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**The discursive construction
of Portuguese national identity
in the media
thirty years after the 1974 revolution
PhD Thesis, Lancaster University**

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Abstract

This study examines the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity, focusing on the many attempts to imagine and construct a *national identity* within the *discourses* produced for, on and from two events in the *media*: the anniversary of the 25th of April revolution in 2004 and the European Football Championships 2004 (held in Portugal). These national public events triggered similar discursive topics about the country's recent history, collective memories and Portugal's relationship to other nations. This investigation applies interdisciplinary critical discourse analysis, namely the discourse-historical approach, and a triangulation of methods to examine written and spoken discourse in detail and also to investigate salient features of context whilst analysing three distinct datasets: 141 newspaper editorials and opinion articles on Euro 2004, 40 newspaper editorials and opinion articles on the thirtieth anniversary of the 1974 'Carnation Revolution', and a one-hour radio phone-in programme on the topic "Is (Portuguese) national identity in crisis?".

The prime objective is to conceptualise and identify the various macro-strategies which stem from the macro-, meso- and micro-dimensions of an imagined identity employed in the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity, and to describe them. A key point is who, as a group, attains the political, social or symbolic power to shape, within the public sphere, *what should be remembered and what should be forgotten*, and whether these collective memories, which build in-group(s) of social shared narratives, compete or even collide with other narratives.

The ultimate aim of this research project is to contribute to the body of knowledge about the contemporary Portuguese national identity discourses produced by the (political and cultural) elites who have privileged access to the media. At the same time, it introduces ways of questioning the homogeneity of national identity and expands the possible applications of critical discourse analysis

approaches to the investigation of the hegemonic construction of (public) national identity discourses. Finally, the analytical chapters highlight how asymmetric access to the public sphere is reinforced by the discursive strategies that are present in the data.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Objectives and rationale

Billig (1995) has argued that nationalism is too easily discarded as something extreme and irrational. Therefore, the temptation to locate nationalist discourse within the sort of vocabulary which ‘we’ educated citizens do not use is great. However, in a recent opinion article published on 26 March 2008, the Portuguese poet and politician, Manuel Alegre, declared, in relation to the *New Orthographic Accord of The Portuguese Language*¹ to be signed and ratified worldwide by the eight Portuguese-speaking countries: “What is at stake is an issue of national identity”.² The *Accord* in this context was described, amongst other things, as “an attack on our language”, “a disrespect of diversity and linguistic richness” and “a historical error” (Carita, 2008: 16). This recent example illustrates how the issue of national identity is often surfacing in Portuguese public life,³ whether it be based on political, economic and social, or, in this particular case, linguistic reasons (even though the linguistic reasons were closely tied to political and economic issues).⁴ In fact, a Portuguese linguist argued, somewhat optimistically: “This *Accord* will contribute to the major projection of the lusophony. Rather than linguistic or cultural, this is a political issue” (Casteleiro, cited in Carita, 2008: 16).

¹ In Portuguese *Acordo Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa*. The English translation is borrowed from “World’s Portuguese speakers in new attempt to unify the language”. *The Guardian*, March 26th 2008.

² Manuel Alegre, quoted by writer Vasco Graça Moura, “O Pré[ê]mio”. *Diário de Notícias*, 26.03.08, p.8.

³ The following week, national TV broadcast a 2-hour debate on *The Accord* during prime time. The guest speakers were linguists, politicians and writers.

⁴ For instance, the *Orthographic Accord* is assessed as a sound economic measure by book publishers.

This study was motivated by anecdotal evidence of a particular phenomenon, namely how the issue of Portuguese national identity seemed to be constantly waved in the media as the vehicle of central political issues in the first years of the twenty-first century. The year 2004 was particularly prolific in the flagging up of nationhood. It marked the thirtieth anniversary of the 25th April ‘democratic’ revolution⁵, which put an end to forty-eight years of a right-wing dictatorship⁶, and coincided with Portugal hosting the European Football Championship – Euro 2004. These two events prompted this study, as the question of Portuguese national identity, seemed to be raised frequently in the public space, namely the media, in connection with them. This was not a new phenomenon. Over the last decade, periodicals’ space had been taken up by intellectuals and commentators (Matos, 2001: 474) presenting and discussing Portugal’s cultural and national identity in a sceptical, and simultaneously contradictory and nostalgic, manner. However, the anniversary of the revolution and Euro 2004, as national public events, triggered similar discursive topics about the country’s recent history, collective memories, and Portugal’s relationship to other nations. As such, underpinning this research is the emergence of a set of sustained debates around questions of national identity and belonging, during the two events mentioned above, and the impact of wider structural transformations at the European level, namely the context of Portugal joining the European Union in 1986.

This study focuses on the many attempts to imagine and construct a *national identity* within the *discourses* produced for, on and from these two events in the *media*. The prime objective of this thesis is to conceptualise and identify the various macro-strategies which stem from the macro-, meso- and micro-dimensions of an imagined identity employed in the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity, and to describe them, taking into account other international studies conducted on similar issues. The ultimate aim of my research is to contribute to the

⁵ In Portuguese the revolution is referred to as ‘o 25 de Abril’ (the 25th of April), ‘Abril 1974’ (April 1974), ‘a revolução de 1974’ (the 1974 revolution) or ‘a revolução dos cravos’ (the carnation revolution). I will use mostly the translation ‘the 25th April’.

⁶ In 1926, a military dictatorship is established; in 1928 António Oliveira Salazar becomes the Minister of Finance; in 1932 Salazar becomes head of government; in 1933 a new Constitution establishes the *Estado Novo* (New State) regime and the political police (PVDE, later the PIDE). In 1968 Salazar steps down from government due to health problems, and dies the following year. Marcello Caetano becomes head of government of the *Estado Novo* until April 25, 1974.

body of knowledge about the contemporary Portuguese national identity discourses produced by the (political and cultural) elites who have privileged access to the media. At the same time, I hope to introduce ways of questioning the homogeneity of national culture/identity and to expand the possible applications of critical discourse analysis approaches to the investigation of the hegemonic construction of (public) national identity discourses, and also to highlight how asymmetric access to the public sphere is reinforced by the discursive strategies present in the data. This study analyses three distinct datasets: 141 newspaper editorials and opinion articles on Euro 2004, 40 newspaper editorials and opinion articles on the thirtieth anniversary of the ‘Carnation Revolution’, and a one-hour phone-in radio programme on the topic “Is (Portuguese) national identity in crisis?”.

1.2 The macro perspective

Portugal has been subjected to various historical and social processes during recent decades. In April 2004, as officials prepared for the commemorations, the country’s public intellectuals and opinion makers were ready to initiate the debate on the previous thirty years.⁷ Joining the European Union in 1986, and the increasing globalization of the economy, together with multiple influxes of labour migrants from different national backgrounds, contributed to the urgency of reflecting on the consequences of the revolution and to the ongoing debate about national identity. The revolution ended Portugal’s political dominance of its former African colonies, thus affecting the long-standing debate on ‘Portugal’s symbolic role’ and the mythical interpretation of the national identity phenomenon, and putting an end to “five centuries of imperial imaginary” (Ribeiro, 2004: 15). Moreover, during these thirty years, “the ‘other’ has progressively moved to make his or her home amongst

⁷ This time span corresponds to the past three decades, during which Portugal has reshaped and reinterpreted its democratic revolution of 25th April 1974. To contextualise very briefly, the revolution reinstated a parliamentary-run democracy and ended 48 years of right-wing dictatorship, which was responsible for high rates of illiteracy, weak industry, and an underdeveloped country in many respects, especially in comparison to other western European countries.

‘us’” (Cunha, 1997: 1),⁸ modifying national institutions and group-related rights in many ways, and having implications for the nature and practices of national identity (Biles and Spoonley, 2007: 194). These phenomena, evidenced by ministerial and presidential speeches, policy debates and the media tell us something significant may be happening in Portugal, even if it may only in fact be undergoing similar processes to those of other (smaller) European countries. Nonetheless, the specificity of Portugal’s recent history has reshaped discourses on Portuguese national identity, making this country an interesting case within Western Europe and deserving of closer investigation.

In April 2004, the thirtieth anniversary of the revolution became the ideal arena to initiate various re-readings of the past and, consequently, of the future. On the one hand, the government’s public discourse, arguing for a new slogan – ‘April is evolution’ – instead of the traditional phrase – ‘April is revolution’ – was a bold change to the traditional discourse for 25th April, since it is clear the shedding of the past in favour of a new stance focused on the present and the future. On the other hand, public opinion strongly opposed this change insisting on the traditional ‘April is Revolution’. At the same time, newspaper opinion articles discussed and commented on the government’s decision, either applauding or bluntly criticizing its initiative.

In June 2004, the European Football Championship was hosted in Portugal. In anticipation of the tournament, starting in May, small green and red flags started to appear on apartment balconies, in building and car windows. The flags’ numbers swelled to reach a climax during the tournament itself. Flags became ubiquitous, symbolizing the Portuguese team and affirming the pride in ‘being’ Portuguese during those months. The whole population suddenly became football⁹ fans – including women and children. Those flags demonstrated the new position of football in Portuguese social life, a phenomenon which thirty years before had been regarded by the revolutionaries who toppled Portugal’s dictatorship as “an opiate of the people, manipulated by the regime to entertain the masses and divert their attention away from politics” (*FTPortugal, Financial Times* 9 June 2004). The flags thus denoted a new form of nationalism in Portugal, in which sporting success

⁸ All quotes from Portuguese sources are my own translations.

⁹ I am using the term *football* in the European sense of the word, i.e. soccer in American English.

equates with political and economic status within the wider European stage. In fact, a newspaper text from the corpus summarized well how the nation's past history and collective memories were foregrounded by this event:

As we all know, what is at stake here is not football. It is not even Portugal's chance of winning the championships. What is it then? Deep down, it is 25th April [1974], it's the thirtieth anniversary, and the union of the nation of today with the nation of history.¹⁰

As van Leeuwen (2005: 98) points out, drawing on Foucault, "discourses have a history". Mapping that history helps us to understand what is commonly perceived as self-evident or natural. The 'idea' of a Portuguese national identity has been overtly highlighted by the political elite since the later half of the nineteenth century, either to appeal against what was perceived as external threats, or as a mobilizing factor when facing major challenges such as the 25th April 1974 revolution, or joining the European Union in 1986 (Cabral, 2003; Mattoso, 1998). The media have increased their attention to economic issues in relation to 'national independence', thus in relation to national identity. In fact, the relationship between Portugal and Spain has been subject to debate in terms of their similar, different and parallel identities (Flynn, 2001: 705), and this has repeatedly been one major factor determining the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity, together with more recent discourses on 'belonging to Europe'.

1.3 What is missing from studies on Portuguese national identity?

Drawing on Anderson's (2006) phrasing, the Portuguese 'imagined community' has been debated and investigated from various approaches, including historical,

¹⁰ 'Nas janelas', *Público*, 28.06.2004.

sociological, literary and socio-political, to name but a few.¹¹ Nonetheless, it has been pointed out (Sobral, 2003: 1094) that neither the international nor the Portuguese community has focused on the issue of 'national identity' from within the Portuguese context *per se*, instead, studies have framed the issue in terms of external relations, or within the broader context of the imaginary identity links that Portugal has forged over the centuries.¹²

There is a long tradition of studies of Portuguese national identity, which adhere either to classic modernist perspectives or to ethno-symbolic perspectives of national identity, or even adopt a mixture of both perspectives. From a historical perspective, many studies of Portuguese national identity have attempted to prove the existence of: (1) a very strong political entity, identifiable and identified as Portuguese since the late Middle Ages; (2) an 'imagined community' present since the fourteenth century, including an ethnic identity, based on more-or-less defined territorial borders and a common (monolingual) language; and (3) pivotal moments of self-identification against the 'other', first in the wars against Spain, later on during the building of the overseas empire (Mattoso, 1995; Saraiva, 1993; Sobral, 2003; Torgal, 1984).

From a more empirical viewpoint, sociological studies based on surveys have also explored the issue of national identity and belonging. For instance, results from a study carried out on national and social identity amongst young people (Conde, 1990: 195) showed that there was a strong positive identification of young people (61.4%) with the Portuguese nation, with 66.9% of respondents stating that Portugal was the only country in which they would have liked to have been born. However, amongst the respondents, the reasons for their feelings of 'national pride' appeared to be strongly connected to the country's internationally prestigious image (Conde, 1990: 679).¹³ We will see how Portugal's 'international image' (conveyed and

¹¹ See for instance the collection of essays published under the heading: *Entre Ser e Estar – Raízes, Percursos e Discursos da Identidade*, [*Between Being (Ser) and Being (Estar) – Roots, Paths and Discourses on Identity*] edited by Ramalho and Ribeiro (2001).

¹² For the latter perspective, see Lourenço's innovative historical-philosophical interpretation of Portugal's national identity (1988, 1991 [1978], 1997), based on historiography and the literary canon.

¹³ Other elements that appeared to contribute to the country's positive image were the climate, natural scenery, sports, historical past and finally the social environment (Conde, 1990: 680). The

augmented in both the media and political fields of action) is a salient factor in the data analysed. The importance attached to 'international image' also guided my choice to analyse the media output relative to Euro 2004.

Against this background, in 2002, Portugal was the European country in which respondents to a sociological survey revealed more distrust and 'opposition' to immigrants (Vala et al., 2006: 249). In fact, a few government-dependent organizations and NGOs have investigated patterns of discriminatory practices in newspaper texts and headlines. In this regard, I came across studies whose declared intent was to study the "official discourse of the state" (Santos, 2004: 20). However, their viewpoint is rather more descriptive than analytical, and indeed the final results are summaries of legislation and news content which are lacking in socio-historical contextualization. Another in-depth study I encountered, which was also commissioned and funded by a state-run entity, claims in its objectives to endeavour a "content analysis based on quantitative methodologies" (Cádima et al., 2003: 28) of how the press represents immigration in Portugal. "Portuguese National Identity: Content and Relevance" (Cabral, 2003) is another paper which focuses on the issue of Portuguese national identity from historic, sociological and anthropological angles; in spite of running through the fundamental issues historically related to the construction of national identity, namely a critique of the "essentialist nature of the concept" (ibid.: 524), the author does not seem to carry out a linguistic analysis of any of the texts he quotes nor does he make reference to the media as a possible epistemological site. Boyle and Monteiro (2005) examine the way aspects of Portugal and Portuguese culture and society are talked about in and around media coverage of Euro 2004. However, and in spite of claiming that their interest lays on "how these discourses connect with wider political, economic and cultural frames of reference" (ibid.: 224) their perspective is not centered on national identity discursive construction from a critical discourse analytical approach.

To sum up, none of these studies analyse how *language use* frames and shapes the perception and *representation* of national identity. As such, whilst the public debate over the 'idea of Portuguese identity' within the European context has taken

results also demonstrate that the respondents' social identities were manifold. Nonetheless, for the national identity parameter, the responses were, in general, very consistent.

place during this last decade in the media,¹⁴ I have not encountered studies on discourses of national identity construction and representation, nor an in-depth analysis of the media's contribution to the reshaping of discourse(s), social practice(s), and the linguistic features of inclusion and exclusion of national identity discourses.¹⁵ I propose to bring together these two facets by analysing: **'The discursive construction of Portuguese national identity in the media (newspaper commentary and radio phone-in programme) discourse 30 years after the 25th April revolution'**, paying special attention to historical socio-political contextual factors. As such, the focus will be twofold: on the one hand, I will analyse power relations inter- and intra- social groups when framing discourses on national identity. On the other hand, I will analyse semantic macro-themes and linguistic factors, namely, the types of linguistic feature and language choices (e.g., rhetorical devices and linguistic means of realizations) that are salient in Portuguese public and semi-public discourses of national identity.

1.4 The discursive construction of identity narratives and collective memories

The investigation of collective memory, social remembrance and their diverse discursive manifestations has come within the scope of the discourse-historical approach (henceforth DHA) in critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) in order to understand how national identities are constructed in discourse (see, for instance: Wodak et al., 1999; de Cillia et al., 1999), and in order to understand the functions of commemorative events in coming to terms with traumatic historical events (see, for instance: Wodak and de Cillia, 2007). Sociologists understand collective memory to

¹⁴ The list of events that brought about public debate is quite extensive, besides the two events under examination – EURO 2004 and the thirtieth anniversary commemorations of the 25th April democratic revolution, (April 2004), for instance, national events with an international dimension, such as: the Prime Minister of Portugal, Durão Barroso, being chosen to head the EU commission, (June 2004); the Lisbon World Exhibition (1998); Oporto, Culture Capital of Europe (2001).

¹⁵ There have been some studies, using mainly quantitative methods and content analysis, in the field of media studies, conducted by OberCom – Communication Observatory. Available at www.obercom.pt.

be “a question of social remembrance” (Brewer, 2006: 214), whose importance has been increasingly acknowledged. Nations have collective memories as part of their narratives of nationhood, through which national groups might share images and representations of the past (ibid.) and, I should add, also share their ‘imagined future’. This is the case with Portugal’s collective image and symbolic construction of a present and future, ‘belonging to Europe’, immediately after the 1974 revolution. The dictatorial period and the colonial war fall within what Wodak and de Cillia (2007: 338) describe as “traumatic events” in a country’s past. The authors also refer to the “taboos surround[ing] these events in the public sphere” that give way to specific narratives. These narratives are not only (re)produced through films, documentaries, political speeches and schoolbooks, but are also taken into the private spheres of families and peer groups (Anthonissen and Blommaert, 2006; Martin and Wodak, 2003; Wodak and de Cillia, 2007). Thus, memories build a sense of a shared past and common journeying within a community. At the same time, different groups within the same society compete for “the one and only narrative which should be hegemonic” (Wodak and de Cillia, 2007: 338). This latter narrative has a profound impact on the discursive construction of national identities and is built over a wide range of collective and individual memories (Wodak et al, 1999; Wodak and de Cillia, 2007).

