land: Football Unites Dreams and Mitigates Migrant Sorrows in Brazil” – Lead: Major Bolivian clubs open schools in São Paulo and try to rescue talent amid the second-largest migratory wave of the decade in Brazil. - – Date: Apr. 18, 2019

*immigrants (G1CO2); shards, without study (G1C04).*

“How to give R $ 1500 to each Haitian immigrant - without taking anything from Brazilians” – Date: Feb. 11, 2017

*bandits, vagabond Haitians, niggers (V01); invaders (V02, V06); bunch of wretches (V03, V05); so much crap (V05).*

From this set we can infer two inseparable designative groupings that produce effects of meaning as to (i) belonging and (ii) the social value attributed to immigrants, themes that are discussed in the following topics.

### 2.1 Belonging

In the first grouping, there are nouns and adjectives that builds a distinctive separation between those that imaginarily constitute the “in-group” and those that could be considered outsiders or, in other words, foreigners. These last ones comprise the main nationalities rejected by Brazilians, in this case, Venezuelans, Bolivians and Haitians. Concerning foreignness, the designations *refugees (UOL06) and invaders (V02, V06)* refer to the idea of a border that separates not only geo-political territories, but also subjective territorialities. At this point, we refer to Deleuze and Guattari (1997), who propose the notion of territory encompassing a fluid, constant and non-stratified process of the
subject to become, resulting from the production of the desire by the action of machinic and collective enunciation assemblages, both referred to the subjectivation process.

Given the importance to this study of problematizing this binary distinction of those who are allegedly said as ‘insiders’ and those who are said ‘outsiders’ as represented in the primary subject of study, this analysis will henceforth refer to the nations, metaphorical locations from which people and notions arrive from and the people themselves as the “outside”, whereas the people and notions born of domestic places and institutions as the “inside”.

Therefore, considering, on one hand, the territory in the literal and geo-political sense, the comments analyzed evoke the idea of a geographical boundary that indicates those who come from outside, who do not know the laws and regulations and are not necessarily subjected to them, those who do not share the culture and language, and, hence, threaten to destabilize the order. An indication of this resentment is found in the comment UOL06, in which the user believes it is possible to mitigate the conflict by banning the language of the foreigner and imposing, perhaps by law, the language of the host country, Brazil: “The first step is to "obligate" these refugees to speak our language from the land that houses them and not the other way around!”. In this sense, “invader”, another way they refer to immigrants (V02 and V06), could materialize the polysemy of this designation process, as it refers metonymically to outsiders or foreigners: both of the terms “refugees” and “invaders” refer to those who occupy a space to which they do not belong. In the comments, there seems to be a sharp division between the “outside” and the “inside”, along with the idea of a barrier, all of them associated with the political border. For instance, the territory of the Brazilian is doubly stressed by the articulation between the possessive adjective designating the language (“our language”) and the geographical domain that belongs to Brazilians but is housing the foreigner (“the land that houses them”). Along with this gesture of interpretation, the utterance “the land that houses them” may also be parallels the idiomatic expression: “Bite the hand that feeds one”, which could indicate service and reciprocal obligation due to act of hosting the outsiders and the expectation of their appraisal towards the insider, reinforcing even more the separation and distinction between these groups. This effect of meaning is opposite to that of the expectations that globalization and the technologization of society generated in the 1990s, which would be precisely the flexibility of this delimitation. Although this movement pointed to a recomposition of spaces and modalities of political and economic action, thus pointing

---

8 The notion of territory in the works of the authors cited is widely elaborated throughout their work and encompasses a wide range of propositions. In this paper we bring Guattari's synthesis in an interview with Susan Rolnik on this notion: “ Territory can be both a lived space and a perceived system within which a subject feels 'at home'”. Territory is synonymous with appropriation, of a process of subjectivation enclosed in itself. It is the set of projects and representations in which it will pragmatically lead to a whole series of behaviors, investments, in times and in social, cultural, aesthetic, cognitive spaces.” (GUATTARI; ROLNIK, 1986, p. 323)
to the reconfiguration of political and national identity boundaries, what can be observed today is the exact opposite. Never have so many walls, literal and metaphorical, been built to block the transit of people between countries, hence having effects on people’s national identity, even if their borders are contiguous, as it is the case of Venezuela, Bolivia and Brazil.

