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Communicating COVID-19: Metaphors We "Survive" By

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> The objective of this paper is to describe the framing of the pandemic that the world currently endures during the mandatory quarantine taking place in Argentina. This particular study is part of a bigger corpus of research that investigates the relationship between discourses held by enterprises, politicians and media in the digital age and how it affects communication at times of crisis. This is a qualitative study that explores emerging metaphorical language that is being implemented to communicate salient aspects of the unprecedented phenomenon that is COVID-19 in a

partial way. It is important to point out that the analysis is made at the same time that the crisis is unfolding. In order to develop this perspective, we will rely on a previous framework developed to study communication of crisis. Our research has led us to identify a "family" of metaphors that emerge from the headlines of the corpus: war, care and time. Identifying and understanding the emerging metaphors is the first step to avoid contradictions that can lead to double binds.

Keywords: crisis, pandemic, digital media, metaphors, double binds.

uch in the same way that the biomedical sciences accelerate the process of basic and clinical investigation to discover and develop a vacci-Lene that will make the world population immune, the communication sciences is searching for ways to generate reliable knowledge to foster the general understanding of the pandemic. The challenge of this approach is to implement the steps of the scientific method in order to understand how media intervenes in the communicational processes it spirals.

Even when the pandemic, by definition, affects the whole world its effects are felt differently around the world. The consequences in each area depend on the characteristics of the general population, its connection to the countries

where the disease originated, the health system it has, the time it took to implement a policy of social distancing; amongst others. In addition, differences have been exacerbated according to the communicational strategies implemented by the government and the corporate sector of each country to unpack the crisis and the way discourses have been handled both in traditional media and social media. Unpacking the way political communication, digital media, and health policy are managed in Argentina is key to comprehend the particularity of the case. These aspects are crucial in order to circumscribe the object of study and, ultimately, comprehend the relationship between the management of the pandemic and the administration of its communication.

The working hypothesis of the paper is that the frames implemented by the local media can be organized in "families" of metaphors implemented in the enunciation. The three metaphors that have predominated throughout the course of this pandemic are war, care, and time. Each of these metaphors is propelled by a particular group of enunciators that responds to a particular model of communication and promotes a particular point of view of the phenomenon that defines the political and social relationships that the pandemic activates.

The present study pursues the following specific objectives:

- Recognize the use of the more prevalent lexical domains that digital media are adopting in Argentina to describe the situation brought by COVID-19.
- Analyze the use of metaphors as a way to address the pandemic, the actors involved and the consequences endured.
- Unpack the main enunciators and the typology of what is enunciated in each metaphor.
- Hypothesize the effects of meaning produced by the metaphors used.

CONTEXTUALIZING THE PANDEMIC

In December 2019 an outbreak of pneumonia was detected in Wuhan, China. What started in a local market quickly spread making it incident worthy of the attention of the World Health Organization (WHO): 27 people had been diagnosed with pneumonia from an unknown source. This news did not stop the spread of the disease since by the 20 of January of the following year. The WHO declared a state of international emergency since COVID-19 had been detected in 15 other countries. Less than two weeks later, on March 11, the WHO recognized the disease as a pandemic.

Across the globe, there have been different attempts made to reduce the virus. There have been differences in terms of the social distancing and restrictions each country put in place and there have been differences with regards to the way each government has communicated the disease. In the case of Argentina, the quarantine was declared through decree during a conference held on the 19 of March 2020. The country has been in a compulsory lockdown since with a real certainty of when it will come to an end.

Regardless of the differences in behaviors adopted across the Globe, it is clear that all throughout it this has shocked the world. Even when we are in the middle of the development of COVID-19 the analysis sheds light on the many everyday aspects of life that have been reshaped. According to Gideon Lichfield (2020), editorial chief from MIT Technology Review, the process of adaptation to a new sense of normal will take a shared effort. In this context, it will be the role of communication to provide information in order to minimize uncertainty and also to promote commitment from social actors to actively participate in the path towards recovery.

