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**METAPHORICAL REPRESENTATION OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN MEDIA  
DISCOURSE**

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## INTRODUCTION

**The relevance of the research.** According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) and Walk Free Foundation (2017), human trafficking is an emerging global crisis, in which millions of men, women and children are deceived and coerced into slavery, sexual slavery, forced labour, removal of organs etc. In 2020, The Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons under the U.S. Department issued a “Trafficking in Persons Report” (TIP) that declare that “human trafficking became a topic of public concern in the 1990s due, in part, to the fall of the former Soviet Union, the resulting migration flows, and the increasing concern about the growth of transnational criminal organizations operating globally” (2020, p. 3).

Victims, who experience human trafficking, are of different ages, socioeconomic statuses, and ethnicities from all over the world, and are thus not limited to a specific social group. Venkatraman (2003, p. 2) notes that “no neighbourhood in the world is immune to human trafficking activity”. It is hence prevalent both nationally and internationally, predominantly in third-world countries. According to the statistics presented by the United States Secretary of State, 24.9 million people worldwide were robbed of their freedom and basic human dignity (Trafficking in Persons Report, 2019). In the United States of America, according to the Data Report of the Polaris Project (2019), there were over 11,000 cases involving human trafficking. Meanwhile, in Lithuania, according to the Overview of the Situation in 2020 Against Trafficking in Human Beings in Lithuania, made by the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania (2020, p. 5), during the year of 2020 there were only 11 pre-trial investigations into trafficking and exploitation for forced labour or services and the purchase or sale of a child.

The contextual situation of human trafficking is also problematised by the ambiguity of representations. According to Wallinger (2010, p. 2), competitive depictions of trafficking of human beings in the media have led to the general misunderstanding in mainstream opinions of trafficking in human beings as a social problem. It is argued that over the years numerous advocacy and political organizations have split, delineated and categorized prostitution into a variety of categories, including human trafficking, labour trafficking and child violence (Wallinger, 2010). Such classifications have been an important part of the global awareness of sex slavery and human trafficking, which might have undermined how this issue of human trafficking is represented in the public domain, more specifically in the mainstream media.

**The problem of the research.** Despite the severity of the issue, little research has been conducted in terms of media representation of human trafficking, especially how media

discourse can affect the public perception of trafficked persons. The aim of the current research is to determine of how the media affects the public perception of human trafficking victims, and what kind of ideological roles they are assigned. The current study will focus on the use of metaphorical expressions that will be collected from the articles about the human trafficking victims covered by two mainstream media platforms – CNN and BBC. The analysis of the collected data will determine what type of metaphors are used the most frequently, by taking into consideration the systematicity of their conceptual mappings as well as their prevalent source domains.

Thus, the **subject** of this research is human trafficking related metaphors, and their the analysis in the context of mainstream media discourse. The study **aims** to identify, analyse and interpret trafficked persons metaphors in the media representation of human trafficking. In order to achieve this aim, the following research **objectives** were raised:

1. To overview the theoretical framework related to the studies of critical discourse analysis, metaphor analysis, cognitive approach of metaphor, the role of the media in representation of trafficked persons and human trafficking.
2. To identify prevalent and the most frequently used metaphorical expressions in the collected data.
3. To interpreter their metaphorical meaning by procedurally applying the formula of TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN, with the main focus on the specific SOURCE DOMAIN.
4. To evaluate the prevalent attitudes of trafficked persons in the collected British and American media in the collected data samples.

**The outline of the paper.** The paper consists of four parts, including introductions, theoretical framework, methodology, empirical analysis, which are followed by conclusions, a summary and a reference list. The first part consists of literature review, including the overview of the general principles of Critical Discourse Analysis, Critical Metaphor Analysis, Cognitive Linguistics and Conceptual Metaphor Theory. As metaphor is the subject of the research, much focus will be given to the definition and theory of metaphors and, as well as to the categories of discourse and media representation. The methodology is provided after the theoretical part alongside with the empirical results. Finally, the results of the research will be discussed and concluded at the end of the paper. The following section will provide an overview of the key concepts and theoretical framework, upon which the current study is based.

## I. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: KEY ASSUMPTIONS

This section deals with the underlying ideas of theoretical approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Metaphor Analysis. The overview of the key concepts will help to get a better understanding of how the analysis of metaphors in media discourse can affect the public perception of human trafficking.

### 1.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerged in the late 1970s, from Critical Linguistics, the basic premise of which is that discourse is biased (Li, 2016, p. 92). This pattern has been studied by a variety of researchers (Li, 2016; Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1992; Locke, 2004), who maintained that the most influential aspects of the **Critical Discourse Analysis** are the revelation of power exploitation and language usage discrimination. More precisely, Van Dijk (1993, p. 252) states that Critical Discourse Analysis deals primarily with the discourse aspects of power abuse and the disparities and injustices created by it. Fairclough (1992, p. 9) holds a similar perspective and points out that ‘critical’ in the CDA is a discovery of links and latent triggers. Wodak and Meyer (2001, p. 2) illuminate the essence of the CDA, the propensity to examine the relation between language and control. Moreover, they note how the definition is being used today (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 2):

“The term CDA is used nowadays to refer more specifically to the critical linguistic approach of scholars who find the larger discursive unit of text to be the basic unit of communication. This research specifically considers institutional, political, gender and media discourses (in the broadest sense) which testify to more or less overt relations of struggle and conflict”.

Meanwhile, Fairclough (2003, p. 6) builds on the issue and notes that the Critical Discourse Analysis is also about consistency and transition that deals with phenomena in individual texts that can appear at a more abstract or more systematic level. Li (2016, p. 92) notes that CDA explores the dynamic interaction between language, authority, and philosophy by analysing linguistic expressions in conjunction with the social and historical meaning which raise our understanding of linguistic social relations. Within this reasoning line, it can be argued that Critical Discourse Analysis provides with a set of methodologies that help to understand how society is structured, and how power relations between social groups are organized.

For the better understanding of the Critical Discourse Analysis, Locke (2004, p. 9) defines its key terms (1) **analytical**, (2) **critical**, and (3) **discourse** in more detail. According to him, it is 'analytical' in the view of the fact that one carries out a "detailed systematic examination of a particular object with a view to arriving at one or more underlying principles" (ibid., p. 9). It is critical in the sense that the study of discourse aims to make it possible to understand text production. Finally, the analysis of the text is carried out within socially influenced context, which is referred to as discourse known as language in use in the social context.

To conclude, Critical Discourse Analysis is a multidisciplinary approach to textual representation, the major purpose of which is to explain how the contextual analysis of the usage of language may serve the purposes of deconstructing power relations and public attitudes to various social issues. Now that the concept of Critical Discourse Analysis has been discussed, the concept of Media Discourse will be elaborated on.

### **1.1.1. Media Discourse**

According to O'Keeffe (2011, p. 441), "media discourse refers to interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-presenter reader, listener or viewer". As noted by the scholar (O'Keeffe, 2011), media discourse is a form of communication that is directed towards recipients, however, without an intention of an immediate response. It is not impromptu and non-private, opposite, it is a mass-produced, public and on-record way of interaction. By comparison, Zilova (2014, p. 247) suggests a different definition of media discourse as "a type of institutional discourse <...> which is characterized by a stable system of status relations and social roles, in the sphere of the mass media that uses language to accomplish specific purposes and to perform certain functions". The scholar also states that media discourse consists of both printed and oral forms, such as television, the press, the internet, and the radio. Moreover, Zilova (2014, p. 247) emphasizes the importance of two objectives "<...> to inform and to influence readers and viewers".

Aside from new content, culture, and advertising one of the primary purposes of media dialogue is the shaping of public opinion. The functional-semantic approach of Halliday's, (in Van Dijk, 2008, p. 24) can be used to study media discourse, which can include "syntactic variations that are a function of the underlying involvement of actors (e.g., their agency, responsibility, and perspective)". Nominalizations or passive constructions, for example, may be used to reduce a person's or institution's liability. Van Dijk also argues that such research may be carried out by incorporating and paying attention to the paradigm of British cultural

studies. According to Van Dijk (2008), the model of these studies “defines news not as a reflection of reality, but as a product shaped by political, economic and cultural forces”.

Media discourse can be studied with references that are inextricably linked to the studies that inspired the formation of Critical Discourse Analyses (Bell & Garret, 1998, p. 4; Fairclough, 1995, pp. 21-34):

- Conversation analysis
- Critical Discourse Analysis:
  1. Critical Discourse Analysis from socio-cognitive perspective
  2. Critical Discourse Analysis from discourse practice perspective
- Cultural-generic analysis
- Reception analysis
- Semiotic analysis

According to Bell and Garret (1988, p. 6), “CDA has produced the majority of the research into media discourse during the 1980s and 1990s, and has arguably become the standard framework for studying media texts”. The scholars further highlighted a high proportion of CDA work on which media texts were prioritized. For example, approximately 40 percent of the works published in “the CDA journal *Discourse and Society* deal with media data” (Bell & Garret, 1998, p. 6).

Fairclough (1995, pp. 21-34) suggests a set of goals that must be met in order to conduct a satisfactory substantive study of media discourse. His framework is made up of three major components. The scholar proposes that the language of media documents, as well as visual effects, be closely examined first. The linguistic research of texts may be done at various stages. For example, macrostructural or microstructural (grammatical and lexical) analysis may be performed. Second, the emphasis of the review should be on discourse practices, which include text consumption and production analysis. Furthermore, critical discourse researchers should understand “the discursive practices of a community – its normal ways of using language – in terms of networks”, which Fairclough describes as “orders of discourse” (1995, p. 55). Finally, the study of social behaviours is the subject of critical review. This type of study depicts how larger developments in culture and environment are mirrored in complex media discourse, with a focus on the relationship between authority or philosophy and discourse.