In the linearity of the utterance – the intradiscourse (PÊCHEUX, [1975] 1997), the sense of separation and distinction is unquestionable. This effect is constructed by slogans such as: “OUT VENEZUELANS” (UOL10), “Out Haitians (…)” (V05); and deictics that spatially mark the distance and the opposition instituted between a "we" and a "they", an "ours" and a "theirs", a territory that would refer to the inside, pledged by those who recognize themselves as Brazilians, and another supposedly admitted as being outside, devoted to the immigrants in utterances, such as "[...] Brazilians [...] refugees aggregated from other countries”, “These refugees [...] our homeland which houses them” (UOL06), “[...] Venezuelan [...] our country” (G1B06), “[...] to think of Brazilians, then we think of others ”(G1C03), “This bunch of wretches here” (V03), among others. Such meaning effects are enhanced through graphic marks, common to the digital medium, such as uppercase spelling and exclamation marks, materially constituting indignation in writing. Indignation is noticeable not only in the semantic field, by the meanings evoked in the words and propositions, but also by means of discourse markers in the written comments, which refer to the tone with which they would be said. The process of designation and referencing the immigrant in the comments of the corpus builds a naturalized and crystallized image of the foreigner through generalization. It produces a meaning effect that unites the group symbolically by attributing only pejorative and disqualifying adjectives to it, generating an antagonism between the immigrant and the Brazilian. The immigrant is therefore placed in the position of a threatening and intrusive object. Consequently, one possible action towards this object is its expurgation. At the discursive level, it is affected through the evaluative opposition between a "we" and a "they" and the silencing of the diversity among the members of that group. The expurgation of the other may function as a subjective strategy resulting from discursive practices of generalization of a group that produce naturalized effects of meaning regarding its referencing process. The other, in this research represented by the immigrant from the Americas, is classified by the process of generalization and placed as someone to be fought and purged.

However, according to the discursive perspective adopted here, since language is opaque, meaning is not transparent and meaning effects are built on the tension between the event and the discursive memory, it is possible that all of this indignation points to the second aspect brought about by the gestures of interpretation of this grouping of comments, which urges us to think about the articulation between frontier and foreignness.
An approximation with the Deleuze and Guattari’s (1997) notion of subjective territory allows us to propose that the ego consists of a territory marked by the unconscious, which works incessantly to promote the return of the repressed. Thus, considering the subjectivation aspect, the articulation between frontier and the foreigner refers to the inevitable fraying of the ego’s contour, an imaginary instance that provides a certain consistency to the subject. This can be one of the results of the encounter-confrontation with the discrepancy embodied by immigrants. The disruption of the ego can take pathological proportions in the current political and historical scenario, where dissimilarity or diversity, far from being viewed as a value, is perceived as a dangerous threat to the socio-historical position of the members of a community and as posing a risk to their identity.

The designation of immigrants from the Americas in the comments, then, produces an effect of evidence on what is perceived as a clear distinction between inside and outside, between the ego and the other, between ours and theirs on the surface of the utterances. This can also indicate the subject’s unfamiliarity for having his subjective territory invaded by an element that refers to something potentially repressed. In this case, the commentary indicates the absent presence of the Other of the ego, invading the limits of the egoic instance and pointing to the ambiguous character the foreigner can assume for the subject, that is, both strange and familiar.