METAPHORS BEYOND A DISCURSIVE PRACTICE

Research shows that the media play a significant role in framing public discourse (Entman, 2007), including the representation of disasters and using metaphor as a main device (Wallis and Nerlich, 2005). Since the second half of the XX century, a big array of authors have devoted their work to define the metaphor as a textual mechanism that goes beyond a literary tool and understand it a source that produces meaning: Fauconnier, 1997; Gibbs, 1994; Glucksberg, 2001; Grady, Oakley and Coulson, 1999; Grice, 1991; Johnson, 1981; Kövecses, 2002; Lakoff and Johnson, 2009; Lakoff, 1987, 1994, 2002; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Ricoeur, 2001; Semino, 1997; Searle, 1979; among others.

There are two different perspectives when trying to unpack how we define metaphors. On the one hand, there is a more classical perspective, which includes the Gricean pragmatics that recognized the metaphor beyond the literality of language (Sperber and Wilson, 2008). Within this perspective, metaphors are seen as "normal" in the sense that they are part of the way we think. For example, cognitive linguistics like George Lakoff, Len Talmy and Giles Fauconnier are clear representatives of this perspective. On the other hand, psycholinguistics like Sam Glucksberg or Walter Kinstch, describe metaphors as an emergent from the process of verbal communication (Sperber and Wilson, 2008: 84).

From a hermeneutic approach, Paul Ricoeur (2001) considers that metaphors do not enunciate likeness, instead, they create it. Within this perspective, metaphors are considered a discursive phenomenon that results from interaction. According to this perspective metaphors cannot be reduced to a pawn on words since it affects the way we are and act (2001: 116). In this sense, metaphors can transcend semantics and affect pragmatics. In fact, the meaning of metaphors does not exist within "dictionaries" but rather in "discourse" (2001: 132).

From a different perspective, but with similar conclusion, Lakoff and Johnson (2009) propose that metaphors are ingrained in the way we think and act and are, therefore, part of our everyday lives. In fact, one could argue that according to this perspective we think in metaphors to the extent that they create the social reality we live in.

The present investigation was based on Lakoff and Johnson's definition of metaphor but from Ricoeur's discursive approach. Analyzing metaphors in texts is a challenge: from Ricoeur's hermeneutical perspective, the meaning of the metaphor is not limited to the word or the phrase, but a metaphor triggers connotations in the instance of reception of the text. In this way, Ricoeur overcomes the nineteenth-century analysis that considered the metaphor only as part of the classification of literary tropes, whose effect of meaning ended in the sentence.

Certainly, the connoted systems are part of the virtuality of the sign and are unattainable in a text. This presents the problem of the origin of these meanings. Ricoeur's solution overcomes this difficulty:

Only one answer is possible: it is necessary to consider the listener or the reader, and consider the novelty of an emerging meaning as the reader's instantaneous work (Ricoeur, 2001: 134).

Lakoff and Johnson's definition allows us to recover the production model of journalistic texts, the interpretive frameworks of journalists. Ricoeur's definition allows us to consider the meaning effects of metaphors on the audience and to analyze the meanings created by those metaphors.

THINKING THROUGH METAPHORS

According to Gregory Bateson (Bateson, 2011) the major problems of the world are attributed to the gap that exists between the way we think and how the world really is. Our ideas sometimes lead us to forget the complexity that characterizes our world. If our way of thinking about things takes away the essence of the objects, then Bateson uses art as a way to grasp the complexity of the object. As Charlton (2008: 96) explains,

it is the metaphorical nature of art that may become the tool by which, even yet, we may seek the "grace", the renowned capacity to live compatibly with the rest of the natural world.

Gruber and Davis (1988) would also be happy to agree with the importance of metaphors as a way of thinking. Metaphors are a key aspect of creative work as a source of insight to the way a person constructs his point of view. Through the case study method a diversity of metaphors can be considered. The assumption being that each creative person will apply the metaphor in different ways in order to develop his unique point of view.

Bateson (1972) found relationships, in general, to be the key to understanding. There is no essence to unveil in anything on its own; we are who we are in relation to something. This might be why metaphors are so important to him as a process of developing ideas. A metaphor

compares things without spelling out the comparison (...) it takes what is true of one group of things and applies it to another (Bateson, 1972: 56).

According to Bateson what is missing is the spelled out relationship between the two objects. The complexity of metaphors can lead to contradictory outcomes. In the best-case scenario, its complexity and non-linearity, allows us to grasp the essence of the world in a better way. If we understand that we can only define things in relation to others, then metaphors are a crucial way to talk about the world. However, in the worst-case scenario, the fact that the relationship can be implicit paves the way to confusion. Bateson (1972) understood very well the complexity of Schizophrenia having analyzed the Double Bind. In fact, Bateson was able to define this pathology through metaphors:

Schizophrenia had something to do with metaphor —not knowing that metaphors are metaphors, or taking literal things and handling them as if they were metaphors, or something screwy in that region (Bateson and Bateson, 1987: 125).