Similarly, Van Dijk (2008) states that discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach that aids in the study of given texts in a social context. His methodology includes textual study, comprehension, and discourse development. This theory is applied by the scholar when



analysing media discourse. “He works withing the framework of a larger project on discourse and ideology, and employs a multidisciplinary theory of ideology”, according to Van Dijk (as cited in Bell & Garret, 1998, p. 7).

Thus, Van Dijk and Fairclough also argue that important research should be performed at different stages and can provide an examination of discursive expressions and social roles. It should though be noted that Van Dijk (in Bell & Garret, 1998) places a greater focus on cognitive structures. He suggests the idea that a text does not express as much knowledge as an individual comprehends.

In conclusion, media discourse is a public form of communication whose aim is to inform, educate and entertain society, and to influence and shape public opinion. Now that the concept of media discourse has been discussed, the concept of human trafficking and its social impact should be elaborated on.

### **1.1.2. Human Trafficking and Its Social Impact**

The United Nations in December 2000 proposed the following definition of human trafficking: “Human trafficking is considered to be a type of slavery, which exploits the human body through forced labour services, prostitution, organ removal, or slavery” (Christensen, 2012, p. 14). According to the United States Department of State (2010), this definition can be divided into three sections: (1) the United Nations describes human trafficking as a criminal act; (2) it demonstrates that human traffickers wield authority and power over victims in order to have a better control and manipulation over them, and (3) it defines traffickers’ aim as gaining by exploiting people for labour, sex, organs, and servitude (Christensen, 2012, p. 14). By comparison, according to Reianu (2012, p. 72), human trafficking, “<...> is a major issue that concerns the entire international community, being not an isolated phenomenon specific to a country, but with an international and cross-border character” (2012, p. 72). As noted by the scholar (Reianu, 2012, p. 72), addressing this phenomenon entails developing and adopting systematic international policies implemented by individual countries, strategies focused on this issue’s transnational existence, its relationship with illegal activity and organized crime groups, and the economic, social, and psychological effects on the individual and community.

One of the major concerns is related to the query why human trafficking is an existing problem in the time of technological development and modernisation of societies. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime states that “human traffickers prey on people who are poor, isolated and weak” (2008, p. 3). It is also noted that “issues such as disempowerment, social

exclusion and economic vulnerability <...> marginalize entire groups of people and make them particularly vulnerable to being trafficked” (2008, p. 3). In addition, The National Strategy against Trafficking in Persons for 2006-2010 provides a list, a classification of risk factors of human trafficking: (1) **macro**, (2) **micro** and (3) **individual** (Reianu, 2012, p. 79).

According to the list that was elaborated by Reianu (2012, p. 79), the macro-risk factories have a high level of generality and include socio-economic and socio-cultural issues, which are generally caused by a high decline in the living standards, unemployment, lack of education and certain educational programs (e.g. education about sexual relations). The scholar also states that socio-cultural factors such as discrimination based on gender or ethnicity, domestic violence, migration, inefficiency low involvement of political and legal system, natural disasters, have a huge impact on this phenomenon as well (Reianu, 2012, p. 79).

By comparison, Reianu (2012, p. 80) notes that the micro-social risk factors are placed at the level of social groups and households, and are related to household impoverishment, a lack of access to jobs, social benefits and social assistance programs, low level of education and lack of professional training for victims and their families and therefore, human trafficking is commonly perceived as an outcome of dropping out of school, instability in the family, poor relationships between adults and children, deviant behaviour such as alcoholism, drug abuse, domestic violence and criminal record. Finally, by individual risk factors here is meant the gap between goals and resources of achieving them by legitimate means, availability of violating legal norms for a job abroad and lack of information on the associated risks, failed romantic relationships, history of sexual abuse, mental alienation, lack of self-confidence and trust in others (Reianu, 2012, p. 80).

In conclusion, these risk factors – macro, micro and individual - are used by traffickers to lure their victims in human exploitation by promising their victims a better life conditions outside their country of origin, solutions to their unemployment, social or personal problems and etc. In the following section, the issue of human trafficking in the media will be discussed in more detail.

### **1.1.3. Human Trafficking in the Media**

Generally, the coverage of the severity and complexity of human trafficking in the mainstream media is more scarce and less distinct. Informal media sources have only lately consistently reported on this issue – and right now, the vast majority of headlines are closely linked to stories of prostitution and human smuggling (Wallinger, 2010, p. 13). According to

the statement released by The Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons under The United States Department of State (2017, p. 33), “Just 15 years ago, human trafficking was an under-reported and often misrepresented issue and some reporting seasonalized the problem or even misinformed the public”. It is also stated that “in the last few years, a significant shift has occurred in the media’s reporting of human trafficking <...>”. Less coherent representation of human trafficking is illustrated in the study by Roth (as cited in Wallinger, 2010, p. 13), who argues that the U.S. media provide extremely little coverage of human trafficking issues and their coverages are generally scattered, piecemeal and lacked focus on solution. More specifically, the study has shown that “media tend to write about the human trafficking issue with frames that do not fully communicate the scope and severity of the problem or its relevance to the American people” (Roth, 2004, p. 4, as cited in Wallinger, 2010, p. 13).

One of the reasons why human trafficking is not in the media spotlight is a stance taken by the editor or power-holder of the media source. For most of the stories to make it to the news, it has to be newsworthy in the opinion of the publication’s editorial staff (Wallinger, 2010, p. 14). In other words that creates a general discrimination of the victims – the stories of the survivors who are not newsworthy, attracts little attention or stays unheard. According to Roth (as cited in Wallinger, 2010, p. 15), “when the media fails to cover adequately an issue such as human trafficking, it is less likely that the public can or will form opinions about the issue”. The absences of information and education on the issue of human trafficking affects both – the victims and the society. So far, the disjointed approach to human trafficking has been unsuccessful in raising awareness or putting a halt to this problem, which has instead resulted in a major misconception of the issue as a whole (Wallinger, 2010, p. 20).

This study will be focusing on the contextual meaning of metaphor use in the collected media articles. The theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is critical for the metaphor analysis, as it deals with the social implications of language usage in the context of media coverage of human trafficking. Additionally, the tenets of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) (Li, 2016; Charteris-Black, 2004) are empirically tested in this study, and some of them will be overviewed in the subsection below.

## **1.2. Critical Metaphor Analysis**

According to Charteris-Black (2004, p. 28), Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) can be defined as the study of beliefs and the distinctive understanding of the world of an individual’s environment. Li (2016, p. 92) notes that CMA deals with the integration of Critical Discourse

Analysis, corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics and pragmatics in order to examine tacit motives of the speaker and confidential power relations through the study of metaphorical expressions. Moreover, Li (2016, p. 95) has identified three problems regarding Critical Metaphor Analysis dealing with the issues of (1) focus, (2) subjectivity, and (3) theoretical contradictions.

First of all, according to Li (2016, p. 95), CMA has been generally involved only in a political debate, due to the reason of the connection between Critical Metaphor Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis. In order to gain greater legitimacy, the scholars propose incorporating medical and educational discourses in the CMA corpus data (Li, 2016, p. 95). Second of all, the corpus approach to subjectivity, though at the same time defining metaphors, is unavoidable. In 2007, the Pragglejaz Group developed a method of Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) for defining metaphorical expressions in a sphere of discourse (Li, 2016, p. 95). Thirdly, Hart (2008, as cited in Li, 2016, p. 96) noticed that both CMT and CDA suffer from theoretical contradictions and tensions such as concentration, relation and motivation issues. Within this view, Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT) is viewed as a solution in order to overcome the contradictions between Critical Metaphor Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (see Hart, 2008, as cited in Li, 2016, p. 96).

A more specific approach to analysing metaphorical expressions in discourse is the represented by the cognitive view of metaphor, which will be discussed in the subsection below.

### **1.2.1. Cognitive View of Metaphor**

Learning is an essential part of any human life, and people learn via their experience in a variety of ways on a regular basis. They shape their view of the world around them as a result of their exposure to different circumstances and emotions. Language is no exception, since people begin to use it both – before and after being exposed to a particular set of signs or codes. As a result, as time passes, people learn to express themselves differently, creating novel phrases such as metaphors and using their diverse variations. However, as vocabulary, thought, and learning are paralleled, they can no longer be considered distinct concepts; instead, they can be considered as a set of complex communication of symbols, discussed withing the theory of cognitive linguistics (Robinson & Ellis, 2008, p. 3). The methodology of Cognitive Linguistics (CL) methodology appeared fifty years ago as a challenge to the dominant fields of linguistics, philosophy and psychology (Evans et al 2007). The prevalent terms and meanings in that sense are related to the listed fields of study.

According to Sanders (2018, p. 541), cognitive linguistics is a concept applied by academics to the branch of linguistics that “holds that our understanding of how language works must line up with the findings of how the human mind works from a range of disciplines”. Evans and Green (2006) have introduced a more specific theory, which is defined as a methodology that analyses how language represents those basic properties and designed features of the human mind. More specifically, it is argued that linguistic skills influence brain activity as well as the arrangement of ideas and thoughts in a structured manner.