The difference has been viewed as problematic at the present historical moment. Dunker (2015) proposes that the contemporary subject's difficulty in dealing with difference is one of the symptoms of malaise in society. In order to discuss this issue, he proposes the logic of condominiums as an analogy with the way of life in Brazil today, which affects the constitution of the subject. It is nonetheless another way of approaching the territoriality of Brazilians, from the spatial, historical, social, experiential, and subjective perspective. The psychoanalyst postulates that one of the current Brazilian narrative forms of suffering could be thought of as a way of dealing with the different approaches of the fear of an intrusive object. As a figuration of everything that “deviates and removes the subject from his values of origin, his commitment to the future, his community of destiny” (DUNKER, 2015: 92), the intrusive object triggers a reaction of violence and hatred that segregates and eventually expurgates the other.

Considering the return of what has been repressed and the Freudian myth of the double in the discussion of the uncanny (umheimilich), Freud ([1919] 1980) proposes that the encounter with what usually remains repressed can be configured in an object represented as a double of the silenced material. Concerning the subject territory and the subjectivation process, there is always something that remains the most intimate and yet, at the same time, exterior for the subject. Freud ([1895] 1980) also referred to it as das Ding (the Thing). The strange and foreign object represented as out of oneself, yet intimate and familiar (heim) can be held for the subject at the level of the fantastic, the
supernatural, represented and projected onto fanciful and protective figures, normally projected at the level of an ideal-ego. If this representation of the self through its ideal-ego suffers a serious disruption, this double can assume persecutory dimensions, presenting a menace to the construction of a supposedly consistent ego, therefore becoming uncanny (unheim) and disruptive of the ego. According to Freud ([1919] 1980: 220), uncanny is “that class of the frightening which leads back to what is known of old and long familiar”.

In the return of the repressed as well as in the double, the uncanny (umheimlich) becomes a problem for the subject. If the anguish at the strangeness cannot find mediation in the symbolic and remains stuck to the imaginary dimension of language (thus insufficient to cope with the enigmatic relationship with the Other), the subject could develop paranoid traces due to the disassembling of the ego. This is where the problematization of the relationship between frontier and foreigner returns from the perspective of subjectivation.

Returning to Dunker (2015), when considered in the context of the return of the repressed and the Freudian myth of double, the immigrant can be labeled with the status of intrusive object in the subjective territory of the Brazilian, for representing a certain unfamiliarity with his own foreignness. A certain pride and an urge to defend the territory are noticeable in the comments, indicated by the emphasis on the importance of living in the homeland and the value attributed to “patriot” and “native” (UOL04). However, Brazilians have previously experienced institutional helplessness, the crumbling of one’s own illusions with public policies, and the disenchantment with the widely vaunted dream of prosperity, from 2008-2014, when Brazil seemed to be one of the few major countries spared by the global economic crisis. It is possible that the Brazilian is resenting the strangeness of not being the country of football, the winner of the World Cups, the breadbasket of the future, the lung of the world, or a land of hope, emotional and material opportunity, all clichés that constitute the discursive memory of this country and of a national identity shared by the great majority of Brazilians. Consequently, perhaps the feeling of foreignness in one's own country has remained (un)known and now returns to confront with the immigrant.

The bet of this gesture of interpretation on the meaning effects of the analyzed comments is supported by the possibility that the Brazilian identifies with the immigrant through imaginary projection. This projection triggers a paranoid reaction to the reflection of oneself, embodied by the invading immigrant, which takes on the contours of an object to be eliminated and expurgated, arousing hatred and violence. In contemporary times, paranoia is not restricted to the walls of a medical clinic, but is rather a feature of today's society, since the subjective condition is structured on the border between neurosis and psychosis. Paranoia, according to Dunker (2015), is inseparable from the conventional modes of socialization and social bond in contemporary times, governed by
excessive control, constant vigilance, and projective refusal of otherness. The mechanism of paranoia is represented by the construction of an exaggerated image of the subject, by distrust and judgment lacking empirical basis and, finally, by the social mismatch that results from the subject's breach with reality. The overestimated image Brazilians seem to have of themselves as part of a national identity is the discursive soil upon which the discussion of the gestures of interpretation on the second designative grouping perceived in the comments is developed.