There seems to be no form of escape of the paradigm of thought we have adopted.

METHODOLOGY

The method of analysis, which will allow us to achieve the objectives, is the discourse analysis. Therefore, there is a combination of the theory of enunciation put forward by the French tradition (Maingeneau, 1976; Ducrot, 1984; Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1986) together with the use of metaphors, developed by an Anglo-Saxon perspective, as a device of public discourse framing.

The statement of the enunciation (Bajtín, 1979) contained in each headline of the news is the unit of analysis and the categories of Subject, Action or Effect and Actors serve to reconstruct the media representation of events (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 1997).

The sample used was theoretical (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), intentional and qualitative. This corpus included 283 digital newspaper headlines from Argentina. A first pilot sampling was carried out to detect metaphors about the pandemic in digital media. The digital newspapers chosen for the final sample were: *La Nación, Clarín, Infobae* and *Perfil*.

It was decided to analyze only the headlines for various reasons. In the first place, the headline is an instance of journalistic enunciation in which there is an agreement between writer and reader regarding the relevance of the information presented (Dijk, 1990; Vasilachis de Gialdino, 1977). Secondly and in relation to the first point, the chosen headlines correspond to news where metaphorical statements were also found. Due to the limited magnitude of the present study, headlines were assumed as representative instances of complete pieces of texts. And thirdly, taking the notion of "closure" of a text (Ducrot and Todorov, 2011), the entire discursive corpus was considered as a text and the headlines were considered as textual indicators.

These newspapers are the widest in scope, with the highest number of monthly visitors: 26,180, *Clarín*; 19. 589, *Infobae*; 16,177, *La Nación*; 7,300, *Perfil*, in February 2020. *Infobae* is a digital native medium, which generates more interaction in

its posts on social media than any other online newspaper: 221,387 occurrences of the words coronavirus and / or COVID-19 were detected on social media. The news items selected for analysis included the words coronavirus and / or COVID-19, plus the keywords *war*, *care* and *time*, with synonyms and antonyms, anywhere in the text, although they were later incorporated into the corpus only the headlines.

This automatic extraction was corrected manually to avoid false positives and repeated news from the same newspaper. The period covered by the sample was one month, from March 20, 2020, when the mandatory quarantine began.

Table 1

Diario	Pilot	War	Care	Time	Total/newspaper
La Nación	13	29	44	23	109
Clarín	4	9	12	12	37
Infobae	3	26	27	18	74
Perfil	4	7	15	4	30
Otros	33	-	-	-	33
Total/phase	57	71	98	59	283

Source: Own elaboration.

The sample is non-comparative aggregative: all the statements collected are indicators of media representation without distinction of editorial policies or audiences.

FINDINGS FROM ANALYSIS

METAPHORS OF WAR

War appears as a noun that is interchangeable with COVID-19. It is a war with no precedents, which is added to preexistent wars such as the commercial feud between the United States and China.

Subject

There are a number of enunciations that describe or define the pandemic in terms of war both in the affirmative and in the negative. Some of them are essential statements either because they claim that the pandemic is a war or because they deny it.

For instance:

Coronavirus: Evo Morales says that China won the third world war without firing, *La Nación*, April 14.

A headline of a Profile opinion piece states:

The third world war is here, Perfil, March 24.

There are other cases where the enunciations of the headlines muddle explicitly with the metaphor of war. On April 8th, *La Nación* makes the direct question:

Coronavirus: this is not a war, what is it?

In fact, on March 25th, the newspaper had already made a similar statement asking of our generals since the pandemic seemed to be more of an act of war than a disease:

If this is a war, where are our generals?

Other newspapers made similar questions. For example, *Infobae*, on March 31st, asked openly:

Are we in war?

And even *Clarín*, on March 25th, compared the pandemic with wars:

The fight against the coronavirus and wars has a different priority.

There is a case of intertextuality to a novel, *Diario de la Guerra del Cerdo (Diary of the Pig War)*, by the Argentine writer Adolfo Bioy Casares, which narrates a situation of violence against the elderly. These headlines describe discriminatory measures against older people.