This understanding of the linguistic branch accelerated the emergence of three theories that guide Cognitive Linguistics. Croft and Cruse (2004, p. 1) claim that “language is not an autonomous cognitive faculty”, “grammar is conceptualization”, and “knowledge of language emerges from language use”. These points illustrate various perspectives on Cognitive Linguistics. The statement of “language is not an autonomous cognitive faculty” suggests that language is not so dissimilar to other cognitively dependent structures such as action or visual perception. Another statement of “grammar is conceptualization” emphasizes the fact that concepts emerge from the environment, and that we use basic semantic, syntactic, morphological, and phonological structures from our perception to apply language to concrete contexts. In addition to that, the statement “knowledge of language emerges from language use” implies that “human cognitive ability is the conceptualization of the experience to be communicated (and also the conceptualization of the linguistic knowledge we possess)” (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 3). Therefore, people seem to interact more precisely through the constructions to which they relate the features of previously seen images.

The second subchapter focuses on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which has contributed to the empirical analysis of this research, as its subject being metaphors. In the following subsection, the underlying assumptions of the theory, the definition of metaphor and its types are provided.

### **1.2.2. Conceptual Metaphor Theory**

The idea of conceptual metaphor has been ground-breaking in Cognitive Linguistics, particularly after Lakoff and Johnson proposed the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor (CMT) in 1980. It has many counterarguments to previous linguistic awareness of metaphors, the main one is that conceptual metaphors are the most important stage of metaphor development. As a result, the following are some of the key points of Conceptual Metaphor Theory:

1. **Metaphor is described as a combination of basic human experience and culturally complex phenomena.** ‘Primary metaphors’ are drawn from universal bodily knowledge, and their structural mappings are hence similar in most languages. Furthermore, the influence of the cultural context is what makes a metaphor unique in a language, which is where the main metaphors become complicated (Lakoff, 2008, p. 27). For example, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR is more likely to occur in several languages (e.g., in English: “my argument was defeated”, in Lithuanian “mano argumentas buvo nugalėtas”). That is, typically, arguing is viewed as war, and the other party is viewed as an adversary. However, according to Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 5), the structural context for such metaphor can vary in another culture, as argument can be interpreted in the meaning of dance. Logically, it seems to be less prevalent that the hypothetical idea of argument is most likely to be understood by a more competitive concept, where there are a loser and a winner.
2. **Metaphor is a combination of source and target domains, not a linguistic phenomenon.** Kövecses (2010, p. 122) defines conceptualization as “metaphorical entailment”, and Lakoff (2008) defines mapping as “the assignment of the properties of physical objects in order to represent an abstract being”. Thus, the source domain is more conceptually vast, as a variety of objects may be assigned to the target domain. However, only specific definitions can be applied, resulting in many source domains describing a target domain, which is why various structural mappings exist. According to Croft and Cruse (2004, p. 197), this point of view is classified as asymmetrical, since the source domain normally complements the goal domain but not vice versa.
3. **The use of metaphors often is unconscious,** and cognitive linguists claim that time required to comprehend non-literal language is the same as the time required to comprehend literal meaning (Gibbs, 2008; Charteris-Black, 2004; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). This stance is followed by the viewpoint that language is not a distinct cognitive faculty.
4. **Not all metaphors are entirely accurate.** This discussion extends beyond the definition of traditional metaphors to idioms, which are described as “idiosyncratic” phrases (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 54), such as “spill the beans, let the cat out of the bag, blow the whistles, blow the lid off” (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 199). In other words, most metaphors are only partially useful when interpreted in terms of a single concept and are entirely productive when one concept is another, or literally of the structure X is Y.

To summarize the above, the meaning and classification of metaphor are dependent on specific considerations pertaining to the role and context in which it occurs. Although conceptual metaphors occur by linguistics metaphors, their forms are vastly different and should not be considered synonymous. The general meaning of metaphor implies that structural mappings and linguistic expressions are connected, while cognitive linguists define a metaphor solely as a mental mechanism of conceptualization. Depending on the degree of conventionality, metaphor may lose its usefulness, and may emerge as a consequence of cultural framework.

The following section deals with the overview of the collected data and applied methodology in the current study.

## II. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The current study was carried out in the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, Media Discourse Analysis and Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The major aim of the study is to deconstruct prevalent source domains and their representative metaphorical expressions in the media representation of a human trafficked person and human trafficking in general. The research data was collected by following a set of selection criteria that will be discussed in the following subsection.

### 2.1. Data and Its Characteristics

In order to achieve the above aim of the study, the overall data set of 39 online articles (18 from CNN and 21 from BBC) was collected in the time period of four years (2017 – 2021). Overall, the data sample totals 34 992 tokens, with more detailed information about the collected data provided in **Table 1** below.

**Table 1.** The Collected Data

Media Source	No. characters	of	No. of articles	Date
<a href="https://www.bbc.com">https://www.bbc.com</a>	10869		21	2017-2021
<a href="https://edition.cnn.com">https://edition.cnn.com</a>	24123		18	2020-2021
<b>Total</b>	<b>34992</b>		<b>39</b>	

As shown in Table 1 above, 2 media sources have been chosen for collecting metaphorical expressions: American and British mainstream media sites, namely BBC and CNN. The data was collected by following such criteria as:

1. **Topicality** – all the collected articles were written about human trafficking victims.
2. **Key words** – human trafficking; prostitution; prostitute.

The subsection below overviews the methods which were applied in the conducted research.



## 2.2. Methodology

The collected data was analysed by using mainly qualitative method of Critical Discourse Analysis, namely Critical Metaphor Analysis. In addition, raw quantitative calculations were made. In **Table 2** below the applied methodology is overviewed in a more specific detail.

**Table 2.** Research Methodology

No.	Method	Procedural steps
1.	Qualitative	1. Applying MIP (2007) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Contextual meaning</li> <li>- Basic meaning</li> </ul> 2. Coding by TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN (A IS B)
		3. Establishing prevalent source domains and their implied (ideological) meaning.
2.	Quantitative	1. Frequency list 2. Overall metaphorical frequency 3. Metaphorical density
3.	Comparative	⇒ Prevalent source domains between the two media sources.

The qualitative method was applied procedurally by implementing three major steps. First, the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), was used to identify and analyse basic and contextual meanings (Pragglejaz Group, 2007). According to this procedure, every token is analysed in terms of its basic and contextual meanings and is marked as metaphorical if: (1) the basic meaning differs from its contextual meaning, which is always more concrete, physical and historically older (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 3); (2) the contextual meaning can be interpreted in contrast to the basic meaning. The second procedural step involved the coding of the source domains by using Lakoff and Johnson's (1980, p. 86) formulas: A IS B or TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN. Third, the most common source domains were classified into semantic groups and defined in terms of their ideological meaning. Furthermore, raw calculations were made with the purpose to determine the average frequency and density of metaphorical expressions in reference to human trafficking.

The following section summarizes the research findings and provides their analysis and discussion.

### III. RESEARCH FINDINGS

The analysis of the collected data has resulted in the overall number of 164 metaphorical expressions: 88 instances from the BBC (21 articles) and 76 instances from the American news site CNN (18 articles). Research findings are summarized in **Table 3** below, where **ME** stands for metaphorical expressions and **MF** stands for raw metaphorical frequency.

**Table 3.** Research Findings

	No. of articles (characters)	ME	MF
BBC	21 (10869)	88	8 ME per 1000 words
CNN	18 (24123)	76	3 ME per 1000 words
<b>Total</b>	<b>39 (34992)</b>	<b>164</b>	

As shown in **Table 3** above, there is a significant difference between the metaphorical frequency in BBC and CNN. In terms of raw metaphorical frequency, the use of metaphorical expressions in the articles from BBC is more frequent per 1000 words than in the collected data from the CNN. Regarding the results from the CNN, it has been determined that metaphorical expressions in reference to human trafficking are used three times less frequently, i.e. 3 ME per 1000 words, in comparison to 8 ME per 1000 words in the collected BBC articles

In addition to overall frequency trends, and the data sources were analysed in terms of prevalent meaning patterns, more specifically their representative source domains. The top three **source domains** (SD) from each of the news sites were established, and the frequency of each source domain was calculated. The analysis of the data has demonstrated that OBJECT, JOURNEY, TRANSACTION and STRUGGLE are the most frequent source domains that are evoked in the context of human trafficking, as provided in **Table 4** below.