2.2 The social value attributed to immigrants

At this point, it seems reasonable to propose that both the designation, the referencing, and the adjective processes in the comments indicate hallucinatory ways of referring to the immigrant from the Americas, corroborating the analysis proposal that they represent an intrusive object in Brazilian paranoia.

By analyzing the adjectives attributed to immigrants in the comments on cyber news as a way of designating them, one can see the aforementioned Brazilian pride, which is characterized by an excessive patriotism, which could be a reflection of one’s overvalued self-image. However, this pride cannot find basis in current country data on economic, political and social performance. Adjectives such as *bandits, vagabond, niggers* (V01); *bunch of wretches* (V03, V05); *so much crap* (V05); *poor, these idle people* (UOL09), lazy race (G1A01), present in the comments denigrate and generalize the immigrants, but also refer to a discursive memory about the Brazilian reflective of pride. This memory associates Brazilians with the lexical field encompassed by these same adjectives. They are used or referred to in everyday statements, such as “here it all ends in pizza” or in the text written by Brazilian cyberpoet, Silas Correa Leite, published on *Pravda* website⁹, whose title is “Corrupt? The Brazilian is so: corrupt by nature itself”. In this prose text, the author makes fun of Brazilians’ conduct, addressing it as “the Brazilian way”. We notice a reformulation of the semantic field composed by adjectives referring to immigrants of the Americas in the statements in the text. The ironic tone that marks the text is noticeable in the title of the prose, in reference to the verse of the Brazilian national anthem, extolling the greatness of the country: “Giant by nature itself.”

The adjectives that designate and qualify immigrants from the Americas are also mentioned in the comments of the cyber news. In relation to poverty and misery, we find: “WE HAVE MANY BRAZILIANS WHO ARE HUNGRY, COLD AND WITHOUT WARM CLOTHING” (G1B02); “it also helps to “downgrade” the hundred homeless who are occupying streets downtown” (G1B04);

“The needy of our country” (G1B06). As for criminality, there are: "bringing more bad guys to Brazil". And concerning the disposition to work, we have: 

"[...] that they will find out, that they do not need to work in Brazil". Particular attention should be given to formulations that bring Brazilians closer to the rejected immigrants because they perhaps unconsciously recognize traits of the other in themselves, such as inferiority, banditry, unwillingness to work.

Perhaps the furor that emerges in statements against immigrants from the Americas is a reaction to this potential identification of the Brazilian within the other, with traces of the discursive memory common to both peoples, a refusal to see in the other a portion of oneself that the Brazilian would rather have forgotten and left in a secret and unknown subjective region. However, these traits come out in the disruption instituted by the Other, in this case, through the literal “invasion” of the Brazilian territory on one hand, and figuratively, as an undesirable specter of the subjective territory, on another hand. One indication of this well-marked identification is in the excerpt from the commentary “refugee aggregated from other countries” (UOL06), in which a lapse appears to be shaped by an adverbial phrase (“from other countries”), which is functionally unnecessary but subjectively revealing. Every immigrant refugee, by definition, arrives from another country. This phrase seems to give emphasis to the foreignness and the consequent strangeness of the immigrant and how that affects the Brazilian. Like the immigrant from the Americas, Brazilians seem to think of themselves as refugees in their own country. We would be, therefore, possibly facing a social hallucinatory picture, triggered by this projective identification, by which the subject refuses to recognize in themself the abominable trait he attributes to the other.

In the corpus, it is also possible to construct ways of signifying the threat posed by immigrants from the Americas by a reference process of the Brazilian, implying a reaction to something that is perceived as persecutory. The following excerpts stand out:

“We do not have a job, not even for us Brazilians” (UOL01); “[...] THE ALREADY SUFFERED BRAZIL” (UOL09); “Meanwhile Brazilians are starving (...) This money is ours (UOL10); “In Brazil we have no less than 57 million Brazilians in WORST situation” (G1B05).