For example, on April 17, Perfil:

Pandemic, old age, and discrimination: Does Buenos Aires lives a Pig War?

Actions or Effects

There are examples of enunciations that categorize the pandemic by actions (through the use of active voice) and others by the effects on actors involved (through the use of passive voice). The pandemic creates situations that remind us of wars such as the cancelations of important events such as the US Open or Wimbledon that, in the past, had only been cancelled due to a war. In fact, there are those who declare that the economic recovery after COVID-19 can be worse than a war.

One way or another, *war* seems to percolate the conversation through the pandemic. For example when national authorities, such as Istanbul, deny that war was started with Turkey due to the pandemic. A similar statement was made in China by negating that a *war of propaganda* had started with the war. There are even examples of a ceasefire in *La Nación*, on April 8th, stating that the pandemic caused a truce in the war:

Coronavirus: the pandemic stops the war in Yemen.

Infobae on April 8, also made reference to the same news:

The Saudi-led coalition declared a ceasefire in Yemen over the coronavirus.

Actors

There are a series of enunciations that make a direct reference to the acts of war in the pandemic. In several headlines there are references to *veterans* who have survived both the act of war and the pandemic. In others, there are references to *bunkers, technological weapons, helicopters of the Argentine Military, drones, budgets of wars,* amongst others.

METAPHORS OF CARE

This metaphorical family has a special characteristic. This metaphor works tacitly as *maternal government* or *maternal health system* and appears in the text through the use of semantic isotopies. In other words, the lexicon used is consistent with the use of an absent but significant metaphor. This phenomenon was described in part by Lakoff when he referred to the Democratic and Republican parties from the metaphor of a maternal or paternal government (2002). Lakoff and Johnson's (2009) definition of conceptual metaphors, metaphors found not only in the text but also in thought, allows us to consider the hypothesis of a tacit extra-textual metaphor in a discourse where other textual metaphors have already been found. In this sense, the metaphor of maternal care would be a metaphor already commonly used but applied in this case to a new situation, the medical care of a pandemic in Argentina.

The metaphors of care are associated with prevention and the communication of risk that is made by the health department and that media disseminates. On the one hand, it is the strategy to face the virus and the recognition that there are certain groups of the population that are more susceptible than others. The metaphor takes form in the shape of home which is reminded to us on a daily basis by the hashtag #QuedateEnCasa (#StayAtHome). The frail conditions of certain sectors of the population are exacerbated by the pandemic.

Subject/ Noun

The language used in care describes the way we have to look after ourselves along the course of the pandemic. Since we have yet to develop a vaccine that would better prepare us in this outbreak, our only source of immunity is an active attitude of looking after ourselves. Just like the metaphor of war appeared in the communication of crisis; the metaphor of care emerges through the communication of risk.

There are headlines that refer to the strategies of care taken by the Ministry of Health, others with the monitoring of social distancing and others with provisions (hospital beds, face masks, protocols for doctors, tests, sanitizers) that the system takes in order to face the peak of the disease. Taking care of our health is present in the headlines analyzed through the use of words such as intensive care unit or populations of risk.

Even the president has to take care of himself as stated by *Clarín*, on April 3rd:

Coronavirus in Argentina: How they take care of the President to avoid a possible contagion.

And, in other headlines, there is a direct mention of health by experts cited. For instance, on April 9th, *La Nación*:

Natalia Gherardi: 'The health crisis brought the issue of care to the fore'.

On April 4th, Perfil:

Robert Chuit: 'It is a disease to be careful, but not to paralyze yourself'.

Effects

The common thread in all the media covered in the current study, there are entire sections dedicated to disseminate useful information that covers how COV-ID-19 can affect individuals, groups or institutions. Journalists explain these details to the ederly, to couples, pets, kids with special needs, amongst others.

The everyday life situations from the past that have been affected by the pandemic are: daily errands, sex, sickness and mental illness, pregnancy and delivery, sleep, medical treatments and rehabilitation, public transport, access to water, amongst others. The articles found within this category provide advice towards the general public.

For example, on April 2nd, La Nación:

Recommendations for asthmatics against coronavirus: How does the disease affect them?

And the same media, on April 14th, explained the step by step process to make a homemade mask.

How to make a homemade mask to go outside during the coronavirus quarantine.