**Table 4.** Prevalent Source Domains

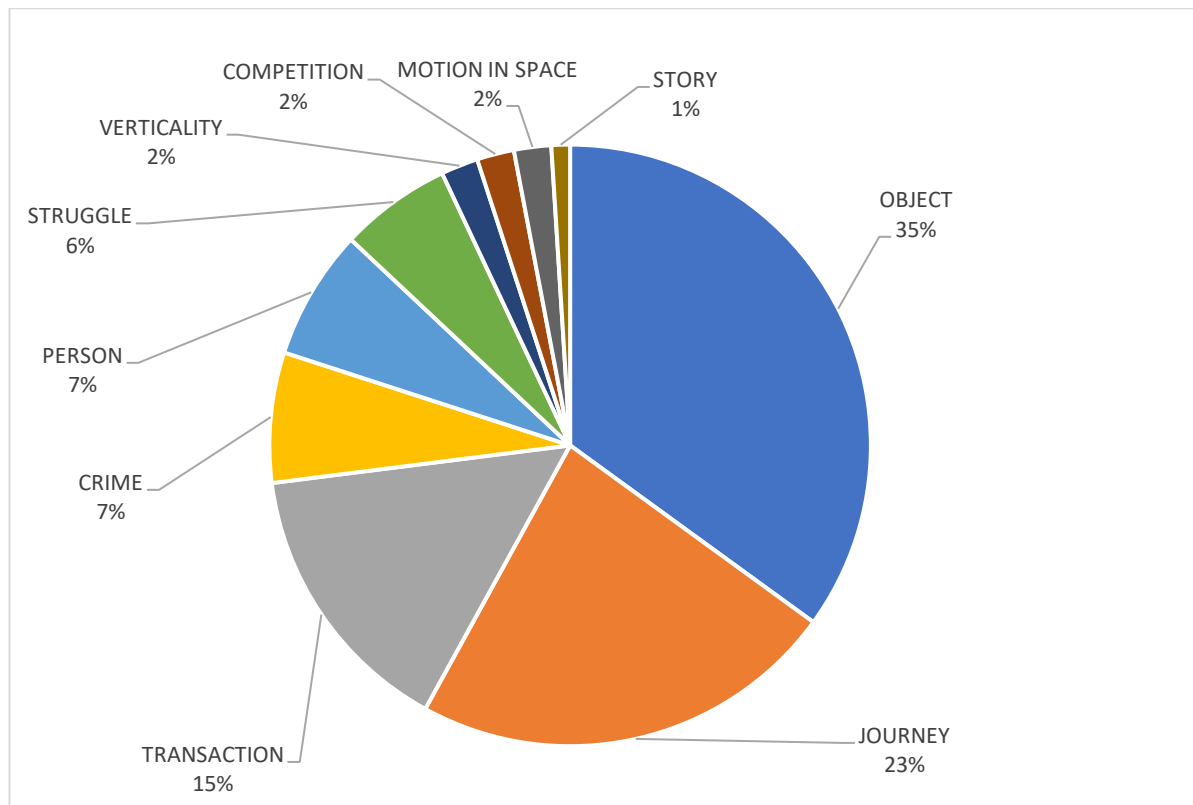
	ME	SD	MF
<i>BBC</i>	88	1. OBJECT (31) 2. JOURNEY (19) 3. TRANSACTION (13)	1. 35 % 2. 23 % 3. 15 %
<i>CNN</i>	76	1. OBJECT (16) 2. STRUGGLE (9) 3. JOURNEY (7)	1. 31 % 2. 18 % 3. 13 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>164</b>		

As indicated in **Table 4** above, the major similarity is that many of the prevalent source domains are overlapping. The two source domains of OBJECT and JOURNEY out of four are recurring across two data sets of BBC and CNN, thus providing their dominance. The two remaining source domains differ as the source domain of TRANSACTION is mostly used only in the articles of BBC and the source domain of STRUGGLE is predominant only in the articles of CNN.

First of all, the source domain of OBJECT is the most linguistically realised in both media sources. The source domain of JOURNEY is the second most frequent in the BBC News site, while in the CNN it is at the third rate of the overall frequency. The source domain of TRANSACTION is utilized only in the British media source, while the source domain of STRUGGLE is only evoked in the American media source. As a result, even when the most common source domains coincide, variations in frequency are found. The subsequent sections will be discussing each of the metaphorical patterns in more detail.

### 3.1. Prevalent Source Domains of the British News Site - BBC

The analysis of the research has resulted in the total of 88 metaphorical expressions that were established in 21 articles collected from BBC. After collecting the examples, it was observed that OBJECT is the most prevalent source domain in the list of the established source domains, as shown in **Figure 1** below.



**Figure 1.** Prevalent Source Domains in the BBC Data

According to the research findings, there are three prevalent source domains. The concept of OBJECT is the dominant source domain with 35% of frequency distribution followed by the source domains of JOURNEY (23%) and TRANSACTION (15%). These three concepts account for more than half of the most common source domains, as shown in **Figure 1**. Thus, the most distinctive metaphorical expression from three prevalent source domains will be illustrated below for further analysis.

The following examples below show **three** prevalent source identified in the collected articles from BBC:

- **The Source Domain of OBJECT**

- (1) *The witness also claimed that prior to allegedly **being sold**, she was made to sleep with Pakistani men for money and described this as “hitchhiking”. (A:1)*
- (2) *One victim, a father in his 40s who asked not to be identified, told me he had been **bought** by the traffickers and was essentially now **their property**. (A:3)*
- (3) *“I learned that Feko had actually **bought me**,” he says. (A:3)*
- (4) *“I realised he’d **bought me like a piece of furniture**.” (A:3)*
- (5) *He added it was simply not acceptable that in 21<sup>st</sup> century Scotland **people were being bought, sold and treated as commodities**. (A:13)*

As it can be seen from the examples, one of the ways in which the source domain of OBJECT is used is objectification of the victims of human trafficking. In this case, people are shown as deprived of human traits or emotions. People become objects that can be “owned” or “produced”. The metaphorical use of chosen verbs stems from their essential context, which is relevant to the distribution and availability of goods, and shopping activities (see examples (4)). Since objects or items are rarely viewed with sensitivity, readers experience a lack of empathy. People may be deceived or regulated without their knowledge, according to such created narratives. They are stripped of the right to act and emotionally align with the victims of human trafficking.

The examples below illustrate the second most popular source domain used in the collected BBC articles.

- **The Source Domain of JOURNEY**

(6) *“I hope that this serves as a warning to those in the company who are involved in the supply and distribution of drugs as well as the exploitation of people, that we know who you are, where you are and we are committed to **bringing you to justice**,” she added.*

(A:8)

(7) *In a statement, Ms Klein – who is now an attorney and advocate for victims of sexual abuse – called Geddert’s death an “**escape from justice**” for “a narcissistic abuser”.*

(A:12)

(8) *But charities say that in practice long delays can cause unnecessary suffering, stop people **moving on with their lives** and expose them to risk of being trafficked again.* (A:4)

(9) *The country’s record on prosecutions is patchy but the government have been praised for **taking steps to improve** prosecutions.* (A:5)

(10) *A group of women believed to have been trafficked from Romania to the UK have been rescued from the properties and **taken to safety**, police said.* (A:19)

The source domain of JOURNEY is another frequent source domain in the collected BBC articles. Various metaphorical expressions evoke the source domains of JOURNEY that can be reflected in such conceptualization as JUSTICE IS A JOURNEY, the use of which implies movement or change. The realization of such concept in this particular manner (see examples (6) and (7)), shows an extremely negative and unfair outlook on the law enforcement system with a feeling of disappointment. In addition, there is a clear linguistic pattern in most of these examples. The JOURNEY metaphor is expressed through the verbs usually followed by prepositions such as ‘to’, ‘towards’, etc. or, as in these cases ‘from’.

Thus, the concept of JOURNEY is also used to describe a certain kind progress or dynamic changes in people's lives. As seen in examples above, this concept is relatively positive (see examples (8), (9) and (10)).

The examples below present the third most popular source domain identified in the BBC articles, which is that of TRANSACTION.

- **The Source Domain of TRANSACTION**

(11) *"They were running a slavery operation to make money off the backs of others."* (A:3)

(12) *A 41-year-old man has told a human trafficking trial how he was "sold" as a teenager by a man he worked for.* (A:21)

(13) *He told the High court in Glasgow he fled but was found and beaten before being sold to Mr McPhee's son James.* (A:21)

(14) *The court heard that after he was sold to James McPhee, he was told he could leave if he paid "several grand".* (A:21)

(15) *It was alleged he told Mr Keith that he "bought" him from his dad.* (A:21)

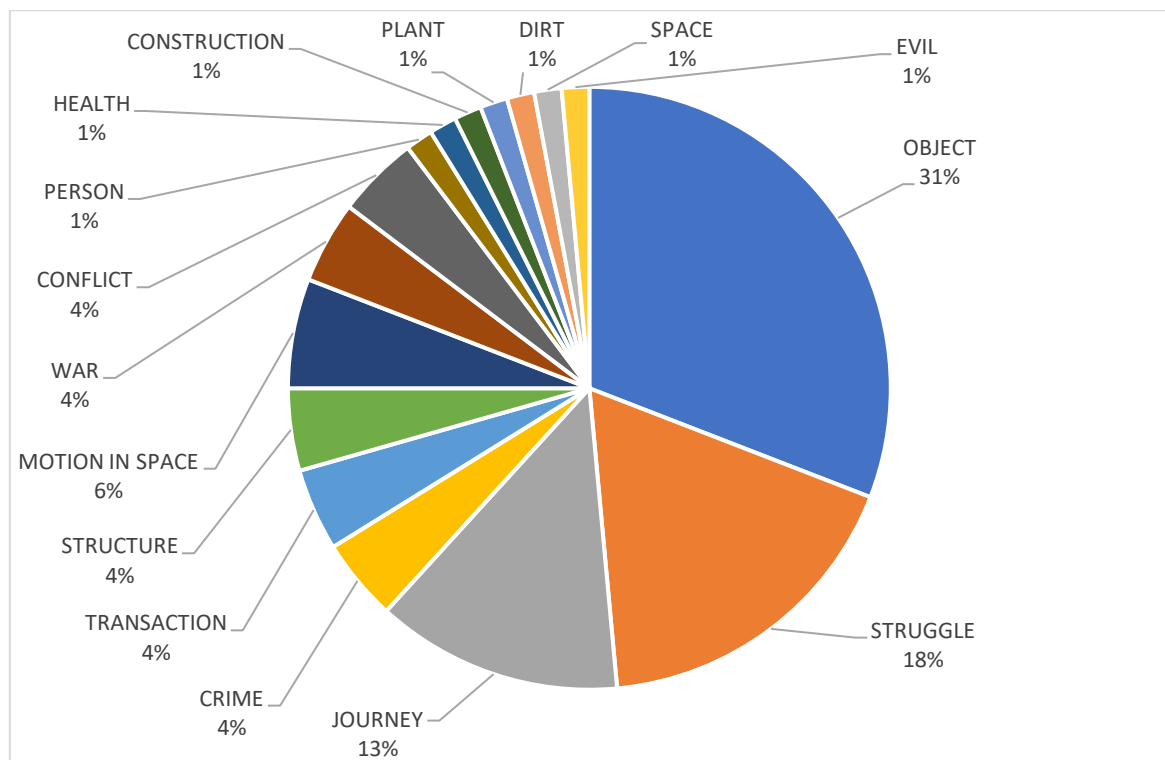
(16) *He said he stayed with Robert McPhee and his family at a number of traveller sites across Scotland but ended up feeling "owned".* (A:21)