Thus, a key point to be explored in this thesis is who, as a group, attains the political, social or symbolic power to shape, within the public sphere, *what should be remembered and what should be forgotten*, and whether these collective memories, which build an in-group of social shared narratives, compete or even collide with other narratives. Because national identity is discursively constructed in many ways, according to co-text, setting and historical context, Billig’s (1995) distinction between the discursively ‘waved’ and ‘unwaved’ flagging of nationhood is fundamental to understanding the criteria underlining the data selection for this research project. The two events both exposed “official, consensual views of history”, and also become “interrelated with those non-official sites (for example the media) that transmit their views of history to the public, or bring to light the views of the public” (Wodak and de Cillia, 2007: 338). Bearing this in mind, the two public events became the optimum epistemological site to investigate the various discursive narratives of

national identity and 'belonging'. The official revolution commemorations, studied via media representations, allow for the analysis of in-group and out-group boundaries within the national public sphere, as well as hegemonic narratives and discursive strategies to maintain the *status quo*. The football championship, which gained unprecedented coverage and support nationwide, facilitates the plotting of the transformation of Portuguese nationalism through discourses produced around the event and a broader viewpoint positioning national (local) vs. Europe (global), and even national vs. the world.

1.5 Why study the media?

The media offer an intensity of usage, public attention and political influence that explains social scientists' ongoing interest. Fairclough, who has critically investigated the media in several studies, views the media as powerful institutions, which influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations and social identities, through their power to represent things in a certain way "which is largely a matter of how language is used" (1995: 2). The initial choice to investigate high-circulation newspaper texts was linked to how these newspapers disseminate and reflect the social mainstream and dominant discourses (see Mautner, 2008: 32), which in turn "enhances the constitutive effect of discourse", or in other words its power. The media also play a crucial role in the dissemination of daily and mundane forms of nationalism. For instance, in terms of media sport coverage, a single snapshot of a given day might reveal social attitudes toward racism, religion and money, or values that might differ from other national sources. Media sports coverage also offers meaningful insights into a nation's beliefs and attitudes towards other nations.

As this research project progressed, I came across a radio phone-in programme on the topic of Portuguese national identity. The (new) dataset combined various key points that added a new angle to my topic of research. It was a legitimized channel of reflection where the meta-discussion on the topic of national identity took place amongst laypeople and 'experts', allowing me to combine the observation of meta-

discursive strategies, recontextualization and intertextuality. One final comment, a reminder to the reader, is that the media, particularly the print media, are one of those illustrative cases where the CDA paradigm, that discourse is not only socially constituted but also constitutive (Fairclough, 1995: 55), is most evident.

1.6 Assumptions underlying the discursive construction of nations and national identities

My research project has built on the cumulative body of knowledge in the area of critical theory tradition, hence the word *critical* in the name of the approach, whose concern centres on denouncing social practices of dominance, discrimination, power and control, as manifested in language. This critical analysis of discourse follows in the tradition of the seminal work on social and political thought of Antonio Gramsci, Jürgen Habermas, Stuart Hall, Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu, whose approaches conceptualise the relationship between the “cultural dimensions of societies emphasising that capitalist social relations are established and maintained in large part in culture and not just in the economic base” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 260). From the variety of approaches that come together under the common umbrella of CDA, my investigation will be situated within the theoretical and methodological framework of the DHA first developed by the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis, and initially applied to various studies on discourse about the nation, national identity and discrimination in Austria (see Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, 2009; Wodak, 1990, 2001, 2004, 2006a; Wodak et al., 1999, 2004, 2008, 2009; Wodak and de Cillia, 2007).

This research, following the DHA proponents quoted above, together with Anderson (2006) and Billig (1995), adheres to the following main assumptions underlying the discursive construction of nations and national identities.

Nations are to be understood as mental constructs as “imagined political communities” (Anderson, 2006: 6). “They are represented in the minds and memories of the nationalized subjects as sovereign and limited political units” (de

Cillia et al., 1999: 153). The right-wing Portuguese dictator Salazar understood clearly how this representation worked and played with the idea in relation to the 'Portuguese colonial empire'. This 'imagined community' still plays a major role in the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity.

"National identities are discursively (through language and other semiotic systems) produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed" (ibid.: 153). Hence, the idea of Portugal becomes a reality through discourses constantly launched by the media, whereby politicians and intellectuals, through their opinion articles and columns, reify the idea of a national community. This idea is also "disseminated through the systems of education, schooling, mass communication, militarization, as well as sports meetings" (ibid.). Both the media and sport are sites of analysis in this research.

"National identity can be regarded as a sort of habitus" (drawing on Bourdieu's notion), "a complex of common ideas, concepts or perception schemes (a) of related emotional attitudes intersubjectively shared within a specific group of persons; (b) as well of similar behavioural dispositions; (c) all of which are internalized through 'national' socialization" (ibid.). In the case of the Portuguese nation, the ideas and schemata in question relate to the idea of 'Portuguese character traits' that set its nationals apart from other peoples – including stereotypical notions that distinguish 'them' from 'us', to a 'common national history, culture, present and future', as well as to a 'specific national territory'. These behavioural dispositions include both dispositions towards solidarity with one's own national group, as well as the readiness to exclude 'others' from this constructed collective. However, in the Portuguese context, as we shall see, there appears to be a particular show of solidarity in respect to one's own (social) group that excludes other groups, even though they correspond to the same national category.

The fourth assumption regards the "discursive construction of nations and national identities [as running] hand in hand with the construction of difference/distinctiveness and uniqueness" (ibid.). The moment it is "elevated to an imaginary collective level, both the construction of sameness and the construction of difference violate pluralistic and democratic variety and multiplicity by group-internal

homogenization” (ibid.). This last point is highly visible in the persistent group-internal homogenization conveyed by the media output for Euro 2004.

National identity is not fixed in an essentialized sense. As Billig states, “there invariably will be competing conceptions, histories, stereotypes etc (2009: 348). Different identities are discursively constructed according to context, that is according to the audiences to which narratives or speeches or written genres are addressed, the situational setting of the discursive act and the topic being discussed (de Cillia et al., 1999: 153; Wodak 2006a: 106). Again, this dynamicity seems to be particular relevant for the discourses produced on the two events under study, in which ‘everyday discourses’ on ‘national identity’ are slightly different, even though, as de Cillia et al. (1999: 153) argue, there are of course links (of transfer and contradiction) between the “images of identity offered by political elites or the media and ‘everyday discourse’ about nations and national identities”.

I draw the last assumption from Billig’s seminal work on *Banal Nationalism* (1995: 6), where he examines the way that contemporary life is daily infused with nationalist assumptions and symbols, which often pass unnoticed. That is to say, “the complex of beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices” are reproduced in a “banally mundane way”, for the world of nations is the everyday world, where “the nation is indicated, or ‘flagged’ in the lives of its citizenry” (ibid.) endemically. Arguably, the events I have selected to study are, in many respects, the opposite of Billig’s claim, and with regard to the 25th April commemorations, we are dealing with the political and intellectual elite. Nonetheless, these ‘hotspots’ of nationalism only succeed discursively and symbolically due to the constant ‘banal flagging of nationhood’ which builds the fertile ground upon which the ‘hot’ rhetoric may flourish. As such, I am interested not only in the ‘hot’ manifestations of nationhood – the context of the commemorative and national events themselves – but also in placing particular emphasis on the discourses produced during and about the events, signalling the embeddedness and banality of ‘national identity’.

1.7 Introducing the research questions

The first primary research question emerges from the broad scenario described above, and focuses on the period after the revolution, on major national events, on the media, and on the power of language in constructing national identities by defining in- and out-groups.

Primary Question (1)

How is Portugal's national identity represented and reframed through the media discourse on major national events thirty years after the 1974 revolution?

Coming back to Anderson's key concept of 'imagined communities', this research pinpoints the different 'attachments' diverse social groups feel for 'the inventions of their imaginations' (2006: 141). It thus pays particular attention to "progressive, cosmopolitan intellectuals [who insist on] the character of nationalism" (ibid). This statement links to one of the main arguments running through my investigation, which shaped the second primary research question. Before proceeding, it is also important to clarify my use of the term *power* in the following research question and in this thesis. My critical approach sees power both as a systemic and constitutive element of society (this is the more traditional approach amongst critical discourse research), and also as a specific attribute of social exchange in each interaction. The former is activated in each social exchange, and the individual might activate it differently, in different interactions, according to the context.

Primary Question (2)

What kind of power relations and social relations are highlighted by the discursive strategies of the dominant national identity narrative(s)?

Evidently, this question presupposes a *dominant narrative*, and I will argue that the opinion makers, as those with special privileged access to the media, have been discursively framing and reframing this narrative.

Primary Question (3)

How does this study of media discourse contribute to our knowledge about current discourses of national identity in Portugal?

As I have pointed out, the Portuguese elites, who have re-produced and represented Portugal's discourse practices for these particular events, have enacted the discursive construction of Portugal's national identity during the last thirty years. The discursive construction of national identity as an elites' attribution is not specific to the Portuguese context but is, rather, a global phenomenon, being widely documented in the sociological literature (Cabral, 2003: 536-7). I became increasingly curious as to the reason why no one seemed to challenge their hegemonic narrative, as if there was a homogeneous social, and therefore linguistic, perception of national identity, across all spheres of Portuguese society. Furthermore, the explicit analysis of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation constitutes the primary methodological step when investigating discourses of national identity (Wodak, 2006a: 105), so analysing the discourse strategies for in- and out-group construction should shed light on this question. Examining the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships should allow me trace the maintenance of the hegemonic *status quo*, as well as possible counter-discourses.

Secondary Question (1)

How are the 'Us' and the 'Other' discursively represented when constructing Portuguese national identity?

Secondary Question (2)

What types of intertextual and interdiscursive relationships come into play in the discourses on national identity in the media?

Narrowing down the epistemological site, my investigation focuses on the major genre of the media. I analyse 'op-ed' columns and opinion articles, and a radio phone-in broadcast; I also focus on the government's strategic document for the commemoration of the anniversary of the revolution to present the macro-context within which the articles on 25 April were produced. The editorials and opinion articles link to how opinion makers and public intellectuals have privileged access to the media, where they tend to reproduce their dominant narrative(s). The phone-in radio talk show juxtaposes discourses of authority and its dominant narratives to discourses of laypeople. In Chapter 4, I present the research questions in more detail and the three specific research questions devised for the three datasets.

1.8 Thesis overview

The next chapter presents the main theoretical concepts underpinning this research, paying particular attention to the concepts of discourse, discourse analysis, text and talk, in respect to their operationalisation in this thesis, and as they are used by the theoretical frameworks of CDA and DHA. These frameworks are then linked to the major theories of nationalism discussed in this study, and to the particular relevance of Billig's 'banal nationalism' (1995). The chapter ends with a brief overview of media discourse as a genre, followed by a short discussion of the concept of the public sphere.

Chapter 3 attempts to trace and deconstruct the most prominent collective narratives and memories within the Portuguese national context, linking them to the salient historical events that shaped them, and thus placing the research in a broader context. The mainstream conceptions of the 'authentic' or 'real' Portugal have been so naturalized in national discourse that many of the socio-historical contexts of their discursive construction have been erased from people's collective memory/-ies. Thus, I will consider parts of the world outside the data I am analysing in order to understand them in more depth. Placing my research in its historical and extra-

discursive background is crucial to understanding the discursive construction of national identity, and one of the major assets of using DHA.

Chapters 4 and 5 are dedicated to research design, research questions, data and methodological framework. I decided to divide these into two separate chapters, because the data (three separate sets) presented several particularities when linked to the research design and specific research questions which needed explaining in an independent chapter. Thus, **Chapter 4** elaborates on the research questions, and on justifying and describing, in detail, the data collected from three different print sources and the radio, bearing in mind the overall methodological framework: DHA and how it applies to media analysis. **Chapter 5** presents the theoretical and methodological framework applied to this study. The first section addresses CDA and DHA as the overall epistemological and methodological frameworks for analysing the datasets. The following section describes the two other subsidiary analytical methods applied partially to the different datasets in combination with the former – Corpus Linguistics and Conversation Analysis – , critical assessment of each tool and justifies the triangulation of methods used in this study.

The first of the empirical chapters, **Chapter 6**, explores the discursive construction of collective memories, the functions of commemorative events and of the official narrative(s) of the 1974 revolution, generally portrayed as a ‘foundational moment in national history’, based on how the state’s official statement for the anniversary commemorations is reframed and recontextualized by the media opinion makers. This exploration is particularly revealing in terms of collective and individual memories, and the functions of the event for the (re)construction of national identity. The Chapter examines, in detail, the reframing of the event as ‘April is Evolution’, instead of the traditional ‘April is Revolution’, by the State, and how opinion articles react to this new discursive construction.

Chapter 7 investigates how newspaper commentary, in the three different newspapers on Euro 2004, reinforced contemporary nationalism and performance of the national self, and how the local (national) identity was foregrounded against the ‘other’ and against the ‘imagined’ global (Europe), for this was an event that took place on Portuguese territory and that, symbolically, put ‘Portugal on the international map’.

Chapter 8 analyses the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity in semi-public (media) discourse, showing how two apparently competing discourses on national identity (that of the elite and that of laypeople) represent and reframe the country's national identity. I am interested in how these different types of participants co-construct and negotiate (national) identities, and how the rhetorical contrast is set up between what the previous speaker has said and what the current speaker suggests as an oppositional action. First, the data are approached from a conversation analysis viewpoint, which provides an account of power as an integral feature of talk-in-interaction, and how it impacts on the discursive construction of national identity. Secondly, the data are analysed using DHA, with particular emphasis on some discursive macro-strategies that are typical of discourses on nations and national identity, on personal deictics, and on two of the more relevant topoi.

The concluding section draws together a number of the most important themes which have developed across the chapters, concerning the relationship between the media, discourse and national identity, and highlights the constant repetition of banal practices and symbols that inform the dominant narratives and that leave gaps to be filled. It revisits the research questions and summarizes the main macro-themes and discursive strategies present in the data. It is therefore by studying the discursive practices of banal and hot nationalism on the one hand, and the elites' reframing and recontextualizing of collective memories within a local (national) context, in contrast with a global (European) context and the (few) counter-discourses publicly produced during the analysed events, together with triangulation of methods and data on the other, that this study offers its most original contribution.

2 Theoretical frameworks and concepts

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the main concepts relevant to this study. It begins by describing what discourse analysis is, in general, and proceeds to describe the overall theoretical and methodological frameworks of critical discourse analysis that inform this study. The following section describes the specific theoretical and methodological approach used in the present investigation – DHA within the CDA paradigm – and justifies why it is the best option to guide this study. After that, I present the major critiques of the CDA framework and supply some tentative answers. The chapter proceeds with a definition of discourse and considers the relationships between discourse, text and talk in relation to the data. The second part of the chapter is dedicated to exploring the major theories of nationalism informing my approach, which are linked to the sociological and historical overview of Portuguese national identity in Chapter 3, and which are also connected to the role of the media in the dissemination of those perspectives. As the concept of ‘banal nationalism’ plays a major role in the analysis, it must be discussed in some detail. The third part of the chapter focuses on the interconnections between the media and nationhood. Finally, I address the concepts of public sphere(s) and symbolic elite(s) in relation to the media, and who has privileged access to them. I would like to point out that this chapter is mainly about theoretical concepts and notions. The specific methodology, methods and analytical instruments used in the data analysis are fully described in Chapter 5.

2.2 Critical discourse analysis

The study of discourse is the study of language in use and human meaning making. Discourse analysis is a recent discipline; it emerged as a new trans-disciplinary field of study between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s, initially under the name 'Critical Linguistics'. Critical linguistics made an important departure, moving beyond content analyses of manifest meaning and beyond formal and poetic traditions of textual analysis, to focus on exposing ideological implications of not only lexical but also syntactic choices. From then on, under the umbrella of critical linguistics, major research was carried out within various disciplinary fields, relying on different methods.¹⁶

Discourse analysis stemmed from the need to categorize all aspects of human experience, including the building of knowledge and interpretations through language. Discourse analysis, therefore, provides a general framework in terms of problem-oriented social research (Wodak, 2008: 2) to access textual media materials, going beyond content analysis or quantitatively-informed approaches. Discourse analysis regards the empirical object of analysis as multidimensional, "embedded in an immediate, text-internal, co-text and an intertextual and socio-political context" (ibid.).

Discourse analysis focuses on talk and texts as social practices and on the resources that are drawn on to facilitate those practices. However, while the investigation of text-internal criteria (coherence and cohesion) predominates in traditional *text linguistics*, and the text-external factors remain in the background, in discourse analysis, the text-external factors or context (intertextuality, intentionality, acceptability, informativity and situationality) play a major role in understanding the text which is regarded as "a manifestation and result of particular combinations of factors" (Wodak, 2008: 9). As such, discourse analysis is not just a method but a whole perspective on social life and its research entails a range of theoretical

¹⁶ For an extensive description of and relationships between the different methods of text and discourse analysis, see 'Map of Methods and Theories' in Titscher et al. (2000: 50-51), and Wodak and Krzyżanowski (2008).

assumptions. First, discursive practices involve ritualized forms within the institutional setting from where they stem (the field of action), the genre and context; secondly, discourse analysis links the micro- meso- and macro-structures involved in the process of social interaction or social practice.

According to van Dijk (2007), our insights into language use, communication and social interaction have been informed by contributions from several disciplinary fields, namely linguistics, formal grammar, pragmatics, semiotics, conversation analysis, psycho and sociolinguistics, ethnography of speaking and so forth. Despite the great diversity of disciplinary backgrounds, all these closely-related disciplines share a methodological common ground, which the author lists as follows (2007: xxii-xxiii):¹⁷

- Interest in the properties of *naturally occurring* language use by real language users;
- The study of larger units than isolated words and sentences;
- New basic units of analysis: texts, discourses, conversations or communicative events;
- The extension of linguistics beyond grammar towards a *study of action and interaction*;
- The extension to *nonverbal* (semiotic) aspects of interaction and communication: gestures, images, film and multimedia;
- A focus on dynamic socio-cognitive or interactional moves and strategies;
- The study of the role of the social, cultural and cognitive contexts of language use;
- Analysis of a vast number of phenomena of *text grammar* and *language uses*.