Other articles provide advice on how to proceed when faced with the disease. For example, on March 26th, *Perfil*:

Nutritional tips to strengthen the immune system in quarantine.

And on April 14th, Clarín asked:

Are glasses a barrier or a source of transmission of the disease?

Or, on April 15th, on the same media

whether putting people on their stomachs might help them to save their lives.

Actors

The actors involved in this category are the members of the health institutions, nurses, people who care for animals, emergency, people who contracted the disease and those who recovered, doctors who saw the disease from the front-lines, the elderly, amongst others. In these metaphors predominates people working in the health sectors, doctors and scientifics and specialists consulted by the media.

METAPHORS OF TIME

Within this category, what predominates are commonplace references of time, time management and process involved in the crisis that is the pandemic. Some phrases that make references to time: reaction time, time management, recover lost time, we still have time, which are all phrases that refer to the management of time. In addition, there are phrases related to the measurement of time for example: time is up, there is not a limitation of time, long time. Moreover, there are references to the quality of time: time of darkness, good time. And last but no least, the bomb of time makes a combination between a metaphor of time and war.

What appears in this category is all the vocabulary that makes reference to the measurement of time: years, months, days, quarantine, cycles, before, after, phase, post, peak, amongst others. Other words implemented in this category are related to process: acceleration, duration, a race against time, etc. It seems necessary to clarify that in some cases the metaphor of time also works as a tacit metaphor that appears through vocabulary related to time.

The metaphors of time that relate to the pandemic can be divided in two groups of enunciation.

Subjects

In enunciations that make references to stages, measurements of time, the duration of the pandemic; all treat the pandemic as the subject. The pandemic implies an *acceleration of history* of unknown duration and that affects the perception of time. The headlines wonder how long it will take to go back to *the life we once knew* and ask whether *time has stopped all together*.

Effects on other subjects

The temporality of the pandemic affects the subjective experience of time. For example, the management of time of kids, the regions that still have time to react, the president who made the decision at the right time, professionals who have to make up for lost time, the education as an accelerator of time and the political agenda now that the election period has changed.

All these enunciations describe the effects of the pandemic in terms of management, perception, and determination of time of the actors affected by the pandemic. In comparison to the metaphors of care analyzed, in this case, the examples that predominate come from institutional sectors such the government, care, political, and/ or business.

CONCLUSION

The analysis has shown the emergence of three metaphoric groups: wars, care, and time. Each of these groups responded to particular types of "reverberations" (Lakoff and Johnson, 2009). The idea of "reverberation" is similar to the theoretical statement made by Paul Ricoeur (2001), which was previously described: The reverberations coincide with the emergent meanings assigned by the reader and are part of the interpretative implications of the metaphors, but also of any sign used in human communication.

The first group of metaphors made references to scenarios of violence and competition which specific references to wars of the past (World Wars and Malvinas), the second group focused on a rhetoric that is characteristic of the health sector and the third group dealt with the conflict that is time during the pandemic. Bearing this in mind makes it easier to see that while the first group, war, gravitated towards a more negative perspective defined by violence; the second, care, tended towards a more positive perspective that highlighted towards a subject to protect and; the third, time that seemed to stay in a more neutral zone which mostly stressed ways of measuring it.

The metaphor of violence prevails with the presence of wars through questions that the media puts forward: *is this a new type of war* or *how long will it last?* There are other headlines that describe the subject of war such as *sticks and stones* defined by a doctor in the US or like an *invisible enemy* in the words of the local President. The economic perspective talks about an *economy of war* or that the president has created *economic enemies*.

Moreover, there is a discursive war that emerges through the fight against coronavirus. China and the US maintain a war of perspectives, information responds to the fight against the virus, the Big Data that is implemented to make decisions or, on the contrary a war against the lack of information; lastly, the battle sustained between the health sectors that goes against the interests of the economic sectors.

The metaphors that pushed forward care have been shaped by the health sector, public discourse and the measures needed to take on our everyday lives. These types of metaphors pave the way to imagine the audience as a regular citizen that follows the news anxiously that the media has sworn to provide. This creates a new type of relation that seems closer to that sustained by two neighbors. Here we can also find headlines that empower audiences in order to explain *How to,* that promote solidarity to face the pandemic. In this type of news, solidarity actions are promoted by the media from hashtags like #YoAyudoDesdeCasa (I help from home) published in social media.