The source domain of TRANSACTION, similarly to the source domain of OBJECT, metaphorically create a narrative where people are viewed as a commodity that is exchanged for commercial purposes. The underlying meaning of this metaphor is closely connected to the semantic domain of "doing business", which normally refers to the acquisition and sales of products in order to generate a profit.

After the analysis of the most frequent source domain identified in the collected articles from BBC, the following section provides the examples of the source domains established in the CNN articles.

### **3.2. Prevalent Source Domains of the American News Site - CNN**

The analysis of the collected data samples from 18 CNN articles has resulted in a total of 76 metaphorical instances. The analysis of the identified metaphorical expressions has shown that OBJECT is the most prevalent source domain in the list of the established source domains, as demonstrated in **Figure 2** below.



**Figure 2.** Prevalent Source Domains used by CNN

It is thus evident that the source domain of OBJECT is realized by 31% of metaphorical expressions, while the source domain of STRUGGLE has 18% of metaphorical representation, and the metaphor of JOURNEY is covered by 13% of total distribution. These three concepts account for more than a half of the prevalent source domains which can be clearly seen in **Figure 2** above.

The following examples below show **three** prevalent source domains identified in the collected articles from CNN:

- **The Source Domain of OBJECT**

(17) *Sudan is **full of Nouras** and few have seen justice, Jabralla says. (B:4)*

(18) *In this 2017 photo, former “**comfort woman**” Lee Yong-soo, left, who was forced to serve for the Japanese troops as **a sex slave** during World War II, shouts slogans during a rally to mark the March First Independent Movement Day. (B:7)*

(19) *For too long, **gender has been “a blind spot”** in our understanding of criminal justice, says Delphine Lourtau, executive director of the Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide. (B:2)*

(20) *The indictment, which was filed on Nov. 23 but not unsealed until Tuesday, charges Peter Nygard with nine counts including sex trafficking and racketeering charges, and alleges that between 1995 and 2020, Nygard and other employees allegedly used modelling*

*and other fashion industry jobs to “lure victims into Nygard’s orbit and keep them there.”*  
(B:17)

As can be seen from the examples above, one of the ways in which the source domain of OBJECT is used is objectification of human trafficking victims. In such context, the victims are portrayed as being deprived of any human traits, emotions or feelings. Therefore, people in these metaphorical expressions are objectified and can be represented as a one unified whole or a mass (see example (9)) or an entity with certain attributes (see example (2)). In this case, objectification and de-personification of human trafficking victims create a narrative, where emotions and feelings are suppressed towards those who have experienced harm and discrimination. This is done by metaphorically depriving people of their human attributes, individual properties and their right to freedoms.

The examples below illustrate the second most popular source domain used in CCN articles.

- **The Source Domain of STRUGGLE**

(21)(CNN) *Virginia Giuffre, an alleged victim of Jeffrey Epstein, describes the psychological toll of Epstein’s abuse in portions of a newly released deposition from May 3, 2016.* (B:6)

(22)*But the resources available to fight slavery are a tiny fraction of the profits made by those trafficking in flesh.* (B:13)

(23)*Bringing together a coalition of nations, activists, philanthropists, and corporations to end one of humanity’s greatest evils would be both achievable and inspirational to future generations looking at how to confront our biggest challenges.* (B:13)

As it can be seen from the examples above, the source domain of STRUGGLE is expressed through two structural metaphors. Usually, the victims of human trafficking, sexual abuse tend to experience deep psychological problems (see example (21)) that are metaphorically resonant with the physical struggle. In addition, the STRUGGLE metaphor is expressed through the use of such verbs as ‘fight’ and ‘confront’ that evoke a negative meaning, which can indirectly contribute to the overall negative attitude of human-trafficked victims. Although, in these cases (see examples (22) and (23)) verbs have an opposite meaning. They express factions towards the better results and changes for a greater life.

The examples below illustrate the third most common source domain used in the CCN articles.



- **The Source Domain of JOURNEY**

(24) *Sarah Klein, who has identified herself as the first to be abused by former USA Gymnastics team doctor Larry Nassar, called Joh Geddart's death by suicide an "escape from justice," in a statement Thursday night. (B:11)*

(25) *After news of Nygard's arrest, Gutzler said in a statement to CNN that the team representing victims hopes Nygard's accomplices and co-conspiracy are brought to justice. (B:17)*

As it can be seen from the examples, the concept of JOURNEY is expressed through the pattern of crime and justice. The realization of such concept in this particular manner shows an extremely negative and unfair outlook on the law enforcement system with a feeling of disappointment. In addition, there is a clear linguistic pattern of JOURNEY metaphor that is expressed through the verbs usually followed by prepositions such as "escape from" (see example (16) and (17)). After the analysis of the most frequent source domain identified in the collected articles from CNN, the following section will overview the main findings of the current study.

### **3.3. The Summary of the Results**

The analysis of the identified metaphorical expressions has resulted in four prevalent source domains: OBJECT, JOURNEY, STRUGGLE and TRANSACTION. The source domains of OBJECT and JOURNEY were determined to be the most recurrent metaphorical patterns, since they were used in both mainstream media platforms. Furthermore, it has been discovered that the source domain of TRANSACTION is the prevalent metaphor only for in the BBC articles, while the source domain of STRUGGLE is a predominant source domain for in the CNN collected data. In addition, metaphorical expressions were examined in terms of their possible ideological meaning, which is more implicit and far-reaching.

The use of the majority of the identified metaphorical expressions points out to certain recurrent ideological patterns that contribute to the overall bias towards human trafficked persons. The source domain of OBJECT is used to reflect the objectification of victims, portray them as countable entities without feelings, emotions or rights. A similar pattern is traced in these of the overlapping source domain of TRANSACTION, when human trafficking victims are commodified and exchanged for the purpose of financial gain. Finally, the source domain of JOURNEY is used to negatively characterize the justice system. By using this metaphors, the perpetrators are portrayed as the ones who avoid punishment for their committed crimes. In

addition to that, there was no substantial contrast between the analysed metaphorical expressions in reference to human trafficking and its victims in the BBC and CNN articles. Overall, it can be argued that, despite certain criticism towards the perpetrators of human trafficking, human trafficking victims are represented in a negative and biased way by the media.

## CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the prevalent source domains in the collected BBC and CNN article has allowed me to draw the following conclusions:

1. After the overview of the theoretical framework, it has been determined that Critical Discourse Analysis is a multidisciplinary approach to the textual representation, the main goal of which is to demonstrate how the contextual analysis of language usage can be used to deconstruct power relations and public perceptions about various social issues. Even more, Critical Metaphor Analysis investigates latent speakers' intentions and hidden power relations through the examination of metaphorical language.
2. In total, 164 metaphorical expressions were identified from 39 articles. 88 instances were found in 21 BBC articles and 76 instances were established in 18 CNN articles. The analysis of the metaphorical expressions has revealed that the collected BBC articles are more metaphorically loaded, i.e., 8 metaphorical expressions per 1000 words in comparison to 3 metaphorical expressions per 1000 words in the CNN collected articles.
3. The source domains of OBJECT, JOURNEY, TRANSACTION and STRUGGLE were identified as the most prevalent in the collected data samples. It has been clarified that the OBJECT and JOURNEY metaphors are the most recurrent in both media sources. The source domain of TRANSACTION was established only in the BBC articles, while the source domain of STRUGGLE was metaphorically highlighted in the CCN data sample.
4. The prevalent narratives in both media sets do not tend to differ. The results of the analysis on the metaphorical expressions has showed that the media tends to represent human trafficking victims in a more pessimistic way and biased way by depriving them of legitimacy and metaphorically representing them as movable or commodified entities, or those who continuously struggle and are unable to get justice.