There are many versions of discourse analysis but, for the purposes of this thesis, I am mainly concerned with displaying the structure of discourse of the mass media (op-ed and opinion articles, and a specific form of radio broadcast). To engage in the discursive analysis of text (the concept of text includes every type of communicative utterance, see section below), I will foreground the socially

¹⁷For a summary of the major authors in each disciplinary field, see van Dijk (2007).

‘constructive’ effects of discursive practices and steer away from individual motivations and behaviours.

Because discursive analysis focuses simultaneously on *textual* (or linguistic) analysis and on context – defined by Fairclough (2003: 3) as the “relatively durable structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices” – it emphasises multimodal and multi-methodological approaches that combine different levels of analysis of text in context: its social and historical situativity, and the intertextual and interdiscursive dimensions.

Often, a primary objective of media discourse analysis (from the linguistic to the sociological) is the problematizing of power relations in society. Therefore, the introduction of a *critical* impetus to my analysis was imperative, to allow for the describing and interpreting of different asymmetrical relations. This social awareness or critical knowledge has the ultimate aim of enabling people to “emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection” (Wodak, 2009: 7). Critical discourse analysis has become a popular and firmly established programmatic approach to language in society (Blommaert, 2005: 3). This paradigm or programme was quite innovative in “establishing the legitimacy of a linguistically oriented discourse analysis firmly anchored in social reality and with a deep interest in actual problems and forms of inequality in societies” (ibid.: 6). It is a broader type of discourse analytical research, primarily concerned with power relations and how these are enacted, reproduced and resisted by written, spoken and visual texts in different public contexts (see van Dijk, 1993, 1997, 2001; Fairclough, 2003; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2004; Reisigl and Wodak, 2009).

Critical discourse analysis does not have the intention of challenging power *per se*, but rather to analyse power *effects* (Blommaert, 2005: 1). The main differences between CDA and other types of discourse analysis are related to the ‘nature of problems’ investigated and its explicit intention in studying them.

This research draws on the CDA assumption that language used in discourses reshapes and reframes social processes and practices, and that “discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). Social practice and social processes reproduce, reshape and reframe unequal

relationships through language in use. Hence, discourses are the sites of both dominance and change, which depend on forms of knowledge and memory of social practices. As a result, the link between language and social reality is a two-way, multi-varied relationship, as is usually the case with the domain of the “lived experience” (Mason 2006: 12). The study of language cannot be carried out without contextualization in order to give insights into social processes and, consequently, “the application of multiple methods is relevant when studying discourses” (Wodak, 2004: 197). For this reason, I chose the critical discourse analysis of critical social research as the primary approach to my data.

The application of CDA to the field of media research, and to newspapers in particular, has been the preoccupation of many scholars. As stated above, research into critical discourse analysis is varied, deriving from different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and relying on different grammatical approaches. Although I cannot fully review the extensive literature here, I will refer to a few of those studies that have a general bearing on my research. Amongst earlier studies, Fairclough (1995), with his research on media discourse, and van Dijk’s (1985, 1991a, 1991b, 1995a, 1996) investigation into the role of discourse in the enactment and reproduction of ethnic and ‘racial’ inequality, stand out as two of the most influential authors. More recently, Richardson (2001) has explored argumentative discourse theory in letters to the editor. Caldas-Coulthard (2003) studied language in the news, specifically the contrast between the discourses related to ‘we’ – the civilized world – and ‘the other’ third-world countries. She addressed this bipolarization by applying different methodological instruments: recontextualization and naming, or referential analysis and corpus linguistics. We also find studies in Brazil using CDA on newspaper texts, for instance for examining change in newspaper discourses on race (Magalhães, 2006), and to explore, through a sample of newspaper articles, the way in which minorities (Indians, blacks and ‘meninos de rua’ – street kids) are represented in news texts (Martins, 2005). At Lancaster University, various studies have combined critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to explore discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press (Baker et al., 2008; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; KhosraviNik, 2009).

Koller (2005) conducted a critical discourse analysis of business media discourse, linking it to social cognition (see also Koller, forthcoming). Chilton (2004, 2005) also proposes a cognitive approach to CDA in order to identify and analyse linguistic and psychological strategies involved in manipulation in political discourse. For instance, he applies metaphor theory and conceptual domains in the critical analysis of political discourse (see Chilton, 2003). He argues that discourse is produced and interpreted by human individuals interacting with one another therefore language can only be produced and interpreted by human brains (2005: 23). He adds that if language use is “connected to the ‘construction’ of knowledge about social objects”, as CDA advocates claim, “then that construction can only be taking place in the minds of individuals”. Although I acknowledge the importance of cognitive linguistics in exploring and possibly explaining how language-use could influence conceptualization and cognition and vice-versa, by manipulating individuals into a position of support for certain policies, my option in this investigation was not to follow a cognitive discourse-analytical perspective as I was more interested in focusing on the re-representations and reframing of national identity (public) discourses and my prime concern was not, borrowing Chilton’s phrase, “what goes on inside people’s heads” (2005: 23). Furthermore, it still seems unclear how brain activity works. Indeed, my particular interest in examining how in-groups and out-groups are constructed in various forms according to various levels of context and how the re-appropriation of (former) discourse is activated in my rather extensive corpora (i.e. through intertextuality and interdiscursivity) does not seem to be compatible with the micro-analysis required by Chilton’s theory of cognitive discourse processing.

Li (2009) employed critical discourse analysis to examine the discourse of national conflicts in daily newspapers in the United States and China, focusing on intertextuality and national identity. Amouzadeh (2008) investigated how the relevant hegemonic ideologies are deployed in the language used by newspapers in post-revolutionary Iran. Finally, Gouveia (2005) applied critical discourse analysis to newspaper texts, to examine how gays and lesbians were socially represented in a daily Portuguese newspaper. Research conducted from a specifically discourse-historical approach is referred to below.

(Critical) discourse analysis involves looking at language in use and looking at patterns. These patterns are then explained in the light of co-text, specific setting, context and social practices. In this thesis, the patterns will be explored inductively by using both in-depth case studies and ample data collection, as well as proceeding by way of a form of abductive inference (Pierce, 1986, cited in Jensen, 2002: 259 and 263ff), moving from theory to data analysis and vice versa, which is characteristic of qualitative media research (Jensen, 2002: 264). This iterative process of investigation draws from the discourse-historical approach, the particular CDA approach I am applying in this research.

2.3 The discourse-historical approach

The general theoretical background, basic assumptions and overall goals of critical discourse analysis can be outlined, but its methodology can only be presented with reference to particular approaches and with regard to their specific theoretical backgrounds (Titcher et al., 2000: 144). As such, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to elaborate further on the many methodologies¹⁸ made available by CDA; I only elaborate on the discourse-historical approach, my chosen theoretical and methodological approach. This approach provided the most adequate theory, methodology and analytical instruments to understand discourses produced about events where the 'flagging of nationhood' is in-built, as memorable moments, such as national commemorative events and national sports events. The discourse-historical approach was first developed by the Vienna School of CDA to trace the constitution of an anti-Semitic stereotypical image as it emerged in public discourse (including media discourse) in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign (Wodak et al., 1990, cited in Martin and Wodak, 2003: 7), and subsequently applied in various studies on national identity. Besides Wodak's and Wodak et al.'s various studies on discourse about the nation and national identity in Austria (e.g. Wodak et al., 1999, 2001, 2002; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2002; Wodak and de Cillia, 2007), the

¹⁸ See Jaworski and Coupland (1999); Wodak (2008) and Blommaert (2005) for an overview.

discourse-historical approach was also used in Ricento's (2003) analysis of the discursive construction of Americanism, in Blackledges's various studies on power and multilingualism in Britain, and in other national contexts (e.g. 2002, 2005), as well as on the discursive construction of Gibraltar identity in the printed press (Hernández, 2006, 2008). More recently, Unger (2009) has investigated the discursive construction of Scots in written official documents and focus groups.

What distinguishes DHA from other CDA approaches specifically concerns three aspects: the emphasis on interdisciplinarity, the principle of triangulation, and an ethnographic approach to sources of data by building a dialogue between linguistic analysis and other social-scientific endeavours (Titscher et al., 2000; Wodak, 2001; Reisigl and Wodak, 2009).

The discursive events chosen for this research, into Portuguese national identity, are embedded socially and, more importantly, historically. DHA focuses primarily on socio-political topics and attaches great importance to the extra-linguistic context, namely the historical dimension. Therefore, this approach suits this investigation because it:

...attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive 'events' are embedded. Further, it analyses the historical dimension of discursive actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change. (Wodak, 2001: 65)

One of the main advantages of this approach is its aim to work interdisciplinarily and multimethodically, i.e. allowing the researcher to work with a variety of empirical data, as is the case here. Another advantage is its problem-oriented perspective whereby the idea of 'conceptual pragmatism', borrowed from Mouzelis (1995, cited in Wodak, 2008: 12), is determinant in addressing the specific problems to be investigated. I chose not to elaborate in detail on the many social theories that inform my study, but rather focus on the relevant meso-theories and conceptual tools, thus enabling an in-depth understanding of the phenomena, bringing in theoretical propositions as and when necessary.

What DHA, in particular, has tried to accomplish when national identity is under examination is an analysis of the relationships between “the discursive construction of national sameness and the discursive construction of difference” (Wodak, 2001: 71). Although DHA was initially developed to study public discourse in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign, and has since been applied to several case studies in Austria, Wodak claims that the approach provides a method of description and analysis that has applications beyond the discursive production of national identity in the specific contexts of Austria and the EU (Oberhuber et al., 2005; Triandafyllidou et al., 2009; Wodak, 2001; Wodak and Weiss, 2005; Wodak and Reisigl, 2008, Wodak, 2009). Therefore, DHA to Western or Westernized nations and national identities has identified several common features: a macro-strategy to create discursively national sameness and difference; a crucial reference to the past; and finally a reference to tensions between ‘homeland’ and ‘global entities’, or what analysts have designated as “globalization rhetoric” against “homeland rhetoric” (Wodak, 2006a: 104-5). A study of the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity in the media produced for and during particular commemorative events with deep historical resonance, and based on discourses of collective memories and narratives, constitutes the ideal object of investigation for the discourse-historical approach.

2.4 Critique of critical discourse analysis

CDA has been subject to critical reactions relating to interpretation and context, particularly in terms of researcher bias in the analysis, research tactics and methodological shortcomings (Blommaert, 2005: 31). Widdowson (2004: 89ff.), for example, accused CDA of blurring important distinctions between concepts, disciplines and methodologies, and also of vagueness of concepts, particularly when operationalizing concepts. In addition, Widdowson claimed that CDA provides biased interpretations and that it engages in the cherry picking of unsystematic linguistic features. Schegloff (1997) initiated a methodological debate on the merits and drawbacks of CDA (and conversation analysis), continued by Wetherell (1998) and

Billig (1999), pointing out that analysts project their own political biases and prejudices onto their data and analyse them accordingly. Schegloff, following his own version of conversation analysis, proposes adopting a restricted view of context, whereby only those elements to which participants in a conversation actively and consequentially orient are taken on board (see Chapter 5, section 5.5 for an overview of conversation analysis). A more important critique was raised by Slembrouck (2001, cited in Blommaert, 2005: 32). He accuses CDA of pushing away the participant as soon as the explanatory phase of the analysis is reached. This happens through ‘social-theoretical reductionism’ in which an ‘absolute’ or ‘pure’ explanation is achieved by drawing on social theory. Therefore, instead of giving ‘voice’ to or empowering subjects, CDA gives the floor to the analyst, whilst claiming theory-as-truth. Billig (2000) called attention to the critical paradigm and the uses of ‘critical’, which construct the ‘Other’ as uncritical, i.e. all those discourse approaches whose theoretical assumptions do not include a critical perspective. Billig (ibid.) accuses the ‘marketization’ of the brand label ‘critical’, and young critical academics (i.e. newcomers to the field of research, in which I include myself), of working within the critical paradigm instead of engaging in its critique as the CDA founders did. More recently, Billig (2008) questioned the paradox of using language to investigate language. Illustrating his argument with nominalization and passivization instantiations (key concepts in creating text opacity), Billig demonstrates how analysts’ language is loaded with these features of discourse (ibid.: 796). Interestingly, Billig had already pointed out the “self-referential paradox” in his introduction of *Banal Nationalism* where he acknowledges that nationalism is “present in the very words which we might try to use for analysis” (1995: 12).

In answer to the above critiques, I will orient my response in terms of my own investigation, and in the light of the discourse-historical approach framework. I refer briefly to each critique here, as these are further elaborated in Chapter 5 where a detailed description of methodological choices and orientation is provided. As for cherry picking unsystematic linguistic features or pre-ordained categories, my empirical research is built as a circular process, the selection of information inducing various checking points by re-examination of assumptions, etc. I will discuss this issue in more detail in Chapter 5. As far as analyst bias is concerned, I follow the discourse-

historical approach's recommendation to conduct a triangulatory analysis in terms of methods and data. Hopefully, the analytical chapters and conclusion of this investigation will refute the accusation of 'social-theory reductionism', particularly in the light of what Mouzelis (1995, cited in Wodak, 2008: 12) recommends, i.e. "following the criteria of utility rather than truth", by closely relating questions of theory formation to the specific problems to be investigated (*ibid.*). Billig's critique is harder to refute, as I assume the status of recent investigator within the critical paradigm. Again, the discourse-historical approach recommends particularly care when defining and operationalizing concepts. Billig's critique will be taken on board, even though the author himself accepts the situation is "paradoxical" (2008: 183).

Blommaert (2005: 33ff.) offers further elements of critique: (1) "the linguistic bias in CDA"; (2) "its closure to particular kinds of societies", i.e. projecting features of "Late Modern, post-industrial, densely semiotised First-World societies" onto the globe; and (3) "its closure to a particular time-frame", i.e. the lack of a sense of history. The latter argument is refutable by examining the many studies carried out within DHA which were quoted earlier (see also Wodak 2006c for an extensive response to these critiques). I believe my own investigation overcomes some of these problems. As for the first issue, the linguistic-textual analysis I conduct comprises very much the building bricks for an overall understanding of the phenomenon, and not its core issue. Secondly, even though Portugal undoubtedly belongs to the First-World society category, it presents several 'underdeveloped' features, a legacy from its dictatorship period (1926-1974), and from its geographical and historical background, in tune with many other DHA works, and these features have a profound impact on my object of investigation. Furthermore, this thesis offers sufficient evidence of various critical discourse analysis studies conducted on non-"post-industrial, densely semiotised First-World societies" (Blommaert, 2005: 35) (see, for example, section 2.3 above). Thirdly, my research is deeply concerned with explaining the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity within a 'sense of history', as it would be impossible to proceed otherwise. The discourse-historical approach offers the necessary framework and instruments to conduct such research and to overcome the three problems presented above, as we will see in Chapter 5.

Finally, and drawing on Blackledge (2005: 17), ultimately, there is no value-free CDA as there is no value-free science.

2.5 Key concepts

2.5.1 Defining discourse

There are many definitions of discourse (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 1-3 provide a useful overview, quoting, amongst others: Brown and Yule, 1993; Fasold, 1990; Foucault, 1972; Stubbs, 1983; Fairclough, 1992). All these authors emphasise that discourse is *language in use*:

...relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction in society. [...] Despite important differences of emphasis, discourse is an inescapably important concept for understanding society and human responses to it, as well as understanding language itself. (Jaworski and Coupland., 1999: 3)

Defining *discourse* involves trying to develop new theories of language and new “debates about the foundations on which knowledge is built, subjectivity is constructed and society is managed” (Wetherell et al., 2001: 5).

In 1990, van Dijk defined discourse as ‘text in context’ (1990: 164). Simple as it may seem, van Dijk has dedicated a great part of his research to developing his theory of context (see van Dijk, 2008), as this concept is “one of the most complex, vague, and challenging notions for research in discourse studies” (Wodak, 2006c: 597). I will return to the concept of context below. Almost twenty years later, van Dijk states the following:

In my view, it hardly makes sense to define fundamental notions such as ‘discourse’, ‘language’, ‘cognition’, ‘interaction’, ‘power’ or ‘society’. To understand these notions, we need whole theories or disciplines of the objects or phenomena we are dealing with. Thus discourse is a multidimensional social phenomenon. It is at the same time a linguistic (verbal, grammatical) object (meaningful sequences or words or sentences), an action (such as an assertion or a threat), a form of social interaction (like a

conversation), a social practice (such as a lecture), a mental representation (a meaning, a mental model, an opinion, knowledge), an interactional or communicative event or activity (like a parliamentary debate), a cultural product (like a telenovela), or even an economic commodity that is being sold and bought (like a novel). (2009: 67)

In brief, a complete definition of the concept would entail many dimensions and include several other notions that must also be defined. Van Dijk's notion, complete as it is, is not easily deconstructed, and although discourse includes all the dimensions he mentions, some of them are more relevant (linguistic object, an action, a form of social interaction and practice, a mental representation, an interactional or communicative event) than others (a cultural product, an economic commodity) for the purposes of understanding the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity in the media. As such, to guide my use of the term in this research, Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 89; see also Wodak, 2001, 2009) offer a helpful definition of discourse:

- a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action;
- socially constituted and socially constitutive;
- related to macro-topic;
- linked to the argumentation about validity claims such as truth and normative validity involving several social actors who have different points of view.