The metaphor of time creates a bridge between the temporality of the evolution of the virus with the temporality of the sanitary institutions that strive to find a cure and the rest of the sectors that evolve in an effort to survive in this new scenario that is the world. The temporality of the virus is central in its control, it tries to shed light on *how long the virus survives* on the surfaces, speculating that it does indeed survive *more time* than it was first thought of. The doubts it raises are also temporal: the *length of immunity* that infected people might have

or whether 14 days is enough time for quarantine. Big data allows for scientific discoveries in real time to the extent that around 70 different types of vaccines are being developed as we write this paper. Some countries can even keep track of positive cases in real time. The crisis itself is set on a now and after, although some experts assure that we will have to live with the aftermath of the virus for a long time to come.

The most salient aspects of the study can be summarized as follows:

Table 2

Metaphor	War	Care	Time
Type of discourse	Political	Mediatic	Institutional
Main Enunciators	Government, politicians, economic experts	Government, health specialists and media	Health institutions, science and corporations
Models of Communications	Crisis	Risk	Institutional
Scope of development	Global: public space	Local: everyday life	Local: country

Source: Own elaboration.

The remaining part of the paper will be devoted to making hypotheses about the diversity of effects produced by the metaphors and the relation it has with its audiences. The fact the fight against the virus implies a declaration of war speaks volumes of its uniqueness, justifies the drastic means and a centralization of power that puts heroism at center stage. As with all metaphors, war illuminates certain aspects while it makes others opaque. People cooperate when confronted with an illness that claims lives and creates irreparable consequences. The dark side of the metaphor of war lies in the fact that the *invisible enemy* infiltrates in the bodies of our friends not our foes.

One of the discursive consequences of using the metaphor of war consists of referencing subjects that are related to violence instead of protection. As a consequence, what starts out as a *war against the virus* quickly transforms to a *war between different subjects* whether it be countries or enterprises. At the same time, there is a strong tie to power since they are the ones most represented on the news. The rest are reduced to different degrees of victims.

The internal contradictions brought forward by the interpretation of the metaphors mentioned can lead to double bind type situations for people at the other end of the news. The media provides both explanations for the events and delineate ways of interaction between the agents involved. For example, the sanitary personal can be seen both as heroic according to some headlines and as a clear reference to times of war according to some others. Thus, it becomes an impossible situation for the person involved to understand. A clear example of this comes from *La Nación*, on April 5th:

Another, on April 16th, in the same newspaper:

Coronavirus in Argentina: they will test the health of Buenos Aires workers to detect asymptomatic cases

The war rhetorique came before COVID-19 but, since its grand entrance, it only gets worse. According to Manrique (2020): "A vision not at all strange in a society that understands the relationship between the self and the other in terms of reciprocal annihilation: like the *immunitas* taken to the extreme destroys the *communitas*". Instead, Manrique suggests: "Anything could be different if one opted for a language and imaginary that promoted immunity community, not battling immunity".

The discourse on care has provided another type of supply to the population during these times of quarantine. A sense of "ethical hospitality" has been brought forward (Innerarity, 2001) towards our homes, at risk populations and even health care workers. It seems as though the uncertainty brought by the pandemic paves the way to hospitality towards the pandemic. Derrida (2006) explains that hospitality is offered to the foreigner, the other, the person who questions our beliefs.

Notwithstanding, the time of discourse is a more accurate representative of the acceleration of time that implies the war against COVID-19 and the opinions that seek to "reduce the otherness in the sameness; confining it in the parameters of its own, in the orbit of the self, of the known". This institutional time is concerned with the capitalist objective of "keeping the productive level alive" and "the subjectivities modeled to maintain it" (Manrique, 2020). The time of care, however, is diverse. It requires us to slow time in order to spend it with others. Technology has diluted the difference between the work sphere and the home front (Wajcman, 2017). But at the same time, the quarantine, like space for reception of media discourse, has represented an exceptional "finite province of meaning" of the world of life (Schütz and Luckmann, 1977). Just like Bateson proposes, the only way out of double bind is aiming at a higher level of abstractions. It is not about the contradictions that the metaphors create but rather the paradigm of the new world these metaphors exist in. It is here where taking time is key to reunions and making sense of this new world we live in (Han, 2015). Different metaphors drive us to different ways to survive by.

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