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## SUMMARY

The use of metaphor in the mainstream media has a strong ideological effect on readers and their perception of the social reality. Few studies have been conducted on the issue of human trafficking victims and how media sources metaphorically represent them. Thus, the study focuses on the analysis of the metaphorical expressions in the context of human trafficking and its victims, sexual exploitation and prostitution in the collected BBC and CNN articles. In total, 164 metaphorical expressions were identified from 39 online articles, with 88 metaphorical expressions identified in the 21 BBC articles and 76 metaphorical expressions in the 18 CNN articles. The source domains of OBJECT, JOURNEY, TRANSACTION and STRUGGLE were identified as the most prevalent source domains in reference to human trafficking and its victims. The OBJECT and JOURNEY metaphors were the most recurrent in both media sources. Finally, it has been clarified that the prevalent narratives in both media sets do not tend to differ. The results of the analysis of the metaphorical expressions has shown that both BBC and CNN media tends to represent human trafficking victims in a more pessimistic and biased way. Such metaphorical narrative deprives them of legitimacy and portrays human trafficking victims as movable or commodified entities, or those who continuously struggle and are unable to get justice.

**Key words:** human trafficking, metaphor, conceptual metaphor theory, critical discourse analysis, critical metaphor analysis, media discourse.

## SANTRAUKA

Metaforos naudojimas pagrindinėse žiniasklaidos priemonėse daro stiprų ideologinį poveikį skaitytojams ir jų socialinės tikrovės suvokimui. Buvo atlikta nedaug tyrimų apie prekybos žmonėmis aukas ir tai, kaip žiniasklaidos šaltiniai juos metaforiškai reprezentuoja. Taigi tyrimas sutelktas į metaforinių išraiškų analizę prekybos žmonėmis ir jos aukomis, seksualinio išnaudojimo ir prostitucijos kontekste surinktuose BBC ir CNN straipsniuose. Iš viso buvo identifikuota 164 metaforinės išraiškos iš 39 internetinių straipsnių, 88 metaforinės išraiškos nurodytos 21 BBC straipsnyje ir 76 metaforinės išraiškos 18 CNN straipsnių. Buvo nustatyta, kad OBJEKTO, KELIONĖS, TRANZAKCIJOS ir KANČIOS šaltinių domenai yra labiausiai paplitę šaltiniai, atsižvelgiant į prekybą žmonėmis ir jos aukas. OBJEKTO ir KELIONĖS metaforos dažniausiai pasikartojo abiejuose žiniasklaidos šaltiniuose. Galiausiai paaiškinta, kad abiejuose žiniasklaidos rinkiniuose paplitę pasakojimai nėra linkę skirtis. Metaforinių išraiškų analizės rezultatai parodė, kad tiek BBC, tiek CNN žiniasklaida yra linkusi atstovauti prekybos žmonėmis aukoms pesimistiškiau ir šališkiau. Toks metaforinis pasakojimas atima iš jų teisėtumą ir prekybos žmonėmis aukas vaizduoja kaip kilnojamus ar prekinis vienetus arba tuos, kurie nuolat kovoja ir negali gauti teisingumo.

**Raktiniai žodžiai:** prekyba žmonėmis, metafora, konceptualiosios metaforos teorija, kritinio diskurso analizė, kritinės metaforos analizė, žiniasklaidos diskursas

## APPENDIX

The collected examples from the BBC articles:

EXAMPLE	SOURCE DOMAIN
1. The witness also claimed that prior to allegedly being sold, she was made to sleep with Pakistani men for money and described this as “ <b>hitchhiking</b> ”.	JOURNEY
2. The witness also claimed that prior to allegedly <b>being sold</b> , she was made to sleep with Pakistani men for money and described this as “hitchhiking”.	OBJECT
3. The witness also claimed that prior to allegedly <b>being sold</b> , she was made to sleep with Pakistani men for money and described this as “hitchhiking”.	TRANSACTION
4. My <b>back used to be black and blue</b> .	OBJECT
5. It means all children identified as potentially trafficked in Wales must be referred into Barnardo’s ICTAs service who will make contact with the child within 24 hours and <b>help them navigate the complex systems of social care, immigration and criminal justice</b> .	JOURNEY
6. It means all children identified as potentially trafficked in Wales must be referred into Barnardo’s ICTAs service who will make contact with the child within 24 hours and <b>help them navigate the complex systems of social care, immigration and criminal justice</b> .	OBJECT
7. Eva managed to escape her ordeal and in 2017 was introduced to Cardiff-based charity Red Community which has a <b>befriending project for survivors of trafficking and slavery</b> .	JOURNEY
8. With a 300% rise in recorded slavery victims since 2012, officials acknowledge <b>there is a growing problem</b> .	OBJECT

9. One victim, a father in his 40s who asked not to be identified, told me he had been bought by the traffickers and was essentially now <b>their property</b> .	OBJECT
10. One victim, a father in his 40s who asked not to be identified, told me he had been bought by the traffickers and was essentially now <b>their property</b> .	TRANSACTION
11. One victim, a father in his 40s who asked not to be identified, told me he had been <b>bought</b> by the traffickers and was essentially now their property.	OBJECT
12. One victim, a father in his 40s who asked not to be identified, told me he had been <b>bought</b> by the traffickers and was essentially now their property.	TRANSACTION
13. “I learned that Feko had actually <b>bought me</b> ,” he says.	OBJECT
14. “I learned that Feko had actually <b>bought me</b> ,” he says.	TRANSACTION
15. “I realised he’d <b>bought me like a piece of furniture</b> .”	OBJECT
16. “I realised he’d <b>bought me like a piece of furniture</b> .”	TRANSACTION
17. The recruiters in the Czech Republic were looking for me <b>who were down on their luck</b> .	VERTICALITY
18. “They were running a slavery <b>operation to make off the backs of others</b> .”	OBJECT
19. “They were running a slavery <b>operation to make off the backs of others</b> .”	TRANSACTION
20. There are now laws to protect victims but campaigners say labour exploitation and slavery happen every day, in virtually every community – often in plain sight and <b>under our very noses</b> .	STRUGGLE
21. Memos reveal officials were concerned the system left people <b>“in limbo”</b> .	STRUGGLE

22. A positive decision could affect their immigration status and the likelihood of them <b>facing criminal charges</b> .	CRIME
23. But charities say that in practice long delays can cause unnecessary suffering, stop people <b>moving on with their lives</b> and expose them to the risk of being trafficked again.	JOURNEY
24. But charities say that in practice <b>long delays</b> can cause unnecessary suffering, stop people moving on with their lives and expose them to the risk of being trafficked again.	JOURNEY
25. But charities say that in practice long delays can cause unnecessary suffering, stop people moving on with their lives and expose them to the risk of <b>being trafficked</b> again.	OBJECT
26. They all have <b>tales of brutality and exploitation</b> .	STORY
27. They all have <b>tales of brutality and exploitation</b> .	STRUGGLE
28. Some of these children already have little children of their own, <b>the products of the rapes</b> they were subjected to.	OBJECT
29. "I want them to get the punishment that they deserve, because <b>to be under someone's thumb</b> , to do the things they want you to do for them..."	OBJECT
30. They country's record on prosecutions is patchy but the government have been praised <b>for taking steps to improve</b> prosecutions.	JOURNEY
31. They country's record on prosecutions is patchy but the government have been praised <b>for taking steps to improve</b> prosecutions.	COMPETITION
32. They country's <b>record</b> on prosecutions is patchy but the government have been praised for taking steps to improve prosecutions.	COMPETITION
33. <b>The raid followed</b> a three-year operation by the Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority, Cumbria Police and the National crime Agency.	JOURNEY

34. The outbuilding had no heating and contained a single chair, soiled bedding and <b>a metered television.</b>	OBJECT
35. The agency has published a paper, Ethics of AI: Pioneering a New National Security, saying the technology <b>will put at the heart of its operation.</b>	VERTICALITY
36. And officials say it will help analysts spot patterns hidden inside large – and <b>fast growing – amounts of data.</b>	OBJECT
37. <b>A growing number of states</b> are using AI to automate the production of false content to affect public debate, including “deepfake” video and audio, GCHQ warns.	OBJECT
38. But it could also help GCHQ detect and fact-check it and identify “ <b>troll farms</b> ” and botnet accounts.	OBJECT
39. GCHQ says AI could: help police officers <b>infiltrate rings of offenders.</b>	OBJECT
40. But AI could help: “ <b>following the money</b> ” – analysing complex transactions, possibly revealing state sponsors or links to terrorist groups.	JOURNEY
41. “I hope that <b>this serves as a warning</b> to those in the community who are involved in the supply and distribution of drugs as well as the exploitation of people, that we know who you are, where you are and we are committed to bringing you to justice,” she added.	JOURNEY
42. “I hope that this serves as a warning to those in the community who are involved in the supply and distribution of drugs as well as the exploitation of people, that we know who you are, where you are and we are committed to <b>bringing you to justice,</b> ” she added.	JOURNEY



<p>43. “I hope that this serves as a warning to those in the community who are involved in the supply and distribution of drugs as well as the exploitation of people, that we know who you are, where you are and we are committed to <b>bringing you to justice</b>,” she added.</p>	<p>JOURNEY</p>
<p>44. “I hope that this serves as a warning to those in the community who are involved in the supply and distribution of drugs as well as the <b>exploitation</b> of people, that we know who you are, where you are and we are committed to bringing you to justice,” she added.</p>	<p>OBJECT</p>
<p>45. “I hope this operation changes the course for 150 young lives and leads them to the <b>path of opportunities</b> every child deserves,” said US Marshal for the Western District of Tennessee Tyreece Miller.</p>	<p>JOURNEY</p>
<p>46. “I hope this operation <b>changes the course</b> for 150 young lives and leads them to the path of opportunities every child deserves,” said US Marshal for the Western District of Tennessee Tyreece Miller.</p>	<p>JOURNEY</p>
<p>47. “The investigation isn’t over yet, however, today’s action should send a very clear message: trafficking won’t be tolerated, and we will continue to work with and exploitation and to <b>bring them to justice</b>.”</p>	<p>JOURNEY</p>
<p>48. A man <b>facing four charges</b>, including human trafficking and controlling prostitution for gain, has been refused bail at Belfast Magistrates’ Court.</p>	<p>JOURNEY</p>
<p>49. He also <b>faced 14 human trafficking charges</b> for allegedly subjecting “his athletes to forced labor or services under extreme conditions that contributed to them suffering injuries and harm”.</p>	<p>CRIME</p>
<p>50. “We have <b>to grapple with the reality</b> that it was known, and no one stopped him”.</p>	<p>STRUGGLE</p>