Therefore, the authors regard "macro-topic-relatedness, pluri-perspectivity and argumentativity as constitutive elements of a discourse" (ibid.). These two latter new dimensions add important elements to the definition, those of pluri-perspectivity and of argumentativity. As a result, if the object of research does not entail various perspectives and argumentation, we will not be able to call it 'discourse'. The authors add two further ideas: as an analytical construct, delimiting a 'discourse' depends on the discourse analyst's perspective; as an object of investigation, the dynamicity inherent to discourse must always be considered (ibid.). Reisigl and Wodak present a definition of 'a discourse' (countable noun), which links to a discourse's situationality, i.e. the text situation (including speech) plays an important

role in text production. In the present study, I am analysing three different themes – national identity, commemorative events and football – that consist of context-dependent semiotic practices situated within the field of action of the media and of politics. I am able to distinguish these themes because they are related to a specific macro-topic and, within each theme several social actors (journalists, commentators, academics, laypeople) present different viewpoints about validity claims. In fact, the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity in the media is a particularly appealing object of investigation precisely because it entails at least three manifestations of discourse, analytically differentiated, within which there is ongoing recognizable argumentation. This categorization is based on specific semiotic practices that follow certain linguistic and contextual patterns for each discourse type. Empirical evidence from the data under analysis demonstrates that each text or communicative event may gather a cluster of different characteristics– i.e. national identity themes are embedded in discourses about the 25th April revolution, and in discourses about Football. Finally, it is important to underline that discourse should not be seen as an object (which implies a static concept) but rather as a contextualized *activity* (Blommaert, 2005: 3). My use of expressions such as ‘object of analysis’ or ‘object of investigation’ is purely instrumental.

2.5.2 Discourse and text

First, it is important to emphasise that the analytical construct *text* applies to visual, written, oral or multimodal communicative events. Hence, my data consist of a collection of written (newspaper articles and official statements) and spoken (talk) *texts*.

Reisigl and Wodak propose a useful distinction between *discourse* and *text*, drawing on Ehlich (1983, cited in Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 89-90), in which:

...texts are part of discourses. They make speech acts durable over time and thus bridge two dilated speech situations, i.e. the situation of speech production and the situation of speech reception. In other words, texts – be they visualized and written or oral – objectify linguistic actions. (ibid.)

However, if the focus is on language use as *spoken* interaction (as in the case of the phone-in radio corpus), I argue that it is not possible to speak about texts solely as ‘diluted speech acts’. In talk, texts consist of interactive speech acts, which can take place face-to-face, on the phone, or through interactive online programmes. These interactive spoken texts are usually spontaneous and have many of the properties of impromptu speech, such as pauses, errors, false starts and so on; in other words, they are unscripted. However, as object of analysis, these spoken texts are not analysed during the interaction but are transcribed. Conversely, written texts are controlled and scripted. These distinctions are important to understanding some of the methodological choices I made to approach the spoken corpus, namely making use of the conversation analysis method (see Chapter 5, section 5.5).

To sum up, I consider *text* to be what is produced (written or spoken) and which therefore becomes a ‘linguistic object’ to be analysed when we wish to look into the specifics of an event or occasion. I will use *discourse* when focusing on patterns and relationships (be they historically oriented, ideologically construed, or socially dependent) that shape different texts and occasions. My discourse analytical focus will be the study of particular texts, such as newspaper, radio and political texts. I will refer to *text* in general and, where necessary, I will create distinctions by referring to *written texts* and *spoken texts*.

2.5.3 Discourse and context

Context is one of the major macro-units of analysis in this research. Without analysing the multi-level context of the texts produced on the events selected, one cannot reach a complete understanding of the phenomena. To put it in simple terms, and drawing on van Dijk, “discourse analysis as a discipline deals with the study of text and talk in context” (1999a: 291). Chapter 1 has already indicated the importance of context. Accordingly, what do I consider context to be in terms of analytical construct?

As with other definitions illustrated so far, the context of a communicative event can be described in various different ways. Contexts are considered to be an inherent part of discourse analysis: “on the one hand, [they are] structural

constraints and norms, time and space; on the other hand, [they are] cognitive perceptions of a given situation by speakers, viewers and listeners” (Wodak and Krzyżanowski, 2008: 204). Van Dijk argues that “contextualization is a fundamental part of our understanding of human conduct” (2008: 5). Without contextualizing language in use, we cannot fully understand it; and in order to contextualize a certain communicative situation, we need previous knowledge. To understand fully the context of a communicative event, we need to focus on setting (time and place), participants, their goals, the knowledge presupposed by the participants, and the ideology of the participants. However, van Dijk (1999a: 292) pointed out that this view of context as socially framed “lacks a theoretical mechanism to deal with individual variation”. Such theories cannot explain why in “the same social context” all speakers do not say the same thing’. Some ten years later, van Dijk (2008; 2009) proposes that the relation between discourse and society needs to be mediated by context models. Thus, context models are specific mental models that make sure that language users adapt their discourse to the social environment (van Dijk, 2009: 73). Even though I fully acknowledge the need to take audiences into consideration,¹⁹ in order to answer my research questions, I did not feel the need to introduce the theoretical concept of ‘mental model’, as my angle of approach is mainly toward media discourse and not audience reception as such (see Chapter 4, section 4.5 on audiences). However, besides carrying out a text-focused analysis of media, I also examine a particular type of audience and its role in the construction of national identity through the analysis of the meta-discursive role of the phone-in radio programme and, as such, the audience is perceived as being a part of the discourse mechanism.

In their initial studies, analysts using DHA considered variables such as the status of participants, time and place, sociological variables such as group membership, age and professional socialization, and psychological determinants such as experience and routine (Titcher et al., 2000: 155). Recent work that follows this approach seems to de-emphasise the actual analysis of ‘mental models’ or ‘frames and ‘schemata’

¹⁹ Audience and reception studies is one of the least explored research areas within the critical discourse paradigm (see Wodak and Busch, 2004). See also Cotter (2001) for a brief overview of principal studies within discourse analysis.

perceived by the individual and, instead, places more emphasis on the following four layers of *context* within a triangulatory approach:

1. the immediate language or text-internal co-text and co-discourse;
2. the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;
3. the extralinguistic social variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of a situation';
4. the broader socio-political and historical context, which discursive practices are embedded in and related to. (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 93).

For a detailed description of how these dimensions are explored in the data, see Chapter 5.

2.6 Banal nationalism and hot nationalism

Together with Benedict Anderson's definition of nation as an 'imagined community', Gellner's (2006 [1983]) seminal description of nation as a contingency and not a universal necessity is essential to understanding my object of research. This contingency implies culture, a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating:

A mere category of persons (say, occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non-members. (Gellner, 2006: 6-7)

This long citation reinforces what linguists highlight as a major tenet of the discursive analysis of national identity: the dynamics, vulnerability and ambivalence of the national identity construct.

For Anderson (2006 [1983]: 6), the nation exists in the minds of the people who make it, in other words, as “an imagined political community”, although it is usually perceived as a natural entity. Therefore, nations can be understood as mental constructs. De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999: 153) drawing on Anderson, claim a similar viewpoint, as they argue that nations “are represented in the minds and memories of the nationalized subjects [...] and can become very influential guiding ideas”; they further suggest that national identities are discursively “produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed”.

Billig expands the argument further by introducing the term ‘banal nationalism’ to cover “nationalism [...] as an endemic condition” (1995: 6), pervasive in all aspects of our daily life, to which, he argues, people in general and social scientists in particular have not paid due attention. Furthermore, he states it is crucial to understand that these manifestations cease “to appear as nationalism, disappearing into the ‘natural’ environment of ‘societies’” and, simultaneously, “the irrationality of nationalism is projected on ‘to others’” (1995: 38). Billig’s seminal study of *Banal Nationalism* (1995) seeks to draw attention to, and problematise, the way nationalism has been studied and represented by the social sciences as “extraordinary, politically charged and emotionally driven” (ibid.: 44). In other words, nationalism has been studied during the episodic moments of *hot nationalist* passion, triggered by a sense of crisis that the nation is being threatened, and thus in danger. I come back to this point below. According to Billig, nationalism does not disappear once the nation-state has been established, nor when ‘ordinary life’ is resumed and again “banal, unexciting politically and non-nationalist” (ibid.: 44). Instead, national identity needs to be conceptualised as a “form of life which is daily lived in a world of nation-states” (ibid.: 68). Hutchinson suggests the co-formation of two types of nationalism: a ‘banal’ nationalism in Billig’s sense of the term and a “‘hot’ transformational movement produced by a sense of crisis” (2006: 295). Both authors emphasize the ways in which the mass media routinely reproduce a world composed of sovereign nations that has turned ‘banal’ from the reiteration of nationhood flagging. Hence, taking the nation for granted means that there is little questioning of its meaning and coherence. Another important point within the co-formation of hot and banal nationalism is the ‘other’, i.e. the international context –

“which needs to be imagined every bit as much as does the national community” (Billig, 1995: 83) – against which “the consciousness of national identity” rises. However, and this is an important thread for my data analysis, Billig claims the following:

There are infinite discursive possibilities for talking about ‘us’ and ‘them’ [...] ‘We’ is not confined to simple differentiating stereotypes, which downgrade the foreigner as the mysterious other. Foreign nations are like ‘ours’ but never completely alike. (ibid.: 87)

Indeed, we will see how the data analyses point to the topic of the ‘foreign other’ being also positively represented.

When nations are stable, individuals return to “their multiple and competing loyalties of family, class, religion and region” (ibid.: 304). This is a very important point to explain the differences in the discourses produced on the two events under analysis. Whereas, during Euro 2004, the nation is overtly rehearsing ‘hot’ nationalism, based on unity, during the 25th April commemorations the nation is divided and the political elites are pursuing sectional loyalties, although embedded in national symbols and overt flagging of nationhood implying that the “national identity is the ground on which the remaining loyalties rest” (Hutchinson, 2006: 304). The data I have selected, even though incorporating, to a large extent, ‘banal’ practices of nationhood flagging (national newspaper section, semiotic texts, such as national colours and deixis) stem from *conscious choices* made by regular columnists and radio show participants to explicitly (and implicitly) discuss the issue of national identity. Therefore, I will argue that the revolution’s anniversary provided the opportunity to ‘re-write’ and ‘re-conceptualize’ a chunk of very recent national history and collective memories, emphasising class and group loyalties. The Euro 2004 was a moment of ‘hot’ nationalism wherein a *conscious choice on collective acts of imagination* to reproduce and maintain established nations took place. It is as if the nationalist moment ‘united’ what the commemorations had ‘disunited’ two months before. In sum, the discursive formations from the two events, as well as the radio programme convey a sense of “ideological consciousness of nationhood” (Billig, 1995: 4).

The *conscious choice* to discuss national identity does not necessarily imply discursive consciousness about the deixis used, subject positioning or argumentation. As such, the “ideology of banal nationalism” is present in the data discursive formations through what Billig designates as the “complex deixis of homeland” (ibid.: 95). These habits of discourse or discursive representations are not only used to represent the “ideology of banal nationalism” but, as the discourse-historical approach proposes, are also reframed and re-produced as co-text and context dependent, bringing together national identities and individual and collective identities, which simultaneously create diverse discursive tensions.

In sum, Wodak et al. (1999) and Billig (1995, 2009) have the following assumptions in common: human thinking is not only based on information-processing, as many cognitive scientists have implied, but it is intrinsically rhetorical (Billig, 2009: 348) and the media do not transmit a single, coherent message about the nation; there are continual controversies, debates and dilemmas (ibid.). However, whereas Billig focuses on the ideology of nationalism in which “particular nations take their place within an international world of nation-states” (Billig, 2009: 349), the discourse-historical approach is more concerned with analysing the various in-group and out-group discursive constructions within the same ‘national’ community. Billig accomplishes his aim by stressing the mundane or banal practices of nationalism. Wodak and her colleagues instead, set out to explore the discursive formations of national identity bringing in various levels or dimensions (historical, social, contextual and linguistic) that contribute to that particular discourse about national identity in that particular setting, and with those particular interlocutors. Hence, in this investigation, Billig complements DHA model by highlighting how dominant ‘banal’ and ‘hot’ nationalism work in the “world of nations”.

2.7 Media and nationhood

Several scholars have acknowledged how newspapers play a major role in the daily reproduction of nationhood (for example: Anderson, 1991; Özkirimli, 2000; Billig,

1995; Hutchinson, 2006). The media emphasize the most conspicuous symbols of 'banal nationalism' by the continual reproduction of nations and national identity. These repetitions serve as continuous reminders of our nationhood. Through a process of routine formation, remembering occurs without conscious awareness. Billig calls this process inhabitation, through which "thoughts, reactions and symbols become turned into routine habits and, thus, become inhabited" (Billig, 1995: 42). National newspapers, in particular, are one of the most important sites in which and through which the national agenda is articulated and disseminated. Newspapers contribute to the process of routine-formation in various ways, for instance in the presentation of news, divided into foreign and domestic, by which it is taken for granted that the world is divided into different nations, 'them' and 'us'. They also employ a complex deixis of 'here', 'this' and 'we', indicating "the national homeland as the home of the readers" (Billig, 1995: 11).

Since we inhabit our nationhood through a continual process of routine-formation, 'we', the readers, usually take it for granted that a story is about 'our' homeland or 'our' nation unless otherwise stated in the headline or the opening lines. This is because the media present a "consensual model" of society, often simply translated into ours – *our* industry, *our* economy, *our* police force (Yumul and Özkirimli, 2000: 792).

The media in their broadest sense include the classical communication channels (newspaper/magazines, radio, cinema, television) and the new electronic media. In this thesis, I refer to 'the media' in the sense of communication or 'mass' media. From a system-theoretical point of view, the media are social systems interacting with other social systems. As a result, "the media mirror, and hence implicitly promote, a dynamic set of ideological frameworks" (Johnson and Ensslin, 2007: 13). According to Johnson and Ensslin, these ideologies are not always restricted to dominant discourses, but also enable "marginal agencies to surface, and potentially alter, previous hierarchical relations or 'orders of discourse'" (ibid.).

We must always keep in mind the complex interdependencies between journalists who want a good story, politicians who depend on reporting in the media to disseminate their programmes, and various other groups in society who also want to be represented in the media in the sense of pluralistic reporting (Stråth and

Wodak, 2009: 17). This thesis captures both the dominant and, eventually, 'marginal' discourses on national identity by examining the texts published in certain newspapers about certain events, as well as the language produced during a radio phone-in programme on the topic of national identity. The radio broadcast ran on the topic of "Is national identity in crisis?". Stråth and Wodak (2009: 16) point to the dissemination of the idea of national 'crisis' through reinforcement, by the media, in the public sphere:

In such communication, complex processes are reduced to certain images; many other accompanying, often contradictory, processes and positionings are simply not mentioned anymore or they are swept under the carpet. History, thus, is reduced to static events captured by images and agenda-setting by journalistic news production. (ibid.)

Arguably, the idea of 'crisis', within the context of the data, falls within the realm of theoretical and abstract hypothesis, for the threats were non-tangible in their nature (economic, civic, educational, etc.).

This study explores how meanings of national identities are constructed in media discourse. The media, as we have seen, play a particularly important role in 'imagining the community' and make it possible for people "to engage in national discourse and to think of themselves as a national community" (Li, 2009: 86).

2.8 The field of media action

The discourse of the news media includes two key components: the news story and the process (norms and routines of the community of news practitioners) involved in producing texts (Cotter, 2001: 416). In this thesis, the main focus is on the former. Thus, text as a dynamic entity is explored as the object of analysis, where the various levels of context described above are also examined in order to uncover the exercise of power and bias, and in order to study the effects of the media in perpetuating social imbalance.

The media texts analysed here are extremely powerful because of their capacity to reach and influence vast numbers of people, and because of their authoritative status. Research into media discourse within the CDA paradigm has established the media as a social and discursive institution which regulates and organizes social life, as well as the production of social knowledge, values and beliefs (van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1995a).

As DHA focuses on fields of action (Girnth, 1996 cited in Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 26), genres, discourses and texts, I consider the media to be a particular field of action – the field of media. Within this field, I focus on two genres: newspaper op-ed and opinion articles, and a radio phone-in programme. The field of action “indicates a segment of social reality which constitutes a (partial) frame of a discourse” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 90). Accordingly, and as I previously stated, I have singled out three primary types of discourses (even though there are many other discourse types within my data): discourse on national identity; discourse on football; and discourse on commemorative events, which are embedded in the field of action of the media (as well as the political field of action), in the genres of newspaper and radio, and in the sub-genres of opinion articles and a radio phone-in broadcast (see Chapter 5, Figures 5.2 and 5.3).

2.8.1 The public sphere

The data selected for this study can definitely be considered as *communication in the public sphere*. This opens up a whole series of theoretical and methodological issues relating to how I choose to articulate the concept of public sphere with the specific type of media genres under analysis.

The modern media are technologies that enable reflexivity on a social scale, as they produce and circulate meaning in society. According to Jürgen Habermas’ model (1962 cited in Koller and Wodak, 2008: 1-2), the social system comprises the private sphere, the social sphere and the public sphere. The mediating element of the system is the *public sphere*, comprising major political and cultural institutions and the press. Nowadays, the mediating element can be widened to include the media in general. As such, the media are responsible for the mediation and interrelations

between the various institutions within the ideal of a rational, democratic society. Habermas' communication model of deliberative democracy seeks to implement a "self-regulating media system where anonymous audiences grant feedback between an informed elite discourse and a responsible civil society" (Habermas, 2006: 411-12). According to Habermas' highly idealized rational dialogue, the interlocutors in the public sphere should "find a consensus based on the most acceptable and logical argument" (Koller and Wodak, 2008: 2), and "no one person or group (such as politicians or political parties) can claim to speak or know what another person would, or should, do" (Wright, 2008: 30). Nonetheless, and still according to Koller and Wodak, the concept of public sphere has changed "drastically" as the Habermasian ideal type of community (white male middle-class) has no echo in "today's social structure and communicative behaviour" (2008: 2). Furthermore, to discuss the concept of public sphere today, we must include new media formats and genres where, for instance, political discourse (information genre) is blended into various forms of media entertainment such as "infotainment, edutainment and reality soaps" (ibid.: 5). Since media producers must necessarily be aware of readers/receivers as both members of civil society and consumers, media production "always walks the line between content orientation, factual representation, and the necessity to reach and entertain as many people as possible" (ibid.: 6).