In these passages, the use of deictics mark the position of the subject and what they recognize as belonging to themselves. Some of them are recurrent, as the pronouns “us”, “ours”. Even in the comments in which the user refers to the designation “Brazilian (s)” or “Brazil”, an implicit “we” is established. These deictics build the Brazilian representation in the comments as opposed to the immigrant, reinforcing the opposition we - them, but without establishing an opposition between ours - theirs. There is no place for "theirs" in the territory of the Brazilian subject. This discursive functioning configures the fear of being usurped of his property, his alleged rights and a value
judgment in relation to the stranger and the foreigner, which might point to the defense of a subjective boundary.

CONCLUSION

The subject in contemporary times is trapped in self-reference, has the dimension of the experience impoverished due to the fragility of the symbolic register. The subject remains in a solipsistic position, unable to appeal to the other, thus suffering from the diminished incidence of alterity in its constitution (DUNKER, 2015). This is the scenario for psychotic modes of structuring one’s subjectivity, common today and indicated in the comments analyzed.

A paranoid functioning blends well with these new modes of subjectivation in contemporary times. Paranoid reactions, materialized in the comments by referencing and designating the immigrant from the Americas, ignore the factuality produced by the cyber news, which, in this research, emphasizes immigration from a positive perspective. They also silence striking traces of a Brazilian identity, such as hospitality and cordiality (HOLLANDA, 1995), recognized for years as characteristics of this people. Verbal attacks in the comments seem to constitute true subjective trenches. What is “outside” must remain there because it might represent a specter of the Brazilian's helplessness and foreignness, which is “inside”. What is "within" is deceptively trapped in a totalitarian image, which contributes to see the other as an object homogeneously threatening, hence to be expurgated. This is the most favorable framework for the emergence of barbarism. Hatred and intolerance indicate the fear of intrusion of the other in itself and the impossibility of the Brazilian to put himself in the other's place; all of those effects are mobilized in the suturing of the fragile identity of the Brazilian in the current historical moment.

REFERENCES


Corpus: Comments reproduced as written on portals from which they were taken.

UOL – Coluna “UOL Confere” – Título da cibernotícia: “Não existe Bolsa Imigrante para venezuelanos que chegam ao Brasil” – Data 08/09/2018

UOL01: Já não temos Emprego nem para nós os Brasileiros. O que vai acontecer e que os estrangeiros vão entrar para a vida do crime, e se juntar ao tráfico de Drogas das capitais RJ e SP Ficando assim muito mais difícil de controlar. Deus nos ajude

UOL02. É verdade sim.... Eu mesmo vi ontem, só que não BOLSA IMIGRANTES, mas BOLSA FAMÍLIA, isso mesmo bolsa família, ainda no dia de ontem, está eu na casa lotérica pagando meus boletos, inclusive de impostos e ao chegar ao caixa, deparei-me com um casal de venezuelanos, com o cartão do BOLSA FAMÍLIA, recebendo o benefício, onde vamos parar??? Por esse e outros motivos votarei no BOLSONARO / GEN MOURÃO!!!

UOL03. Não podemos dar as costas para essas pessoas. seres humanos que merecem RESPEITO.

UOL04. O nativo, o brasileiro pagador de impostos e que sustenta a maquina falida que é o Estado brasileiro, é sempre deixado em segundo plano. E o povo ainda pensa em quem vai colocar no comando, onde um brasileiro patriota deveria trabalhar em prol do povo e que vai fazer de lá um imenso balcão de negócios para os empresários corruptores e seus comparsas.
UOL05. Esta notícia so seria verdadeira se o governo federal fosse petista, ai sim eles ganharam bolsa para defender os ladroes.

UOL06. vamos cuidar primeiro dos brasileiros que pagam seus impostos no país depois vemos o que pode ser feito a agregados refugiados de outros países, vamos ser práticos, sem mimimi. e o primeiro passo é "obrigar" esses refugiados a falar nossa lingua da terra que os abriga e não o contrario!