51. “We have to grapple with the reality that it was known, and no one <b>stopped</b> him”.	JOURNEY
52. In a statement, Ms Klein – who is now an attorney and advocate for victims of sexual abuse – called Geddert’s death and “ <b>escape from justice</b> ’ for “a narcissistic abuser”.	JOURNEY
53. He added it was simply not acceptable that in 21 <sup>st</sup> century Scotland <b>people were being bought, sold and treated as commodities</b> .	TRANSACTION
54. He added it was simply not acceptable that in 21 <sup>st</sup> century Scotland <b>people were being bought, sold and treated as commodities</b>	OBJECT
55. The first is the recruitment, transportation and <b>receipt of victims</b> .	OBJECT
56. A particular problem <b>Wales faces</b> lies in its porous border with Ireland.	PERSON
57. The difficulty police have in locating and stamping out these crimes is that the victims are often “ <b>hiding in plain sight</b> ”.	MOTION IN SPACE
58. In 2014, the case of Lizzy Idahosa shed further light on the horrors <b>faced by victims</b> .	JOURNEY
59. “Every police force in Wales currently has ongoing investigations into this crime and I want to send a message of hope to victims currently being <b>exploited</b> ; we are coming to rescue you.”	OBJECT
60. “Every police force in Wales currently has ongoing investigations into this crime and I want to send a message of hope to victims currently being exploited; we are <b>coming to rescue you</b> .”	STRUGGLE
61. Two men <b>face modern slavery and human trafficking charges</b> .	JOURNEY
62. Two men face modern slavery and human trafficking <b>charges</b> .	CRIME

63. Between the, the four men <b>face a total of 30 charges</b> including violence, intimidation, abduction and <b>detaining</b> victims against their will.	CRIME
64. Three people have been found guilty of running a prostitution network described as a “ <b>sexual conveyor belt</b> ” by a judge.	OBJECT
65. Human trafficking trio guilty of <b>running sex ring</b> .	MOTION IN SPACE
66. In his summing up, Judge Philip Katz QC <b>described the operation as a “sexual conveyor belt”</b> .	OBJECT
67. A group of women believed to have been trafficked from Romanian to the UK have been rescued from the properties and <b>taken to safety</b> , police said.	OBJECT
68. A group of women believed to have been trafficked from Romanian to the UK have been rescued from the properties and <b>taken to safety</b> , police said.	JOURNEY
69. The reports <b>highlights the treatment of North Koreans</b> who may have been trafficked and then <b>sent home by China</b> .	OBJECT
70. There has been <b>no response from China</b> , which could now <b>face sanctions</b> .	PERSON
71. There has been no response from China, which could now <b>face sanctions</b> .	PERSON
72. <b>China “is not making significant efforts” to stop human trafficking</b> , the US says, claiming that fewer people are now being prosecuted than before.	
73. But Associated Press reports that presidential waivers mean Tier Three <b>countries do not always get punished</b> .	CRIME
74. But Associated Press reports that presidential waivers mean Tier Three <b>countries do not always get punished</b> .	PERSON

75. Too often, the report says, China sends North Koreans home <b>without having screened them for signs of human trafficking</b> – even though they could <b>face torture or execution</b> on their return.	CRIME
76. Too often, the report says, China sends North Koreans home without having screened them for signs of human trafficking – even though they could <b>face torture or execution</b> on their return.	CRIME
77. Human trafficking trial: <b>Teenager ‘sold’</b> by man he worked for.	OBJECT
78. Human trafficking trial: <b>Teenager ‘sold’</b> by man he worked for.	TRANSACTION
79. A 41-year-old man has told a human trafficking trial how <b>he was “sold”</b> as a teenager by a man he worked for.	OBJECT
80. A 41-year-old man has told a human trafficking trial how <b>he was “sold”</b> as a teenager by a man he worked for.	TRANSACTION
81. He told the High Court in Glasgow he fled but was fund and beaten before <b>being sold</b> to Mr McPhee’s son James.	OBJECT
82. He told the High Court in Glasgow he fled but was fund and beaten before <b>being sold</b> to Mr McPhee’s son James.	TRANSACTION
83. The court heard that after <b>he was sold to</b> James McPhee, he was told he could leave of he paid “several grand”.	OBJECT
84. The court heard that after <b>he was sold to</b> James McPhee, he was told he could leave of he paid “several grand”.	TRANSACTION
85. He said he stayed with Robert McPhee and his family at a number of traveller sites across Scotland but ended up <b>feeling “owned”</b> .	OBJECT
86. He said he stayed with Robert McPhee and his family at a number of traveller sites across Scotland but ended up <b>feeling “owned”</b> .	TRANSACTION

87. It was alleged he told Mr Keith that <b>he had “bought” him</b> for his dad.	OBJECT
88. It was alleged he told Mr Keith that <b>he had “bought” him</b> for his dad.	TRANSACTION

The collected examples from the CNN articles:

EXAMPLE	SOURCE DOMAIN
89. As much as <b>stories might come out</b> about conspiracies to target people who are relatively safe, relatively less vulnerable, the truth is no the hotline.	PERSON
90. As much as stories might come out about conspiracies to target people who are relatively safe, relatively less vulnerable, <b>the truth is no the hotline.</b>	OBJECT
91. When not <b>paralyzed to the coronavirus pandemic</b> , Hong Kong is a major ait transit hub with good security controls.	HEALTH
92. <b>All warns on drugs</b> have achieved is orison population growth.	WAR
93. <b>All warns on drugs</b> have achieved is orison population growth.	CONFLICT
94. For too long, <b>gender has been “a blind spot”</b> in our understanding of criminal justice, says Delphine Lourtau, executive director of the Cornell Centre on the Death Penalty Worldwide.	OBJECT
95. Yuni, meanwhile, <b>is trying to build a new life.</b>	CONSTRUCTION
96. Begum, who is a former sex worker from the brothel, added that the government, police and local NGOs including her organization <b>are supplying relief</b> to the women.	OBJECT

97. During a charity aid delivery at the brothel on May 14, hundreds of women jostled in the rain as they tried to secure one of the bags of rice being handed out; their depression occasionally turning to frustration as <b>tempers frayed</b> in the crowd.	STRUGGLE
98. During a charity aid delivery at the brothel on May 14, hundreds of women jostled in the rain as they tried to secure one of the bags of rice being handed out; their depression occasionally turning to frustration as <b>tempers frayed</b> in the crowd.	OBJECT
99. Sudan is <b>full of Nouras</b> and few have seen justice, Jabralla says.	OBJECT
100. Members of the LGBTQ community have become increasingly persecuted, and some in other parts of the country sat they fear for their lives because of a <b>crackdown</b> orchestrated by a controversial governor.	CRIME
101. "That was the beginning of our <b>fight</b> ," Wambura said.	WAR
102. "That was the beginning of our <b>fight</b> ," Wambura said.	CONFLICT
103. "He would kick me out of his house day after day saying, ' <b>you are barren</b> , leave my home, <b>you are barren</b> , leave my home.'"	PLANT
104. (CNN) Virginia Giuffre, an alleged victim of Jeffrey Epstein, describes the <b>psychological toll</b> of Epstein's abuse in portions of a newly released deposition from May 3, 2016.	STRUGGLE
105. (CNN) Virginia Giuffre, an alleged victim of Jeffrey Epstein, describes the psychological toll of Epstein's abuse <b>in portions of a newly released deposition</b> from May 3, 2016.	
106. Giuffre <b>went on to say</b> that Epstein told her "everyone owes him favours."	JOURNEY
107. They're <b>all in each other's pockets</b> ."	OBJECT
108. They're <b>all in each other's pockets</b> ."	TRANSACTION

<p>109. In this 2017 photo, former “<b>comfort woman</b>” Lee Yong-soo, left, who was forced to serve for the Japanese troops as a sex slave during World War II, shouts slogans during a rally to mark the March First Independence Movement Day.</p>	<p>OBJECT</p>
<p>110. A Harvard professor <b>has sparked international backlash</b> after publishing an academic article arguing that Korean comfort women – sent against their will to imperial Japan to have sex with soldiers – were not actually forced into their prostitution but that they actually chose their positions.</p>	
<p>111. A Harvard professor has sparked international backlash after publishing an academic article arguing that <b>Korean comfort women</b> – sent against their will to imperial Japan to have sex with soldiers – were not actually forced into their prostitution but that they actually chose their positions.</p>	<p>OBJECT</p>
<p>112. In this article, “<b>Contracting for sex</b> in the Pacific War,” Ramseyer argues: “The protracted political dispute between South Korea and Japan over the wartime brothels called ‘comfort stations’ obscures the contractual dynamics involved.”</p>	<p>OBJECT</p>
<p>113. In this article, “Contracting for sex in the Pacific War,” Ramseyer argues: “The protracted political dispute between South Korea and Japan over the wartime brothels called ‘<b>comfort stations</b>’ obscures the contractual dynamics involved.”</p>	<p>OBJECT</p>
<p>114. He <b>goes on to illustrate ways</b> that the women of Korea, then under rule by Japan, were actually given voluntary contracts to work for the Japanese army as prostitutes.</p>	<p>JOURNEY</p>
<p>115. “We have been asking the Japanese side to earnestly <b>face up</b> to and deeply reflect on history, properly handle the ‘comfort women’ issue in a responsible manner, and take concrete actions to win the trust of its Asian neighbours and the international community.”</p>	<p>JOURNEY</p>