These various dimensions of what the contemporary concept of public sphere entails (and the view that rather than one public sphere there are many²⁰) must inform my data analysis. The traditional Habermasian model offered the possibility of examining how "the duality of structure and of culture operates" (Jensen, 2002: 6), which meant that the model referred both to a "structure of social institutions and to social agents' imagined relation to these institutions" (ibid.: 6). Social agents, in imagining configurations, either reproduce or contest the institutional structure, therefore enabling a potential for reflexivity, by individuals and by collectivities. In line with this, the data in this study, consisting of *signed* newspaper op-ed and opinion articles and the radio phone-in programme's callers' participation²¹, fall

²⁰ See, for instance, Wright (2008: 21) who claims "there is no such thing as 'the' public sphere".

²¹ If regarded as a debate programme, the radio show can also be considered to be creating new public spheres (see Wright, 2008: 31).

within this potential for *reflexivity*, enabled by the media as a public-sphere interface. On the one hand, they belong to the institutional structure and, on the other, as social agents, they reflect and contest the social institutions they are embedded in. This double bind becomes a rather complex analytical object, as we are in the presence of both the discursive construction of national identity by the nation-state through the media and, simultaneously, by the commentators' and participants' meta-discourse on national identity. To this, we must also add a third dimension of entertainment.

2.8.2 The symbolic elite

The issue of public sphere links to who has direct access to and who is excluded from it and, amongst those with access, who re-produces dominant discourses on national identity and collective memories and who opposes them via counter-discourses. I will briefly address the notion of symbolic power as an important theoretical concept to understand the pervasiveness of dominant representations within the discourse about Portuguese national identity.

According to Hall (1997), there is a range of socio-political factors, such as education, culture and economic conditions, that shape how we understand and interpret messages. Thus, semiotically, "we make sense of the message [...] to the extent that we share the same signs or coding systems" (Wright, 2008: 27). At the same time, language users have different texts (in the sense I have defined above), and these texts are the material with which they engage in communication (Blommaert, 2005: 15). People are constrained by the range and structure of their texts, and the distribution of elements of the texts in any society is unequal. As such, what people produce as discourse is determined by their sociolinguistic and contextual backgrounds. This relates to Bourdieu's argument about the importance of symbolic capital, a key issue in the discursive construction of collective memories and collective narratives, and for understanding the social function of symbols (Bourdieu, 1989: 15). For Bourdieu, (symbolic, cultural and political) power is essentially the capacity to mobilise the authority accumulated in what he designates the market. Control of the 'symbolic marketplace' is a central part of the exercise of

all social power. Therefore, the commentators who write the press articles and the experts who come in on the radio programme exercise 'symbolic domination', through which they impose their discourses on national identity and belonging. Their symbolic power is legitimized by their privileged access to the media, and by the legitimacy readers and listeners endow them, and thus determining who dominates, using Billig's phrase, the "banal flagging of nationhood" (1995) as I will discuss this issue further in the research findings. To summarize, and paraphrasing van Dijk (1995b: 4), elites are the ones who initiate, monitor and control the majority and most influential forms of institutional and public text and talk.

2.9 Summary

This chapter described the necessary conceptual tools and the general theoretical background required to understand how the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity, collective memories and narratives are approached here, covering three main aspects: the CDA paradigm and main key concepts; the concepts of banal and hot nationalism; the role of media discourse in the formation of national identities. I have outlined the definitions of concepts in relation to discourse analysis and in relation to media discourse analysis, illustrating the necessary interdisciplinarity this study involves. Whilst defining discourse analysis and its critical perspective on language, the difficulties attached to the definition of most concepts, and therefore their clear-cut operationalization, became evident. Nonetheless, the chapter aims to delimit as much as possible how the terms are used in this investigation and to justify why they are used. Billig's critique emphasizing the 'self-referential paradox' is representative of how theory and practice are, in many ways, contradictory. Finally, I must stress that my own critical perspective is one of analysing and interpreting what the discursive analysis of instances of discourses on Portuguese national identity tell us about conflicting and contradictory social practices at the moment they were produced, and in relation to their social and historical setting.

As a result, Chapter 3 presents the various myths of nation creation and lays out the ground to understand how some myths become discursively salient and how others are backgrounded.

3 Dominant public narratives on Portuguese national identity

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses salient collective narratives and memories within the Portuguese context, linking them to the historical events that shaped them. It is designed to provide a concise overview of some of the wider socio-political and historical dimensions relating to questions of identity-construction and of 'belonging' in Portugal from a macro viewpoint. My aim is to trace the major public discourse constructions on Portuguese national identity that frame national contemporary discourses on the subject. I consider particularly relevant to understand the way state authorities, and scholarly and political elites, through the mediation of the public sphere – media, school, public speeches, historical accounts, etc., have played a major role in shaping recent collective memories and narratives

I will present a brief summary of the main theories concerning the 'creation of the nation'. I focus primarily on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when most debates questioning national identity gained prominence, highlighting major tensions and upheavals Portugal has encountered when dealing with the 'other'. Interestingly, Portugal's nation-building, historically dating back to as early as the thirteenth century presents an original case as it deviates from some of the major theories that ascribe the creation of nationalism to the modern state (Gellner, 2006 [1983] or to the "distillation of a complex crossing of discrete historical forces" from

the end of the eighteenth century (Anderson, 2006[1983]: 4). I come back to this point below.

Four major influences have shaped the discursive construction of the country's national identity, the first of which relating to its size. As a rather small and modestly populated country, with an overpowering Spain as its only neighbour, the relationship between the two countries has shaped most debates on the topic²⁰. The second element for the representation of the dominant national identity narrative relates to the idea of the 'glorious overseas empire', whose administration was undertaken by the Portuguese state from the early fifteenth century to the mid-twentieth century²¹. The nation's administrative power extended from Portugal itself to India (Goa, Damao and Diu), China (Macau), Africa (Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and S. Tomé and Príncipe) and Latin America (Brazil). In turn, these 'imaginary'/ 'imagined' and real relationships beyond Europe shaped the country's perception of its relationship with Europe, perceived and (discursively) constructed as a rather abstract integral whole (i.e. countries are not individualized, but perceived as part of the European whole). The dictatorship and the colonial war in Africa, which lasted thirteen years and encompassed three fronts – Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau –, both during the twentieth century constitute the third and fourth factors to have an impact on Portugal's self-image, public discourses and narratives of self-representation. All of these factors are further explored in the following sections.

The chapter begins by covering briefly the foundation of the Portuguese state in the thirteenth century and of the main narratives from nineteenth century historiography, when the first public debates on the issue of 'national identity' surfaced. Secondly, I summarize the prominent narratives on 'Portugal's mission in the world' imposed on the population during the time of the dictatorship. The colonial war, which took place in the last thirteen years of the *Estado Novo* and its major role in the construction of national identity narratives is also addressed.

²⁰ As early as the fourteenth century, a growing sense of suspicion against Castile and León (two of the several former kingdoms which became Spain) developed amongst the Portuguese population. Various authors, including Saraiva and Lopes (1987) have highlighted how these feelings have led to regular outbursts across the centuries, namely at times when Portugal's independence was at stake.

²¹ The decolonization of the several territories spanned from nineteenth century (Brazil) to 1999 (Macau).

Thirdly, I describe how the 25th of April 1974 revolution and its aftermath shaped the 'new' narratives and collective memories on the recent past and how Portugal's elites felt a strong need to 'rethink Portugal' (*repensar Portugal*), by resuming the old nineteenth century debate. Advocated by many literary authors and historians, this debate favoured the European project to the detriment of the 'imperial project', i.e. the end of Portugal as an 'imperial nation'. Fourthly, I summarize the major claims and contradictions on the dominant narratives of Portuguese national identity as put forward by historians, sociologists, philosophers and literary authors, and how these discourses construct 'the other'. Then, I focus on the construction of discourses on Portugal's relationship with three specific parties: Spain, the various 'newcomers' and Europe. The last section is dedicated to the relevance of commemorations: how these were 'invented' in the late nineteenth century thus becoming a way of transmitting dominant and hegemonic images and identity narratives of the country, both internally and internationally. Finally, this chapter exemplifies the challenges facing the researcher when attempting to systematise - whether in a chronological or in a disciplinary fashion - the major arguments and hypotheses put forward on the construction of Portuguese national identity. The researcher is dealing with contradictory, often non-scientific or pseudo-scientific claims added to never-ending sources from which to select information and organize a coherent argument. The literature on the subject is as fluid, versatile and mutable as the concept of *national identity* itself (see Wodak et al., 2009; Billig, 1995). I should add that when compiling the following literature review, and in spite of being well beyond the scope of this thesis, I realized that a discursive analysis of the texts I was reading could be an enlightening contribution to this study.

3.2 Theories on national group identity

Portugal is considered to be one of the oldest European nation-states, its borders dating back to the twelfth century, when the would-be king, Afonso Henriques, fought in battle his own cousin, the Alfonso VII of León and with his own mother imprisoning the latter. Afonso Henriques proceeded by crowning himself 'rex

Portugalensis' (King of Portugal) and adopting an expansionist policy against the Moors and the Spaniards. The Pope recognized the sovereignty of the self-proclaimed King in 1183. The country's foundation narrative is well known by Portuguese nationals who have been schooled in the country. It is presented here on the grounds of its paradigmatic value in terms of generally accepted essentialist view of Portuguese national identity. In fact, this account (which had been originally shaped by nineteenth century historiography) of the foundation narrative was seen as a definite separation from what would later become Spain, and has been discursively used to 'protect' the country from its territorial neighbour.

During the nineteenth century, as everywhere else in Europe, issues of nationalism dominated the Portuguese public sphere. Theories explaining the genesis of the nation became common knowledge (Sobral, 2004: 257). The historian Alexandre Herculano (1846) argued that the Portuguese nation was a political product, this being a result of its formation at the hands of barons from the Northwest part of the Iberian Peninsula. Another prominent nineteenth century historian, Oliveira Martins (1879), following on Herculano's theory, added that there were traits of Celtic origin in the Portuguese character. Martins believed in an Iberian civilization, in a "peninsular character [that was the] fundamental trait of the race" (1879: 29). The ethnic/racial argument became widespread during the 1870s and 1880s. The representation of the country's history, in parallel with Spain, comprised two main stages: one of grandeur, which reached its peak during the sixteenth century overseas empires; and the following one of decadence which lasted until the nineteenth century. Teófilo Braga, another Portuguese historian, insisted on the ethnic approach to Portuguese nationality; he argued for a racial distinctiveness from Spain, including the Arabian influence during their seven-century long dominance of the southern regions of Portugal (Braga, 1885, 1894).

The racial factor was perceived as a prominent element in social organization. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the interpretation of nationalism based on race (even if it was a combination of diverse peoples) contributed to a sense of community, drawing on the false sense of a unique origin and a common destiny. During this period and extending to the first decades of the twentieth century, successive political and economic national crises, the country's ever decreasing

political role in Europe, and the increasing population migration to Brazil, instilled the idea that the “historical essence of the first centuries of the Portuguese state” (Sobral, 2004: 266) had to be recaptured.

At a later stage, the liberal–democrat Sérgio (1977 [1925]) one of the most influential Portuguese intellectuals of the twentieth century refuted the racial argument, replacing it with a north-south division based on three distinct contrasts: human (character traits), geographic (territory and climate), and social (small and large property, class relations, etc.). Sérgio’s theory drew on psychological and social contrasts between the rural countryside and the coastal populations. Furthermore, other authors have suggested that there was a continuity or homogeneity between the Lusitan people and the Portuguese, (Correia, 1919) or between various ethnic groups, including Arabs, Jews and Blacks (Vasconcellos, 1940-1941), claiming the presence of common character traits. After World War II, school syllabuses, despite being embedded in the fascist ideology of António de Oliveira Salazar’s ruling, stressed the multiple ethnic contributions to the peopling of the Iberian Peninsula, never referring to words such as ‘Arian’ or ‘Semitic’ because of their obvious negative stigma. Under Salazar’s nationalist ideology, the emphasis placed on the multiple ethnic origins of the Lusitan people was expanded into the concept of Lusotropicalism “which embodied the myth of a multiracial harmonious Portuguese Empire” (Cusak, 2005: 601). Though it has been modernized, this multi-cultural image of the Portuguese prevails in terms of discursive construction.

3.3 The *Estado Novo*

The right-wing dictator Salazar stepped into political power as the Minister of Finance in 1928, after a coup d’état in 1926 initiated what was officialized as the *Estado Novo* in the 1933 Constitution. Eventually, Salazar ruled the country almost single-handedly as Prime Minister from 1932 until 1968.²² The dictatorial regime

²² Salazar was seventy-nine years old when he was forced to step down from power in 1968, for health reasons. He died two years later. A military dictatorship ruled the country from 1926-1933, and the *Estado Novo* from 1933-1974.

lasted until the 25th April revolution in 1974, then under the command of its only other Prime Minister, Marcello Caetano, who succeeded Salazar in 1968. At the time, Portugal had the longest-running fascist regime in the world. The Salazar/Caetano government spanned through inter-war years, World War II, and the post-war period.

The *Estado Novo* reinforced nationalist and Catholic values on the Portuguese population. The education system was tailored toward the glorification of the Portuguese nation and its five-century-old overseas territories (the *Ultramar*). The motto of the regime was *Deus, Pátria e Família* (meaning God, Fatherland and Family). Even after the end of World War II, the regime resisted the decolonization wave, which had by then swept European countries and their overseas' possessions.

From the 1930s onwards, the *Estado Novo* assumed the "historical mission of colonizing and civilizing the native populations" (*Colonial Act*, 1930, article 2, in Rosas 2001: 1034)²³. This would be the "mission and burden of the Portuguese people" and the "organic essence of the Portuguese nation", (Rosas, 2001: 1034) which, in turn, justified and legitimized the right to occupy, "possess and colonize the overseas territories" (*Colonial Act*, 1930, article 2, cited in Rosas, 2001: 1034-5). These unalienable rights over overseas territories were grounded on the maintenance of national independence, perceived and discursively construed to be constantly under threat from Spain. The large dimension of the Colonial Empire over-compensated for a rather small-sized continental Portugal and helped to resist the ongoing pressure from Spain to incorporate its neighbouring country Portugal (Rosas, 2001).

In the pursuit of its aims, the *Estado Novo* attempted to establish a mythical ideal of the "Portuguese essence" (Rosas, 2001: 1034). Thus, as early as 1934, Salazar stated in a political speech: "We do not recognize freedom against the Nation, against the common well-being, against the family, against ethics" (cited in Rosas, 2001: 1037). Salazar was concerned mainly with the elites. He believed that the future of the nation and the regime depended, above all, on the educated elites, who would perpetuate the "true national interest" (Rosas, 2001: 1038).

²³ *Colonial Act* article 18 570 dated as of 8.7.1930.

This being the case, the strong uphold of the dictatorship was an ideology built on the concept of *Portugalidade* (or Portugueseness) and overseas expansionism, as well as on the idea of family and the Catholic religion. Therefore, ‘losing Africa’ in the 1970s, the last symbolic and political possession of the overseas empire, was, and is still to some sectors of the population, the great loss of a nation that remained unable to find itself (Ferreira, 1993: 173). Many Portuguese viewed the overseas territories and Portugal as eternally linked through the Portuguese language²⁴ and culture. However, with the exception of religious sector (which had the Church organization as main support), the pyramidal authoritarian approach to the dissemination of these ideologies, was never completely embedded in the people’s ‘flagging-of-the-nation’ (Billig, 1995). In fact, large sectors of the population increasingly resented the colonies and, from 1961 onwards, when the colonial war began in Angola, the war effort. The latter involved a significant drain on the national budget and, more importantly, demanded high numbers of young male recruits²⁵. Another factor of resentment towards the African colonies was the implication of a ‘spoiled Portugueseness’, effused by the Portuguese who had migrated to Africa. It was perceived that these migrants labelled as ‘os retornados’ (literally *the come-backs*, as they migrated en masse back to Portugal after 1974) held lifestyle “practices that were cast as morally suspect by kin and community members who had remained behind in Portugal” (Lubkemann, 2002: 189). After the revolution, the ‘retornados’ were strongly stigmatized by the population who had remained in Portugal, in stark contrast with the Portuguese who had migrated to other destinations, such as France, Luxembourg, Germany or the America continent.

Hence, the *Estado Novo* claimed and disseminated the image of a ‘greater Portugal’, a necessary representation to uphold Portugal’s independence against ‘the other’. The population in general, mostly illiterate, assimilated these representations while simultaneously resenting the *de facto* nation for economic, social and emotional reasons, since ‘their boys’ had to navigate overseas to fight in the colonial wars (on three fronts: Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique). In parallel, small

²⁴ The poet Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935) would write the famous and constantly quoted and reframed phrase “the Portuguese language is my homeland” [*minha pátria é a língua portuguesa*].

²⁵ One million people are estimated to have been involved (including civilians, families, etc) in the war effort, travelling to Africa at some point in the 1961-1974 period.

minorities of educated elites either upheld the state's ideology or rebelled against it - insofar as possible given the censorship and the active role of the political police, known by the acronym PIDE - questioning the Portuguese 'mission' overseas. This ambivalence toward the hegemonic 'idea' of nation would persist during the years immediately after the revolution, and even further into the future, shaping discourses on national identity and the initial rejection of anything related to 'patriotism' or 'national symbols', since these were perceived as authoritarian, anti-democratic and directed against freedom. In fact, the general population appears to have only made peace with the country's flag during the Expo World Exhibition in 1998 and Euro 2004.

3.4 The 25th of April revolution and the (brief) rejection of national symbols

The 'democratic' revolution, which took place on 25th April 1974²⁶ introduced a major break with the authoritarian values, beliefs and ideologies of the previous regime. Symbolically, the revolution represents transformations and even transgressions that impacted on the country's social and economic evolution (Barreto, 1995, 2000; Cabral, 1999).

The reasons for this revolution are manifold, but the most relevant were undoubtedly the wearing out of the dictatorial regime and the African colonial war that had dragged on for over a decade. The latter factor, coupled with foreign diplomatic pressure in relation to the independence of the colonies, contributed to a larger-than-usual mobilization of support to the military coup d'état (Cabral, 1999: 90).

²⁶ It is important to emphasize that Portugal's transition to democracy was abrupt and revolutionary contrary to what happened in countries such as Greece (1974) and Spain (1976-1977) where the transition to democracy was negotiated (see Ramos et al., 2009: 705).