UOL07. era só o que faltava, ou seja, o povo Brasileiro passando fome, 25 milhões de desempregados e falar em bolsa imigrantes, meu Deus este país tem que fechar e começar tudo de novo, manda estes caras para o sitio, ou casa do Lula, Gleice, haddad que fica no planalto paulista chega o povo não aguenta mais tanto desmando

UOL08. RECEBER IMIGRANTES É TUDO BONITO... NO PAPEL!! Brasil é um país pobre, roubaram demais a nação nos últimos anos, não temos dinheiro para atendimento a saúde, asfalto, transporte, segurança, saneamento básico, receber imigrantes sem o mínimo de infraestrutura e dinheiro a mais para os governos e prefeituras, é uma IRRESPONSABILIDADE !!!!

UOL09. ESSAS PESSOAS A MAIORIA NUNCA TRABALHOU NA VENEZUELA. SÃO POBRES E NUNCA QUIS TRABALHAR, E NEM QUER TRABALHAR. MADURO APROVEITOU E ESTA FELIZ POR SE LIVRAR DESSES DESOCUPADOS. , VEJAM A MAIORIA . TEM VARIOS FILHOS, E O CAOS. PARA O JA SOFRIDO BRASIL...

UOL10. Enquanto isso os basileiros estão passando fome! Pq não vão as periferias da cidades e ver realmente quem precisa de ajuda? Esse dinheiro é nosso e estamos gastando com imigrantes e não com nosso povo e depois o desgoverno vão cobrar do povo trabalhador! FORA VENEZUELANOS


G1A 01. É só o que os venecas querem ser sustentado por um bando de manés, pensem numa raça preguiçosa é esses venecas.

G1A 02. Daqui a pouco é candidato na próxima eleição. Está procurando holofotes.simples sejamos inteligentes.

G1B – Roraima – Rede Amazônica – Título:" Bilionário se muda para RR e ajuda venezuelanos que chegam ao Brasil: ‘Todo dia é uma lição!’” – Subtítulo: Voluntário em Boa Vista, Carlos Wizard foi responsável por interiorizar 25% dos venezuelanos que foram encaminhados para outros estados: ‘Somos 200 milhões de habitantes no Brasil. Será que não conseguimos dar conta de 20 mil refugiados?’.
 – Data: 22/05/2019

G1B 01. Por que não ajuda 20 mil brasileiros?

G1B 02. SÓ PARA LEMBRAR O CARLOS FAZER VISITA NOS POSTOS DE SAÚDE, TEMOS MUITOS BRASILEIROS COM FOME, FRIO E SEM AGASALHOS.

G1B 03. Engraçado, nunca vi "bilionário" se mudar para algum Estado para ajudar brasileiros em situação de risco, as ruas do Brasil estão cheias de pessoas com problemas mentais abandonadas, mendigos, crianças, e
nenhum bilionário ajuda, mas esse aí, quer distribuir os venezuelanos para os demais Estados, ele vai bancar a estadia deles nesses Estados? ou nós iremos bancar com nossos impostos?

G1B 04. Depois dá uma passada aqui em Fortaleza e ajuda a "inferiorizar" também a centena de moradores de rua que estão ocupando o Centro. Grato!

G1B 05. Aurélio, quanto infeliz vejo teu comentário... Não acredito que não conseguiu “conciliar” o "trocadilho" do Emerson: É simples meu amigo: No Brasil, temos nada menos que 57 milhões de brasileiros em situação PIOR... Você é da Venezuela ou daqueles pais que "tiram da boca dos filhos" para satisfazer quem nem conhece?

G1B 06. Pq em vez de fazer com os venezuelanos, não fazem com os necessitados do nosso país ???