<p>116. “We have been asking the Japanese side to earnestly face up to and deeply reflect on history, properly <b>handle the ‘comfort women’</b> issue in a responsible manner, and take concrete actions to win the trust of its Asian neighbours and the international community.”</p>	<p>OBJECT</p>
<p>117. South Korea denied that allegation, and in 2015 <b>the two countries reached an agreement</b>, with Japan reportedly giving an official apology and a promised \$8.3 million pay-out to victims, the UN said.</p>	<p>TRANSACTION</p>
<p>118. The task force <b>recovered the children</b> – some of whom are potential victims of human trafficking – <b>in three sweeps</b> throughout the state.</p>	<p>OBJECT</p>
<p>119. The death John Geddert, the US Olympic team coach who was charged with 24 felonies in connection with the abuse of young gymnasts, was an “<b>escape from justice</b>,” said Sarah Klein, one of the many athletes who reacted to his suicide on Thursday.</p>	<p>JOURNEY</p>
<p>120. Geddert was an intimidating coach and maintained a culture of fear that made it impossible for young girls to <b>approach</b> him and report Nassar’s abuse,” she said.</p>	<p>MOTION IN SPACE</p>
<p>121. The 63-year-old <b>was facing charges</b> that included human trafficking and criminal sexual conduct, and had been expected to turn himself in yesterday afternoon.</p>	<p>CRIME</p>
<p>122. Geddert <b>was facing</b> 14 counts of human trafficking-forced labor resulting in injury, six counts of human trafficking of a minor for forced labor, and one count each of continuing criminal enterprise, first-degree criminal sexual conduct, second-degree criminal sexual conduct and lying to peace officer during a violent crime investigation.</p>	<p>CRIME</p>



123. Sarah Klein, who has identified herself as the first to be abused by former USA Gymnastics team doctor Larry Nassar, called John Geddart’s death by suicide an “ <b>escape from justice</b> ,” in a statement Thursday night.	JOURNEY
124. With the news of his death by suicide, we share the feelings of shock, and our thoughts are with the gymnastics community as the <b>grapple with the complex emotions</b> of today’s events,” the statement read.	STRUGGLE
125. Kai Li, <b>a naturalised US citizen</b> born in China, is detained while visiting relatives in Shanghai.	OBJECT
126. A confederate flag carried into the temple of democracy in 2021 is a searing reminder that Americans all <b>still bear the heavy legacy of slavery</b> – in politics, in the economy, in the inequities of the health care system.	OBJECT
127. Others – on fishing boats, in garment factories, domestic servants in countries far from their birth – were <b>lured into slavery</b> with the promise of decent work, and trapped there by debt and violence, impunity and neglect.	MOTION IN SPACE
128. Others – on fishing boats, in garment factories, domestic servants in countries far from their birth – were lured into slavery with the promise of decent work, and <b>trapped there by debt and violence, impunity and neglect</b>	MOTION IN SPACE
129. This festering injustice, this <b>stain on</b> our collective conscience, requires a bold response – and Joe Biden and Kamal Harris should lead it.	DIRT
130. <b>Mobilizing</b> a broader coalition is a low-hanging fruit for new US leadership.	STRUGGLE
131. Mobilizing a broader coalition is <b>a low-hanging fruit</b> for new US leadership.	STRUGGLE

132. <b>Elevating anti-slavery efforts</b> as a key administration and congressional priority would provide a strong foundation for cooperation an shred values in a polarized climate.	STRUCTURE
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135. The Global Fund to End Modern Slavery is working in countries like the Philippines to <b>disrupt</b> labor trafficking by investigating in ethical recruiting agencies that will help make sure the 2 million Filipinos working abroad aren't being tricked or sold into debt bondage.	TRANSACTION
136. The Global Fund to End Modern Slavery is working in countries like the Philippines to disrupt labor trafficking by <b>investigating in ethical recruiting</b> agencies that will help make sure the 2 million Filipinos working abroad aren't being tricked or sold into debt bondage.	TRANSACTION
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138. But the resources available to <b>fight</b> slavery are a tiny fraction of the profits made by those trafficking in flesh.	STRUGGLE
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140. Bringing together a coalition of nations, activities, philanthropists, and corporations to end one of humanity's greatest evils would be both <b>achievable</b> and inspirational to future generations looking at how to comfort our biggest challenges.	STRUGGLE
141. Bringing together a coalition of nations, activities, philanthropists, and corporations to end one of humanity's greatest evils would be both achievable and inspirational to future generations looking at how to <b>confront</b> our biggest challenges.	STRUGGLE
142. Bringing together a coalition of nations, activities, philanthropists, and corporations to end one of <b>humanity's greatest evils</b> would be both achievable and inspirational to future generations looking at how to comfort our biggest challenges.	EVIL
143. It defines a refugee as "someone who has reason <b>to fear persecution</b> in their country."	CRIME
144. It defines a refugee as "someone who has reason <b>to fear persecution</b> in their country."	FEAR
145. <b>The House voted</b> Thursday evening to remove Greene from her committee assignments.	OBJECT
146. The House voted Thursday evening <b>to remove Greene</b> from her committee assignments.	OBJECT
147. "This harmful cycle highlights <b>the challenges victims face</b> and those faced by law enforcement when attempting to keep victims from returning to an abusive situation.	PERSON
148. "This harmful cycle highlights the challenges victims face and those <b>faced by law enforcement</b> when attempting to keep victims from returning to an abusive situation.	PERSON

<p>149. “This harmful cycle highlights the challenges victims face and those faced by law enforcement when attempting to <b>keep victims from returning</b> to an abusive situation.</p>	<p>JOURNEY</p>
<p>150. In 2019, US federal prosecutors alleged that Epstein <b>ran a sex trafficking enterprise</b> between 2002 and 2005 at his homes in Manhattan and Palm Beach, Florida.</p>	<p>TRANSACTION</p>
<p>151. In July this year, Ghislaine Maxwell was charged by New York federal prosecutors with helping recruit, groom and ultimately sexually abuse minors as young as 14 as part of a <b>sex-trafficking ring</b> allegedly operated by Epstein.</p>	<p>SPACE</p>
<p>152. A Finnish-Canadian designer was arrested in Canada Monday, after he was indicted in the Unites States for allegedly using his fashion business as a “<b>façade of legitimacy</b>” in order to conceal sex trafficking and other illegal activity, federal prosecutors allege.</p>	<p>OBJECT</p>
<p>153. A Finnish-Canadian designer was arrested in Canada Monday, after he was indicted in the Unites States for allegedly using his fashion business as a “façade of legitimacy” in order to <b>conceal sex trafficking and other illegal activity</b>, federal prosecutors allege.</p>	<p>CRIME</p>
<p>154. The indictment, which was filed on Nov. 23 but not unsealed until Tuesday, charges Peter Nygard with nine counts including sex trafficking and racketeering charges, alleges that between 1995 and 2020, Nygard and other employees allegedly used modelling and other fashion industry jobs to “<b>lure victims into Nygard’s orbit</b> and keep them there.”</p>	<p>OBJECT</p>
<p>155. The indictment, unsealed Tuesday, mentions “at least dozens of adult and minor-aged females” who are alleged victims of Nygard, and prosecutors are asking <b>any other victims to come forward</b>.</p>	<p>JOURNEY</p>

156. After news of Nygard's arrest, Gutzler said in a statement to CNN that the team representing victims hopes Nygaard's <b>accomplices</b> and co-conspirators are brought to justice.	CRIME
157. After news of Nygard's arrest, Gutzler said in a statement to CNN that the team representing victims hopes Nygaard's accomplices and co-conspirators are <b>brought to justice</b> .	JOURNEY
158. "It struck me in listening to the victims that Raniere really twisted people's trust and their need to <b>find some meaning and hope</b> in their lives in just the most insidious and devious ways."	JOURNEY
159. "It struck me in listening to the victims that Raniere really twisted people's trust and their need to find some meaning and hope in their lives in just the most <b>insidious and devious ways</b> ."	EVIL
160. Also in Raniere's corner is "Battlestar Galactica" actress Nicki Clyne, who participated in part of the alleged Nxivm <b>scheme</b> and has not been charged with a crime.	CRIME
161. Also in Raniere's corner is "Battlestar Galactica" actress Nicki Clyne, who participated in part of the alleged Nxivm scheme and has not been <b>charged with a crime</b> .	CRIME
162. I am not sure how I will ever be able <b>to fully put this behind me</b> ."	JOURNEY
163. "The defendant <b>used shame and humiliation as ways to break people down</b> ."	OBJECT
164. "The defendant used shame and humiliation as ways <b>to break people down</b> ."	STRUCTURE