The 25th April 1974 revolution was a left-leaning military²⁷ coup which started in Lisbon and spread very quickly throughout the whole country. A group of soldiers and a few officers who strongly opposed the war – the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas or Movement of the Armed Forces) – conspired to overthrow the government. Initially the MFA planned the coup as a ‘military operation’ without civilian, or diplomatic ramifications, or ideological foundations, according to the historian Marques (1981: 595).²⁸ The armed forces occupied the radio and television stations, the military headquarters, the airport, and ministry buildings in the heart of Lisbon. In fact, the rebellious military group was quite small. At the time, a total of just 8,000 men were in Portugal since around 80% of the army was in Africa. The coup was perpetrated by around 150 officers and 2000 soldiers. The whole coup was staged from midnight until six p.m. and not one soldier was killed. Despite repeated appeals from the military on the radio asking people to stay at home, thousands of people took to the streets. The only four victims were from a group of 600 people who were gathered near the headquarters of the DGS (Direcção Geral de Segurança²⁹ – former political police) in Lisbon and who were shot at by the police force. On May 1st, Labour Day, an estimated one million people euphorically celebrated throughout the country in the first truly free demonstrations in more than fifty years (Reis, 1994: 17). As Bernard Levin, the famous columnist from the London newspaper *The Times* remarked, what impressed him the most was that “within a few hours” the 50-year-old régime “disappeared as if it had never existed” (cited in Ramos et al., 2009: 705)³⁰.

The next two years (1974-1976) were perhaps the most extraordinary in the country’s history; commonly known as the Continuing Revolutionary Process (PREC-Processo Revolucionário em Curso) this was a period of continual revolution and

²⁷ The armed forces were displeased with the recent changes in their career structure and salaries, which had decreased due to sky-rocketing inflation; they were also displeased with the promotion of conscripts who, according to new regulations, would have equal status with the regular soldiers.

²⁸ According to Marques (1981: 595), the military movement of 25th April 1974 had little ideological foundation at its inception. Above all, it was an uprising against the poor conditions of the Armed Forces and the never-ending colonial wars.

²⁹ The DGS was created in 1969 replacing the former PIDE – Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (International Police and of State Defense) - the political police responsible for ensuring overall censorship of the press, political arrests without trial and torture both in Portugal and overseas during the *Estado Novo*.

³⁰ Bernard Levin (1979), *Taking Sides*, London: Jonathan Cape.

massive politicisation. There were massive labour strikes, and banks, insurance companies, transport, energy, cement and cellulose companies were nationalised. Real estate property and farms were occupied by workers. It was a time of anarchy marked by constant friction between liberal-democratic forces and leftist/communist political parties. The country was awakening from its long anesthesia imposed by the authoritarian régime; the lack of political democratic know-how led to inevitable contradictions in relation to what had been flagged from the initial stages as the ‘Revolution of the people and for the people’: the military leaders clung on to power, the various political groups struggled through strong ideological contradictions (Reis, 1994: 19). Nevertheless decisions of enormous importance were taken – above all the granting of independence to all of the overseas territories in Africa.³¹

Fear of an anti-democratic communist putsch led right-of-centre soldiers to mount a second *coup d’état* or counter-coup in November 1975. It was led by the officer António Ramalho Eanes, who would be elected keeper of the new constitution for the next ten years in the summer of 1976. After that, the democratic process evolved without further military interference.

Between April and November 1974, almost fifty political parties had emerged to run in the elections that would elect the constitutional assembly responsible for drawing up the new constitution and establishing basic civic rights for all citizens. Of these, the political parties which have remained strong over the last three decades of democracy in Portugal claimed the following numbers of members in 1974: the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP)³² had 100,000; the Socialist Party (PS) 80,000; the Popular Democratic Party (PPD, later the party’s name would be changed to PSD, Social Democratic Party) 20,000, the Social Democratic Centre (CDS) 7,000. (Ramos et

³¹ During the years 1974-1976, thousands of people demonstrated in permanent public protest and “burnt out two presidents and six provisional governments” (Ramos et al., 2009: 705).

³² Even though illegal and working undercover, the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) was the only organized political party which had survived throughout the dictatorship; their ‘historic’ leader, Álvaro Cunhal, after having been imprisoned for political reasons, had escaped from jail and had lived in the Soviet Union for 14 years. Cunhal would return to Portugal on April 30th 1974, with huge support from the population who were waiting for him at the Santa Apolónia train station in Lisbon. On April 28th, the leader of the Socialist Party, Mário Soares, had already arrived from exile in France.

al. 2009: 724). The first free, universal elections took place on 25 April 1975. Participation was massive: 91.7 per cent of the registered population voted.³³

From the start, every political party (including the recently formed PPD and CDS) strived to project itself as the true defender of the 'ideals of the 25th April'. Even though the communists were the first to claim the revolution as their own, in the 1975 elections their share of the vote (12.5%), like the right-wing CDS (7.6%), remained small. The elections were won by the moderate Socialist Party (PS), who obtained 37.9% of the vote. Since then, they have alternated with the moderate social democrats (PSD) (who took 26.4% of the vote in 1974) in the prime minister's seat. The political map had been set for the following decades, and the Portuguese had chosen moderation. Each party's claim that they were the true defenders of the revolution's ideals would feed every major debate about the revolution and about the commemoration of the revolution for the next thirty years. The data analysed in Chapter 6 are a clear illustration of this on-going political conflict.

During the inevitable post-revolutionary enthusiasm, the Portuguese population felt that the formerly enforced cultural paradigms had collapsed, namely the insistence on maintaining the private sphere 'secret' and the public sphere under the scrutiny of censorship. In the revolution aftermath, prevalent social ideologies promoted the collective over the individual. Almeida suggests that, in terms of "collective memory", the "revolution inaugurated the largest collective utopia of the Portuguese. However, during the turmoil, people forgot that the past is part of national identity" (2004: 3). In fact, for a brief period, post-revolutionary Portugal tried to reject its recent past and with it, its collective history, since the *Estado Novo's* ideological policy had largely appropriated, reframed and incorporated it.

This brief interruption of the dominant/hegemonic public discourses in the aftermath of the revolution was followed in the 1980s by an increasing distrust in the left-wing social ideologies. The political focus on culture as 'heritage', 'Portugueseness' and 'national identity' returned. Being 'national' became a unifying value within the growing preoccupation over the image of the country and its

³³ Prior to the 1975 elections, registration for voting became mandatory for every citizen over 18 years of age.

European recognition, together with a lack of debate over what would be salient in terms of cultural policies (Reis, 1993: 473).

From an analytical perspective, during the eighties and nineties, Portuguese academics felt the need to revisit the historical past anew based on valid modern scientific premises. Scholars were interested in interpreting Portugal's identity (and politics) in the light of international scenarios: Europe, the United States, international North-South relationships and the former Portuguese colonies in Africa. Researchers became increasingly aware that to understand Portugal they had to look at the 'other' (Barreto, 1994: 1064). Since then, sociologists have argued that the phenomena considered to be permanent by the *Estado Novo* and to a certain extent still engrained in collective discourses on national identity, are in fact, constantly mutating. Examples of these would be Portuguese culture, language, ethnicity, religion and certain traditions (Barreto, 2000: 38).

On various levels, the revolution and the following decade were traumatic for large segments of the Portuguese population. Private businesses were nationalized, agricultural land was taken over by rural labourers, governments were short-lived,³⁴ inflation skyrocketed; the state was on the verge of bankruptcy. In a very short period of time (1974-1975) the country had to welcome, give shelter to, and find jobs for more than 600,000 returning 'migrants', dislocated from the five, newly independent, former Portuguese colonies in Africa.

3.5 Dominant narratives on Portuguese national identity: myths of homogeneity and self-stereotyping

The dictatorship, the colonial war and the revolution were traumatic events, which have been shaping public discourses on national identity, reframing collective memories and in-group and out-group boundaries in a very particular self-reflective form. The last thirty-five years have witnessed the ongoing contest within the Portuguese public sphere for *the one and only* narrative, which should be hegemonic.

³⁴ Ten different governments were elected over a period of nine years, from Sept. 1976 to Oct. 1985.

Various groups – elites, political parties, academics – compete over the interpretation(s) of the *Estado Novo's* ideology and its discursive construction of national identity; moreover, in a seemingly paradoxical way, both left-wing and right-wing partisans contend over who understands and narrates more convincingly 'the imaginary past' which remains prominent in the construction of Portuguese national identity. This past tends to circle back to the sixteenth century, considered as the peak of Portugal's national and collective history, the same historical period Salazar elected to symbolize the greater Portugueseness. It is, in fact, unexpected how hegemonic the constitutive myths became, especially in view of the fact that, as stated above, the dictatorship machine reframed these historical events to serve its political agenda. One would have expected the replacement of these narratives based on the heroes from the sixteenth century maritime discoveries with different ones as a reaction to the *Estado Novo's* ideology.

In recent years, Portuguese national identity has been the concern of several academics from different disciplinary backgrounds such as the historian Mattoso (1998), the philosophers Almeida (2002, 1995), Lourenço (1988, 1997) and Gil (2004, 2009) the sociologists Conde (1990), Sobral (2004, 2003, 1996), Barreto (2000, 1995), Santos (1993) and Ribeiro (2003), to name some of the most prominent. In both literary and critical works, the issue has been discussed and readings or hypotheses have been offered on what 'Portuguese national identity' is and how collective memories are shaped. Accordingly, the 'typical' Portuguese character is presented mostly in literary texts. The Portuguese have been described, explained, justified and ascribed positive and negative traits across the centuries by various writers.³⁵

These very diverse authoritative voices offer representations of the 'typical Portuguese character', the 'typical Portuguese behaviour' and the 'typical Portuguese mentality', which might be perceived as either positive or negative. In other words, literary authors were (and are still) often the 'inventors of tradition'.

³⁵ These take both the form of positive self-presentation (in the work of Camões, c.1531-1580, for instance) or, more commonly, of negative images, as it is the case in the works of Eça de Queirós (1845-1900), António Lobo Antunes (1942-), and José Saramago (1922-2010). This detrimental portrayal is also notable in contemporary newspaper columns, by commentators such as Maria Filomena Mónica, Esteves Cardoso, M. Sousa Tavares or Clara Ferreira Alves amongst others.

We can observe two main arguments in relation to Portuguese national identity. On the one hand, largely grounded on the twentieth century context, more specifically on the Salazarist dictatorship, there is the discursive construction of a *homogeneous and united identity*. On the other hand, these claims are rebutted by academics such as Mattoso (1998) and Sobral (2003). These authors' arguments are based on the historical statement that the "Portuguese nation has been built on various elements since the Middle Ages" (Mattoso, 1998: 98). During the thirteenth and fourteenth century, the state's strong nuclear role (and the elite's – aristocracy and clergy – dissemination of the representations of the nation amongst the population) was crucial in the process of bringing together various ethnic groups under the idea of a collective nation.

For authors such as Gellner (2006 [1983]: 39) in western societies, the age of transition to industrialism was an age of nationalism. Industrial societies required a more homogeneous society (eroding local and family groups) to which the state greatly contributed, with a school-transmitted culture. According to Gellner (ibid.) the necessary structure for the industrial society to flourish was provided by the nation-state. In all likelihood, referring to the Iberian Peninsula, he claimed that "the social organization of agrarian society is not favourable to the nationalist principle" and, therefore, "only very occasionally, by accident, it produced a dynastic state which corresponded, more or less, with a language and a culture, as eventually happened on Europe's Atlantic seaboard" (ibid.). Anderson (2006 [1983]: 11ff.) dates the emergence of the idea of nation (as a cultural artefact) from the late eighteenth century (the age of Enlightenment and Revolution) associated with the birth rise of the newspaper, a "one-day best-seller" (ibid.:35) that enabled people from afar to imagine the community "observing exact replicas of their own paper" (ibid.) at the same time.

Portugal's originality lies in the fact that the historical process of gathering its people together, i.e. creating the 'imagined community', under the scope of one nation began much earlier. The idea of a Portuguese cultural wholeness, together with a fundamental linguistic unity singles out the country from most other European nation creation process, where these elements were not as strong or did not even coincide with the nation-state.

The widespread common beliefs in the country's 'cultural unity' and in a 'homogeneous population' were the result of lack of scientific tradition in the social sciences until 1974. The absence of this critical investment was due to the censorship of the *Estado Novo*, which believed that these studies were highly influenced by Marxist ideas. Post-revolution interpretations of national identity have focused on comparing Portugal to Europe on several accounts: historical phenomena; geographical location; distinctions between an underdeveloped economic production and the recent overdeveloped mass consumption; and finally, the significant educational, cultural and economic gap between the cultural elites and the remainder of the population (Cabral, 1992; Santos, 1993).

Hence, Portugal is believed to constitute a solid unity, while also being recognized for accepting diversity on the grounds of its multicultural origin. This last argument has fuelled the most common or traditional discourses on Portuguese identity, which invoke the country's exceptional character (Medeiros, 1996: 12). This so-called uniqueness is to be found both in the country's national unity, territorially and linguistically (since the thirteenth century), as well as in the construction of the 'imagined community' at the core of the myth of the country's full-hearted embrace of diversity. This myth originates in the historical fact that, until the sixteenth century, the Portuguese were the intrinsic product of ethnic and cultural miscegenation. In this respect, Tavares underlines that "Iberians, Celts, Romans, Jews, Arabs, Berbers, Blacks, Indians, Chinese, all these Peoples contributed to the diversity and multi-cultural perspective that characterizes *today's Portuguese people and Portuguese culture*" (my emphasis) (2001: 280).

In 1995, however, the well-known sociologist Barreto stated that Portugal was "surprisingly" formed of "one territory, one people, one nation, one language, one border, one religion, forged centuries ago, kept during centuries" and that "these realities belonged to a rare case of unity in history" (Barreto, 1995: 842; see also Barreto and Pontes, 2007).

In a very insightful paper, Almeida (2002) divides the contenders of the national identity debate into three main groups. He identifies the first group as the traditionalists, who adopt essentialist positions that lack any kind of scientific rigor. The second group is constituted by social scientists, whose methodology is a

combination of empirical verification and conceptual rigor based on data, statistics and quantitative approaches to the issue. Lastly, the third group comprises an understanding of both history and Humanities and an appraisal of “the transformation of underlying structures that tie together the elements of a cultural group and an awareness of tradition and the symbolic importance of identity-forming factors” (Almeida, 2002: 6). Nonetheless, the author reinforces that “very few, if any, scholars make claim that Portugal possesses a cultural individuality that radically sets it apart” (Almeida, 2002: 9).

As Stråth and Wodak (2009: 16) perceptively point out, “the crisis concept and contentious value mobilization (right/wrong, good/bad society, friend/enemy)” are “reflected and reinforced in the public sphere through appeals to specific values”. They call our attention to the way in which the journalists’ agenda-setting reduces history to static events captured by images. Accordingly, politicians use the argument of an ‘identity crisis’ when it serves their agenda the radio phone-in programme (analysed in chapter 8) branded the theme topic ‘Is national identity in crisis?’ However, Lourenço (1988: 19) has repeatedly stated that “Portugal, of yesterday and even more so of today, never had, nor has, problems of identity”. Santos (1993) following on Lourenço’s reasoning, argues that the exaggerated mythic interpretation of Portuguese national identity by the elites could be a compensatory strategy for not acknowledging or understanding social reality, since these elites do not bridge the gap between reality and themselves.

To conclude this brief overview, both discourses on national identity – the one claiming homogeneity and the one arguing for exceptional understanding of diversity - are used today by the dominant political power to explore opportunistically the nation’s relationship with the international community, as discussed below.

3.6 National identity and the ‘other’

Nationalist feelings have surfaced in the past at times when there has been a sense of threat from what is perceived as the outsider. On the one hand, discursive strategies of ‘othering’ are instrumentalised to build a sense of national cohesion and

belonging. On the other hand, national identity is constructed by in-group and out-group boundaries. These boundaries shift and change according to historic and societal contexts. Below I present the main 'othering' strategies that have taken place over the last three decades.

3.6.1 Portugal and Spain

One cannot speak about Portugal's national identity without referring and comparing to Spain's. The relationship between the two countries has been the subject of much debate relating to their identities, be they similar, different or parallel (Flynn, 2001; Sobral, 2003). Their overlapping histories have provided fruitful grounds for disagreement over finer points of national definition. Recognizing the two nations as parallel and complementary entities, nineteenth century proposals for an Iberian federation, by Portuguese and Spanish intellectuals alike, emphasized the allied but different identities of the two nation-states (Flynn, 2001: 705).

Notwithstanding this view, there were recurrent suggestions that Portugal could be reclaimed as part of Spain in Spanish political circles in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Flynn, 2000: 134). This did little in terms of assuring the Portuguese that all Spanish recognized the legitimacy of their statehood and its particular national identity, one which, unlike that of Spain, was not challenged by the development of alternative nationalisms. Even within similar sectors of the Spanish and Portuguese authoritarian right during the twentieth century, opinions diverged as to the legitimate relationship between the two nations. Despite their common interests as an Iberian bloc against liberal democracy and Soviet Communism (Flynn, 2001), an overt distance persisted in Spanish-Portuguese relations until the late 1960s. This distrust of Spain would finally dissipate after both countries joined the European Union in 1986.