G1C 01. quanta gente entrando irregularmente no País, principalmente aqui em sampa..... todos vem para ganhar menos e desvalorizar ainda mais os brasileiros... lamentável

G1C 02. Imigrantes que venha de país com condições financeiras abaixa da nossa, acaba desvalorizando o trabalho dos brasileiros e aumentando a pobreza no país, assim aumentando o numero de criminalidade e miséria, querem um exemplo ? veja a linha de raciocínio americano, um país rico uma super potencia respeitada pelo mundo e cobiçada por todos, raramente alguém consiga o pleno direito de viver por lá e muito menos trabalhar, ainda quando conseguem esse direito como é o caso do green card máximo que pode ficar fora é 5 anos se não perde todo o direito.

G1C 03. O Brasil para se torna uma super potencia uma grande nação, primeiro precisamos pensar nos Brasileiros depois pensamos nos outros. Não sou contra a imigração, mais acho que deveria ser mais rígidos os critérios.

G1C 04. E na grande maioria vem cacos, sem estudo.

G1C 05. sou a favor que o chile abra um corredor para o mar para os bolivianos

Veja – Coluna Leandro Narloch – Caçador de mitos – Título: “Como dar R$ 1500 a cada imigrante haitiano – sem tirar nada dos brasileiros” – Data: 11/02/ 2017

V 01. O PT esta reforçando suas bases trazendo mais bandidos para o brasil, estes haitianos vagabundos, que já descobrirão, que no brasil não precisa trabalhar. Qual pais africano e produtivo, só em natalidade mesmo., Para que o resto do mundo continue tendo peninha deles., porque sera que só os negros e índios precisa de cotas porque nós os brancos não temos o mesmo direito, será que somos mais que eles. É preciso nos dar estes mesmos direitos porque somos brancos e não nos deram o direito de escolher nossa cor de pele. deve esta sobrando cotas por isso tem que trazer mais negros pra cá.

V 02. tem uma senhora chamada “alguém” aqui no comentário q deve ser petista, pq só burro pra chamar povo brasileiro de preguiçoso e pra não saber q o nordeste é o pé e a mão de obra do brasil, pra que trazer haitiano se já temos mão de obra ? pra inventar q racistas matam nordestinos no sul ? pra amedrontar eles e depois falar q n tem mão de obra no sul ? hah! tirem esses invasores do nosso país! não são bem vindos!
V 03. Tharley Mota às 0:46, vc falou tudo….Pra quê aceitarmos esse bando de miseráveis aqui se não podem acrescentar nada???

V 04. Outra coisa estranha, mas relacionada a essa aventura insalubre até o Acre: Criou-se um certo fetiche pelo Brasil, afinal outros países com economias em desenvolvimento, como o México, Costa rica, Panamá, Colômbia, entre outros, estão mais próximos e com viajem mais rápida, no entanto só o Brasil lhes interessa. Talvez confundam o tamanho geográfico com riqueza, dizem que muitos pensavam nas obras da Copa, o que faz sentido, mas a Copa já foi e a chegada em massa continua.Enfim, o que parece é que eles têm uma percepção ilusória do Brasil. Também já perceberam que o governo brasileiro não impõe normas para migração como aconteceria nos outros países, eles usam o fato de serem negros porque sacaram que o governo e a população temem parecer racistas, enfim, acho que isso já se tornou algo abusivo e insustentável.

V 05. É lamentável ver tanta podridão desembarcar no Brasil! Eles não têm nada a oferecer ao nosso País. Foi uma jogada deste Governo escroto que nos impôs esse bando de miseráveis. Num futuro próximo pagaremos um preço extremamente alto por deixá-los vim para o Brasil. Se tivéssemos um governo sérios, jamis estariam aqui.
– Fora haitianos, Fora PT.

V 06. Alô galera dos assalariados, vocês ralam a semana toda, andam de ônibus apertado, comem de marmita,cuidam como se fosse de ouro o vale transporte, e, no final do mês, recebem 1 salário que mal dá pra uma semana.VOCES NÃO VÃO FAZER NADA. NO MÍNIMO, PONHAM PRA CORRER ESTE INVASORES.