3.6.2 Portugal, the returning migrants and the new migrants

The last three decades have witnessed national political upheavals, as well as mass migration from the former colonies and from rural to urban areas, thus producing

new discourses of 'belonging'. As stated above, after the revolution, Portugal received 600,000 'retornados' increasing its population by 5%, at a moment in national history when severe political instability and a far-reaching economic crisis were felt. The latter were mostly second or third-generation emigrants from continental Portugal who had been born overseas and often had never set foot in the European country itself.³⁶ The group also included Angolans, Mozambicans, Cape Verdeans, etc, who held a Portuguese passport and Timorese (after the 1976 Indonesian invasion of East-Timor), who also possessed a Portuguese passport. In parallel, Portuguese emigrants in Western Europe started to return to 'their homeland' in order to settle down definitively. By the 1990s and by the beginning of the twenty-first century, migrant-labourers from Brazil and from Eastern Europe (mainly Romania, Moldavia and Ukraine) respectively, arrived *en masse* in Portugal, amounting in 2002 to 5% of the resident population in official statistics. (Ramos et al., 2009: 767). Non-official estimates point to a much higher figure, although numbers fluctuate considerably. Nonetheless, and apart from references to the social and economic impact of the 'retornados', these other newcomers - who probably amount to 6% - 7% of the resident population - are rarely mentioned by the experts in social studies, apart from research in the field of migrant/minority studies. The noteworthy exceptions are the Barreto and Pontes' (2007) well-researched TV documentary series *Portugal, a Social Portrait*³⁷ and Cunha's (2003, 2004) studies on immigration and minorities in the media. They are also repeatedly omitted from Presidential speeches delivered on National Day³⁸ and were equally bypassed on the 25th of April commemorations speeches in 2004. Therefore, it would appear that the construction and representation of national identity does not include 6% to 7% of the population, a rather significant percentage.

³⁶ There were also cases of first-generation 'retornados' who had migrated to Africa in their early teens or twenties.

³⁷ There are also several sociological and social anthropological studies on the integration of migrant communities of African origin, such as the Cape Verde community. However, these studies focus on how these communities interact with the dominant group at various levels of social life, not on their perceptions of national identity.

³⁸ Here, I am specifically referring to presidential speeches delivered on National Day, the 10th of June, by the former President Jorge Sampaio from 2002-2005 and the current President Anibal Cavaco Silva from 2006 to 2008.

3.6.3 Portugal and Europe

The issues arising from the relationship of differences and similarities between Portugal and other European countries are controversial, although they have rarely been studied in a detached form. Portugal is a small country; geographically marginal [...] it is an old Nation-state whose identity and interests were built, to a certain degree, in contrast with continental Europe (Cabral, 1992: 943).

This quotation aptly summarizes how the discursive construction of the country's identity has been represented. Its size and geographic location within Europe, the long-lasting political state and the overseas colonies are the main recurrent topic. In relation to the colonies it is worth mentioning that these were constantly under threat either by more powerful European states, such as Spain and Great-Britain, or by the colonies' neighbouring countries, such as India in the case of Goa and Damao, or Indonesia with East-Timor). From the nineteenth century onwards, Portugal's political independence was built and sustained through its territorial possessions. Politically, it was felt that, without the colonies, the country would not be powerful enough (or sufficiently large) to maintain its independence. According to Ribeiro's (2003) analysis of literary canonical works, following on Santos'(1993) model of central, semi-peripheral and peripheral world regions, the two types of coexisting discourses - the 'epic discourse' and the 'discourse of perdition' (*discurso de perdição*) - are rooted in Portugal's imaginary positioning as being peripheral in relation to Europe and as central in relation to the 'Empire'.

After the 1974 revolution, Portugal was confined to its European territory and the debate on national identity resumed. On the one hand, the end of the dictatorship facilitated the 'opening to the world' and the questioning of the new/old national identity; on the other hand, the country had to readjust to a new political reality, in which Western Europe became the major political and economic partner. For political convenience, after 1974, the construction of Europe as the 'other', both by Salazar and historiography, was rapidly reframed as 'us'. Simultaneously, former African colonies which had been the 'us' of the *Estado Novo*, became an ambivalent 'other' and 'us' in post-revolutionary discourse, depending on national and international strategic motives.

The country had to resolve the tension between the European and the luso-tropical political outlooks. Colonization and emigration had been a part of the construction of national identity. Historically, the elites had persistently produced discourses on the symbolic meaning of the colonies. The recent and belated processes of democratization, decolonization and the joining of the European Union in 1986 forced new discourses and representations of what it meant to be Portuguese in relation to Europe and to the so-called 'European challenge'.

According to Cabral (1992), the differences between Portugal and Europe should not be subject to discussion. The author makes reference to various opinion polls from the 1990s, where no distinct differences could be found in attitudes, values and behaviour. He notes instead different levels within the same parameters, revealing the belatedness of Portugal's democratic institutions, processes, and the heavily censored public sphere (see also Gil, 2004).

One crucial divergence between EU countries and Portugal is the latter's accentuated dichotomy between the elites and the remainder of the population in general. In fact, this dichotomy, which had already been pointed out by various authors (see for example, Santos, 1993, Mattoso, 1998, Gil, 2004), impacts on the discursive construction of national identity. These societal tensions are reinforced by the heterogeneity of professional occupation and formal education. The lack of formal education conditions access to the public sphere, namely the news media in general (Cabral, 1992: 949). This deficit of information affects the ability of the individual to formulate and argue points of view, especially those of a political nature, and to act as opinion leaders, widening the gap between the political power and the population. Corroborating these findings, in the 2006 *Special Eurobarometer*, Portugal ranked lowest on the importance given to politics (*Special Eurobarometer* 2006: 5).

3.7 National identity and commemorations

3.7.1 'The invention of tradition'

The seminal *History of Portugal* collection, edited by Mattoso (1993-1994), includes a chapter entitled 'The State and Patriotism', which describes how public national commemorations were an 'invention' of the last few decades of the nineteenth century. In 1890, the British Ultimatum changed the relationship between the Portuguese and their sense of patriotism, enhancing nationalist feelings caused by what the Portuguese perceived as profound political humiliation.³⁹ Curiously enough, until the 1890s, Portugal did not have regular national commemorations. That of the 1st December (national holiday celebrating the restoration of independence from Spanish rule in 1640) commenced in 1860 (Ramos, 1994: 69). During the 1890s, "patriotic manifestations" became more common (Ramos, 1994: 69) after Luís de Camões' anniversary commemorations in 1880. Camões, who is considered one of the major Portuguese poets, wrote his famous epic work *Os Lusíadas* (first ed. 1572), depicting Portuguese voyages of discoveries as extraordinary and fantastic deeds during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. His poem and his elected heroes, borrowed from Portuguese history - Henry the Navigator, and Vasco da Gama and his followers, for example - have shaped and reframed considerably the hegemonic narrative of Portugueseness over the last century and a half.

Most symbols and institutions that identify Portugal today were created in the period of 1880 to 1930: the flag, the hymn, the national day, the republican state, the glorification of Camões and, finally, the growing interest in the maritime

³⁹ The 1890 British Ultimatum (Ultimato Inglês) was delivered by the British government to Portugal, in breach of the 1386 Treaty of Windsor between the two countries, forcing the retreat of Portuguese military forces from the land between the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola (most of present-day Zimbabwe and Zambia). The area had been claimed by Portugal, but this clashed with British aspirations to create a railroad link between Cairo and Cape Town. When Portugal acquiesced to British demands, Portuguese republicans considered it a national humiliation, and denounced the government and the King as being responsible for it. The Ultimatum inspired the lyrics of the Portuguese National Anthem, *A Portuguesa (The Portuguese fem.)*. Portuguese historians and politicians at the time of the Ultimatum considered this the most outrageous act of the British against its oldest ally. In 1890, the Treaty of London was signed between Portugal and Great Britain, defining the territorial limits of Angola and Mozambique. The treaty led to a new wave of protest and the downfall of the Portuguese government.

discoveries (Ramos, 1994: 565). According to this author, the “construction” of the nation embedded in an idea of “culture” was, in fact, a creation of the late nineteenth century (ibid.)

3.7.2 Contemporary ‘national’ commemorations

This section commences with two definitions of the *commemoration*, followed by a brief discussion of how these apply to my data. Turner presents a broad definition of the concept stating:

The term ‘commemoration’ refers to all those devices through which a nation recalls, marks, embodies, discusses or argues about its past, and to all those devices which are intended to create or sustain a sense of belonging or ‘we feeling’ in the individuals who belong to it, a sense of belonging which may or may not provide for a means of addressing future tasks and possibilities. Commemoration includes public rituals of remembrance and individual acts of recollection, the building of monuments and dedication of places of memory, the construction of museums and the naming of streets, the visiting of such places, public debates over the meaning and significance of historical events (2006: 206).

Wodak and de Cillia, while quoting a previous study, present a narrower definition, focusing on the adjective ‘official’. For them, an official commemoration is:

The open publication of matters of historical consciousness, which can be supported by a consensus within the political field and among principal actors. These official, consensual views of history are, however, also interrelated with those non-official sites (for example the media) that transmit their views of history to the public, or bring to light the views of the public (2007: 338).

Turner (ibid.: 211) points out that there has been an upsurge “in the past two decades of both popular and scholarly interest in commemoration”. Indeed, Portugal, from the 1990s onwards, has been staging various national commemorative events at national, regional and local levels, possibly in an attempt to attribute meaning to or remember the significance of history and its potential trajectory in the future.

For the present study I selected two public events: the 30th anniversary of the revolution and Euro 2004, both held in 2004. Undeniably, the first event corresponds to the definition(s) of official commemoration proposed by the authors quoted above, as I demonstrate in Chapter 6. The Football Championship does not belong in the category of official commemoration, since it was not the “open publication of matters of historical consciousness”, as Wodak and de Cillia (*ibid.*) suggest above. Nonetheless, one could claim that the magnitude of deliberate public awareness and consensus over the meaning and significance, not so much of historical events, but of the idea of ‘collective belonging’ and of ‘national destiny’ conveyed in the media and in political discourse raised the event to something that went beyond a sports event. Indeed, the viewpoint on national identity presented here, which includes the Football Championship, is supported by both data from the media, and by official presidential speeches. The sports tournament overcame its recreational dimension in many respects, constituting the open publication of matters of historical consciousness supported by a consensus within the political field. This political appropriation for nationalist purposes was shaped by the fact that it was targeted both at domestic and international consumption. Returning to Wodak and de Cillia’s initial quotation, both events exposed “official, consensual views of history” and became “interrelated with those non-official sites (for example the media) that transmit their views of history to the public, or bring to light the views of the public” (2007: 338).

3.8 Summary

All aspects considered, one must remember that (national) identity construction is a fluid process. Amongst the manifold dimensions, Iedema and Caldas-Coulthard (2008: 6) list what appears to be representative of the processes presented above. (National) identity is realized ‘as a controlled distribution’. Hence, the authors ask: “Who has access to such enactments? Who are legitimate producers/consumers/over hearers of these enactments?” Secondly, they state that

“identity is not beholden to one particular dimension of being, but corresponds to anything that actors (or analysts) treat as significant” (ibid.: 6). As such, we must ask who has *access to the enactments* on Portuguese national identity, who *controls their distributions* and what social actors place in the background or omit. For instance, the reiteration of the ‘imagined community’ as a homogeneous society does not allow room for difference. Similarly, the hegemonic narrative on the ‘country’s destiny’, ‘the country’s future’ or the ‘country’s opening to the world’ (as opposed to the dictatorship’s careful monitoring of any cross-border relationships) does not open the public sphere to different narratives.

As illustrated above, the most salient discourses on Portuguese national identity provide five main arguments. Firstly, contemporary historians and sociologists do not propose a single explanation of what Portuguese identity, character or traits, that is, the Portuguese essence, might be. Secondly, they base their claims mostly on historical processes, although they are careful to highlight the complexity and multi-variety of the phenomena. Thirdly, most of them also call our attention to the great divide between the elite minority, together with this group’s claims on the essence of Portugueseness, and the majority of the ‘uneducated’, ‘news un-savant’ population. Fourthly, the access to the public sphere was seriously restricted by the *Estado Novo* ideology. Albeit for different reasons, one could claim that, to a certain extent, this is still the case. These restrictions reflect not only the population’s lack of engagement with the political and symbolic power, but also the perception of social inequality and lack of plurality in various societal dimensions. Therefore they determine discourses on national identity and ‘belonging’, as well as who dominates the ‘banal flagging of nationhood’ (Billig 1995). Fifthly, most of the authors cited in this study, claim there is no reason for Portugal to feel ‘less European’ than other countries, i.e. to feel that there are real differences that push the country apart from other European Union members. In conclusion, these authors present a prospective viewpoint, looking pragmatically at Portugal’s future ‘within Europe’, repeatedly appealing against its ‘closing up’ in relation to other countries (Martins, 2007: 15; see also Barreto, 1995). To a lesser or greater extent, most would agree that Portuguese society is on its way to becoming increasingly more open and plural (Barreto, 1995; Martins, 2007; Mónica, 1999).

Conversely, a large literary heritage has played a major part in generating and perpetuating representations of the nation and its identity, thus creating stereotypes of the Portuguese character, loosely based on historical myths and at odds with the former Positivist readings. These narratives have permeated discourses and it is interesting to note that even the Positivist academics refer to them.

Nevertheless, the perception of “Portugal as a strong symbolic identity” (Lourenço, 1997: 42) continues, and what apparently prevails most contemporary narratives are recurrent collective memories of historical events, symbols and literary canonical writers. In some respects, the theories that ascribe the creation of the nation to the modern process of nationalism (for example, Anderson, 2006 [1983] and Gellner, 2006 [1983]) are not favoured by Portuguese academia, even though there is a strong *determinism* in the belief of the ‘essentially territorial political community’ (Smith, 1998: 20) of the Portuguese nation. Moreover, historians and sociologists place the ‘origin’ of the nation in the thirteenth century, having been instilled by an imposition from above on the part of the elites, one that, I would argue, still reverberates in present time.

In opposition, the ethno-symbolic view (Özirimli, 2000) shared mostly by philosophers such as Almeida (1995; 2002), Gil (2004) and Lourenço (1988; 1997) claims that Modernists are unable to explain the ‘emotional power of nationalism’ (Özirimli, 2000: 141). Ethno-symbolists contend that elites select elements with “meaning and significance for that particular population”, mobilizing people who respond “to calls for action that resonate through the use of meaningful symbols and myths based on pre-existing ethnic bonds” (Skey, 2008: 29). However, in shifting attention to the cultural dimension of nationalism this perspective tends to *essentialise* ethnicity, by assigning “historically-significant myths, symbols, values and practices an important role to play in generating an image of the nation” (Skey, 2008: 29). This view fails to assess how these national identity narratives are transformed over time in response to the various historic events (Skey, 2008: 30).

As we have seen, most narratives insist on the image of Portugal as a very homogeneous country, with a strong in-group discursive construction. According to these accounts, noticeable differences are based on social class and socioeconomic inequality, and not on regional or ethnic differences. Whilst other (national) contexts

have witnessed the impact of “ex-colonials, immigrants and asylum seekers” in re-defining and eroding images of a homogenous national identity (Smith, 1998: 203), these type of influxes have not had an impact on Portuguese discourses on national identity (neither in academic output nor in media or state official discourses). Finally, because of the dichotomy public /private sphere and the limited access to the former, it is difficult to access non-hegemonic individual memories or narratives unless these are filtered or shaped by the media.

To conclude, various myths of creation of the nation have been presented in this chapter. In parallel with a strong view of the history of Portugal as a ‘destiny to fulfil’, literary works have encapsulated the main traits of Portuguese cultural mythology. Hutchinson (2006: 299), in line with many other scholars (see for example Traindifyllidou and Wodak, 2003: 208, who refer to “the increasing fluidity of identities”) proposes the concept of “fluctuating identities”, which I believe applies to this study. Nation-formation is an evolutionary process, as we have seen above, but nationalism as an ideological movement is “episodic, triggered by a periodic sense of crisis that the nation is in danger” (Hutchinson, 2006: 299). These resurgences are usually triggered by sudden threats to autonomy, identity and territorial integrity, as was the case with the 1974 revolution and its aftermath. This thesis gives account of these resurgences during the twenty-first century, by studying a selection of media texts. Chapter 4 describes this process of selection within the broader context of media production in Portugal.

4 Research design, research questions and data

4.1 Introduction

The following two chapters focus on research questions, data description (present chapter) and the methodological framework (Chapter 5). This chapter elaborates on the research questions and justifies and describes the data in detail, bearing in mind the overall methodological framework: DHA and how it applies to media analysis. The chapter begins with a brief literature overview of the main studies and authors guiding the research design. Then, it moves on to identifying the research questions underpinning this study. These were organized into three groups: primary or broad research questions; secondary research questions; and specific research questions targeted at each dataset. The chapter then focuses on how the various datasets were built. In the second part of this chapter, I elaborate on the media data sources and macro-contexts, i.e. national media context and audiences, describing in some detail each dataset and subset, and how they link to the discursive construction of national identity and to the different narratives on this theme. The chapter ends with some methodological considerations in relation to bringing together the different datasets. This issue will be discussed further in the next chapter.

4.2 Research design

The framework for the research design, which combines critical discourse analysis and media materials, is based on works which apply DHA to various genres, including media texts (see Chapter 2, section 2.3 for an overview of these studies). Besides drawing from these DHA studies the main conceptual framework for the analysis of national identity construction and media, these studies also guided my overall methodological approach. Further literature within the DHA tradition, which is mainly concerned with providing the methodological stages for conducting empirical research, such as Wodak (2001), Reisigl and Wodak (2009), Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter (2000), Wodak (2004), Wodak (2006a) and finally Wodak and Busch (2004) (the latter focuses specifically on approaches to media texts using DHA) supported the overall research design. Studies on the media, and on newspaper texts in particular, following various methodological and theoretical approaches to critical discourse analysis conducted by Van Dijk (1991a, 1991b, 1995a, 1996, 2001a), Fairclough (1995), Richardson (2007) and Oberhuber et al. (2005) also guided this framework, including the elaboration of the research questions. In addition to the frameworks referred above, for the (spoken) radio data, I also draw on several of the assumptions relating to categorizing, transcribing and analysing data from: Hutchby's studies on argumentative talk (1996; 2001), organization of talk radio (1999) and on CA methodology for the study of broadcasting (2006); from Wetherell et al.'s broader viewpoint on discourse analysis and conversation analysis (2006); and Montgomery's work on broadcast news (2007). Finally, the methodological approaches of these latter studies also contributed to the methodological frameworks applied to this study, as discussed in the next chapter. In the following chapters I will explain in more detail these studies and their bearings on my own research.

The research design and data selection follow interdisciplinarity principles, combining various theories and methods, "wherever integration leads to an adequate understanding and explanation of the research object" (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 95). Moreover, my research adds, to the interdisciplinarity principle, abductive and iterative principles, meaning that "it moves recursively between theory and

empirical data” (ibid.), according to the model for theoretical and methodological research procedures illustrated in the figure below:

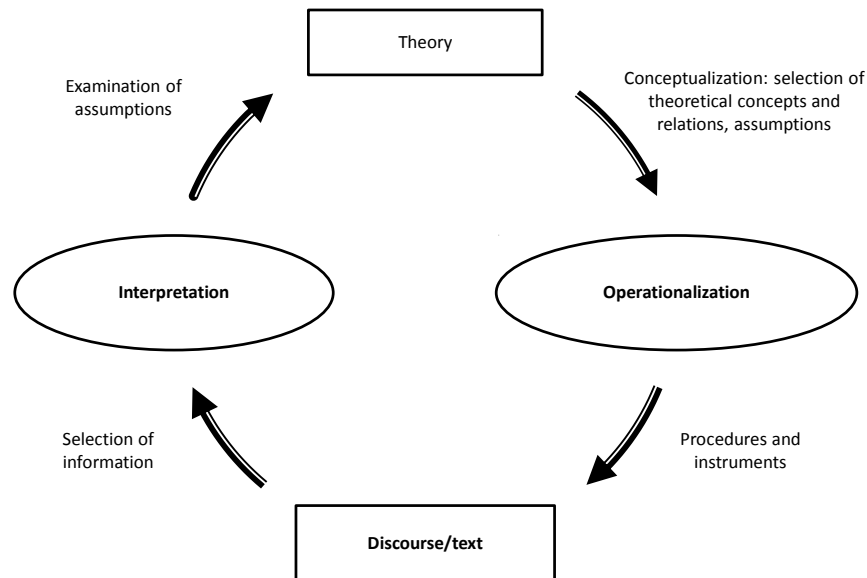


Figure 4.1 Empirical research as a circular process (from Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 24)

This model is useful as a starting point to help illustrate how the various stages of the research process interact (Unger, 2009: 39). The various levels of theory (Chapter 2) inform the overall research design and relate to the research questions and research methodologies (see next chapter). Following the recommendations of discourse analysts (see Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 95; Taylor, 2001: 38) the process is circular, iterative and relatively open-ended; it goes over the same procedural stages several times in order to test the various stages of the investigation, namely the examination of assumptions at the interpretation stage, and to delimit clearly the best way to understand the object of research. Across the thesis, references will be made to the circularity of the research process, particularly at the analytical and interpretation stage. I would like to draw on Wodak’s (2009: 33)⁴⁰ formulation of the interrelation of social problems, theory and relevance in social science research to explain further how the representation of circularity in the diagram applies to my

⁴⁰ Wodak, in turn, draws heavily on Schutz, A. and Luckmann, T. (1973). *The Structures of the Life World* (trans. R. M. Zaner and H. T. Englund). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

research. According to Wodak, there are three forms of relevance: (1) thematic relevance, which refers to the basic question: “what is the problem to be studied?” which needs to be considered “against the background of an order established naturally and without questioning”; (2) interpretational relevance “that deals with the question: which elements of our knowledge are relevant for the interpretation of the problem subject to study?” The choice of a specific method is made at this level, and it is also at this point that an “ideal (never fully developed) method can provide guidance on the interpretative steps to be taken and the material to be used for interpretation”; (3) motivational relevance, which “focuses on the question: to what extent should the problem be investigated?”, or to put it simply: “at what point am I satisfied with the findings of the study, when do I have to stop and declare everything beyond a specific scope as ‘irrelevant’ or at least not relevant for the problem studied?” (Wodak, 2009: 33). In the case of this particular project, the thematic relevance of studying the ‘discursive construction of Portuguese national identity’ was outlined in Chapter 1. In this chapter and the following one, I will link the theoretical concepts (introduced in Chapter 2) with the theory and methodology of CDA and DHA, as well with the tools of analysis of CL and CA. Finally, in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, I focus on the analysis and interpretation of the phenomenon in the light of the various theoretical frameworks brought on board. In each of these analytical chapters the motivational relevance in the form of critical self-reflection on the findings will be described and, as I stated above, assumptions will be revisited and reassessed.

As mentioned previously, the principal aim of this study is to uncover the salient collective narratives and memories that shape the Portuguese discourses on national identity nowadays, and who is included and excluded from these. My own readings and perception of social context and practices in Portugal led me to the media as the natural epistemological site where these discourses would be more suitable to analysis. In fact, the media play a major role as the interface between discourses produced by the dominant (political) power and society at large. My perspective of media texts as dialogic implies that their interpretation depends on the receivers and on the settings. Researchers presume, therefore, that readers, listeners or viewers interact with the media. Media texts also depend on intertextual relations with many

other genres, whether diachronically or synchronically. Consequently, the media are constantly producing and reproducing social meanings. In order to answer the research questions (below), I have gathered data from various media sources. The data selected allow me to trace the reproduction of social meaning and enable an intertextual analysis of different genres (broadsheet, tabloid, radio) take on two separate and distinct events. Further texts, such as the government's official statement on the 25th April commemorations, will be brought in to contextualize the corpus selected.

Using textual and spoken data from media sources allows me proceed with (1) *text or discourse-immanent critique* and (2) *socio-diagnostic critique*, two tenets proposed by DHA (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 88; see also Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 32-5). The first aspect looks for "inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures" and the social-diagnostic critique aims at "demystifying the – manifest or latent – persuasive or 'manipulative' character of discursive practices" (ibid.: 88).

4.3 Research questions

My research questions stem from a socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory, which claims that if a rational society is one in which we all participate in order to create and transform the environment, we should uncover and demystify the (discursive) social practices that exclude groups from (economic and political) public participation, or which systematically renders groups powerless, or, in Habermasian terms, we should search out the internal contradictions and gaps in a system of thought facilitating equal access to information and to the public sphere. Knowledge, within Habermasian critical theory, enables us to become aware of and to change ourselves, and hence to remove inequalities and distortions in communication. Therefore, the need to understand how the discursive construction of national identity in the media is conducted has the ultimate aim of facilitating participation in the communication process (in a broad sense of the term) to all. The research

questions are also shaped according to the epistemological site chosen as the data source. The following steps were implemented recursively, and were eventually downsized and redesigned accordingly: (1) the identification of a social problem analysable through language practices; (2) the specification of research questions to approach the problem and the definition of the media sources – more specifically discourse events and social fields – from which to select and collect the data. The research questions reflect a model of knowledge in which social reality, materialized in different contexts, is expressed by language. This language, from a discourse analysis perspective is – although not always – independent of the individual construction of meaning, and may be scrutinized not only through qualitative methods – the main method applied in this study – but may also be examined using a corpus-linguistic approach, given the corpus size; the latter was applied in limited fashion as a preliminary approach to the newspaper datasets (see next chapter).

I followed a top-down approach when designing the research questions. I started with high order or primary research questions, fragmenting them down into two further levels, as the process of gathering and scrutinizing the data teased out more specific and more detailed questions. In order to operationalise the primary research questions below, I narrowed them down into two secondary questions, taking into consideration Wodak and Busch's (2004: 106) conceptualization of the relationships of media texts, discourse and audiences, and how the media function as public agencies of observation, interpretation, performance, representation and dissemination. Thus, in this thesis, the media are regarded as a 'social system interacting with other social systems' 'mirroring' and 'promot[ing] a dynamic set of ideological frameworks' (Johnson and Ensslin: 2007: 13). Discursive macro-strategies typical of discourses on national identity, as proposed by DHA, were also taken into consideration. As the data are divided into three distinct sets, I also devised a specific research question for each of them.

The figure below maps out the relationships established between the research questions, datasets and methodologies. The box top left displays the first two primary research questions: (1) How is Portugal's national identity represented and reframed through the media discourse on major national events thirty years after the 1974 revolution? (2) What kind of power relations and social relations are

highlighted by the discursive strategies of the dominant national identity narrative(s)? The box below presents the secondary research questions: (4) How are the 'Us' and the 'Other' discursively represented when constructing Portuguese national identity?; (5) What types of intertextual and interdiscursive relationships come into play in the discourses on national identity in the media?

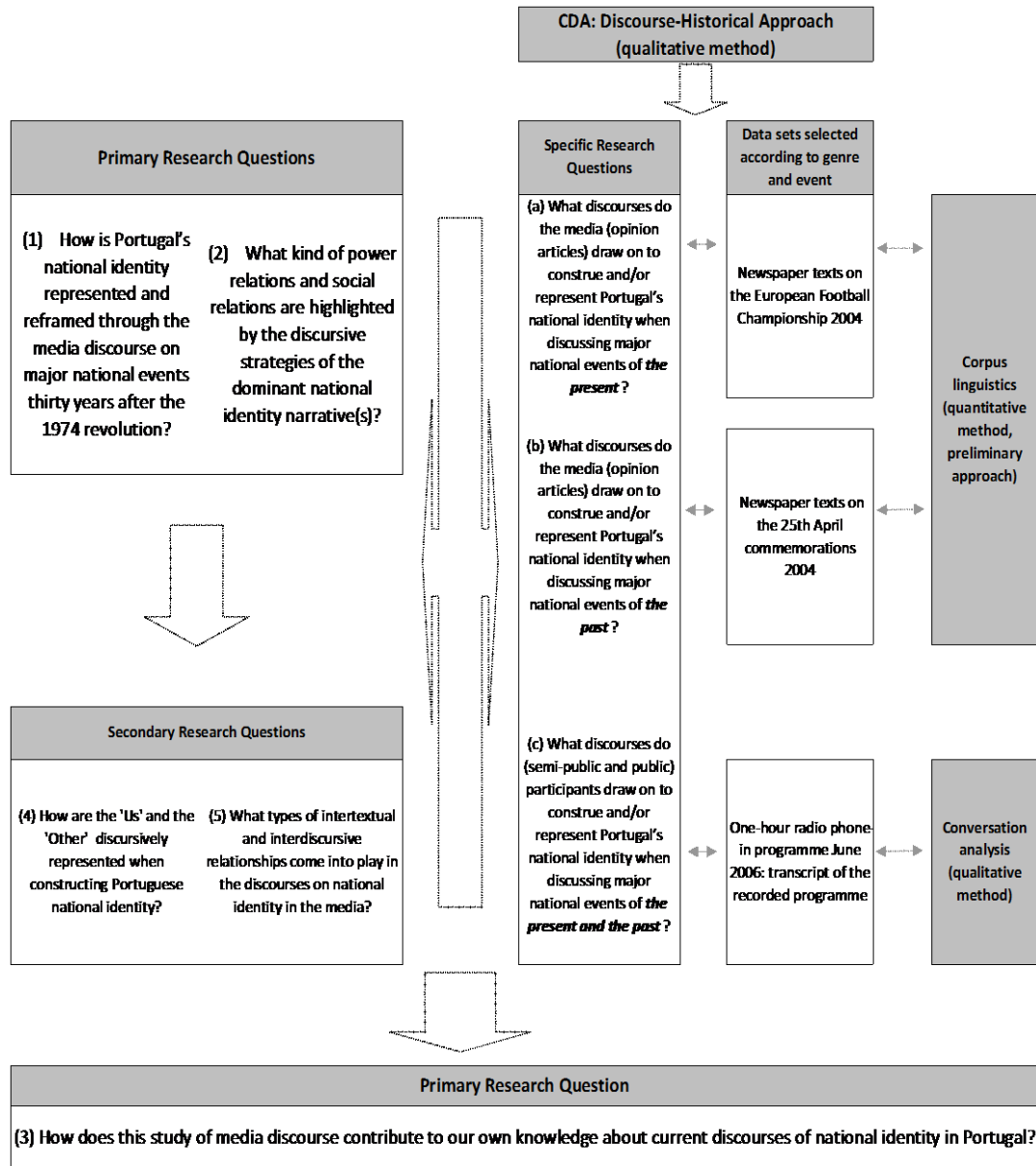


Figure 4.2 Research questions, data and methods of analysis

Moving to the right, the second column presents the three specific research questions, and how each links to a specific data set which is represented by the

arrows connecting to the next column to the right: (a) What discourses do the media (opinion articles) draw on to construe and/or represent Portugal's national identity when discussing major national events in the *present*?; (b) What discourses do the media (opinion articles) draw on to construe and/or represent Portugal's national identity when discussing major national events from the *past*?; (c) What discourses do participants draw on to construe and/or represent Portugal's national identity when discussing major national events in the *present* and the *past*?

DHA, as the overarching epistemological stance and as the main guiding methodological framework, is represented by the box at the top, shaded in grey. On the far right, the other two methods – corpus linguistics (CL) and conversation analysis (CA) – are linked by arrows to the specific dataset to which they apply: CL-tools to print media and CA to spoken data. The last box at the bottom of the diagram illustrates the main objectives of this study and how its final outcomes can be translated into a global (primary) research question: (3) How does this study of media discourse contribute to our knowledge about current discourses of national identity in Portugal?

4.4 Data selection, collection and description: building a corpus

The data selection and collection were based on various criteria: *content*, *diversity* of medium, and *sub-genre*. The content criterion was determined by the salience of *public debate* in connection to the macro-topic, *national identity*, surrounding the revolution commemorations – chronologically almost coincident with the dawn of the new millennium and Euro 2004 that flagged nationalist feelings nationwide. The criterion of diversity of medium dictated inclusion of radio talk and newspaper type (broadsheet and tabloid) and, from a pragmatic viewpoint, the effective existence of online editions of the newspapers. Thus, I chose three different national newspapers with the aim of presenting the discursive construction of national identity from different angles; secondly, I decided to limit my selection to every *opinion article*

published in the three newspapers during the month before and the month after the event took place (see section 4.6 below for the reasons for choosing this sub-genre). However, for the commemorations, I could only find articles published within a two-week period. The selection and collection process was carried out online, through the downloading of newspapers' online editions and databases,⁴¹ on several different occasions in the period 2006-8. Various search words were used, together with individual searches of the opinion sections and editorials to double-check the selection and make sure every article dealing with the event was gathered. The online databases of the three newspapers present a separate opinion section, which facilitated my access to the relevant texts. However, on occasions, I found an article misplaced under a different category.

In terms of overall formatting, most of the texts are opinion articles written as a whole text piece, without sections or subsections. In *Público* and *Expresso*, some of the texts present a lead set off in bold font. However, this lead is the reproduction of an extract from the text itself. The texts were collected from the newspaper online archives in which there are no accompanying images. However, this drawback is not relevant, since most of these texts when published in their paper version are very rarely accompanied by images.

The second primary source is a one-hour radio phone-in show, whose opening topic could not be more suited for this investigation: 'Is national identity in crisis?'. Even though this programme was broadcast in 2006, the *content* criterion overruled the *time-span* criterion (which had been limited to the year 2004). The radio programme was dedicated to the macro-topic of national identity because of another important international football event (in which Portugal's national team was involved as far as the semi-finals). Furthermore, and because the programme was based on participants' calling in and presenting their own views on the issue of national identity, this dataset presents meta-debate and meta-discourse features on the relationships between international football events, the revolution and national identity (see Figure 4.3).

Table 4.1 presents the datasets according to event and respective media sources. The corpus consists of slightly over 100,000 words, and comprises 181

⁴¹ To gain access to some of the databases, I had to become a paying subscriber.

opinion articles spanning the periods 14 April - 1 May and 6 June - 10 July 2004 from the three Portuguese newspapers *Expresso*, *Público* and *Correio da Manhã*. The radio phone-in programme was aired for slightly over an hour and the analysis was applied to the c. 12,000-word transcription of the programme.

		Sub-corpus 25th April Commemorations (published April-May 2004)	Sub-corpus European Football Championship (published June-July 2004)
	Newspaper	Number of articles	Number of articles
Broadsheet	<i>Expresso</i> (weekly)	13	16
	<i>Público</i> (daily)	21	22
Tabloid	<i>Correio da Manhã</i> (daily)	6	103
Total		40	141
National radio Antena 1		Duration	No. of participants ⁴²
Radio phone-in programme (broadcast July 2006)		01:06:30	16

Table 4.1 Different datasets and media sources

The terms broadsheet and tabloid refer to more than the size of the newspaper's page: they refer to the paper's own sense of its readership. According to Figueiras (2000), the newspapers *Expresso* and *Público* can be regarded as 'reference newspapers',⁴³ which is not the case for the tabloid *Correio da Manhã*.

The uneven numbers of articles published (and collected) on the two topics under scrutiny point to the different 'news values' of each event. The 'newsworthiness' of events is judged by various criteria, including the need to be "interesting or appealing to the target audience" (Richardson, 2007: 91). The target audience has to be interested in reading or listening to news on that particular event. The brief overview in Table 4.1 indicates how much the football topic seemed to be considered of interest by the tabloid *Correio da Manhã* (103 opinion articles) compared to the April 25th topic which only produced 6 articles. The two broadsheets dedicated more or less the same number of words to both topics in their opinion columns (see Tables 6.1 and 7.1).

⁴² Includes radio presenter and programme host.

⁴³ Figueiras (2000) uses the phrase 'Jornais de referência', in *The Opinion Makers in the Portuguese reference press: 1980-1999*.

4.5 Media sources for data⁴⁴ and national audiences

4.5.1 Newspapers

Table 4.2 below accounts for the readership of all the ‘national’ general information newspapers and magazines for the period between April and June 2004. Technically, the Portuguese press is not national in the sense that there are some sections of the newspapers which are published at regional level. However, readership figures across the national territory show that the list of newspapers in Table 4.2 (below) can be considered national. The possible exception is the newspaper *Jornal de Notícias* that, even though having the highest readership, cannot be considered national since it is edited in Oporto, north of Portugal (the country’s second largest city), and sells mainly in that geographical area, despite being described as a ‘general information newspaper’ in the sources consulted. The other newspapers are not very popular in the Oporto region. The daily newspapers *Correio da Manhã* and *Público* have the highest readership after *Jornal de Notícias*, and were the daily newspapers selected for this study. The weekly newspaper chosen for this study, *Expresso*, is the most widely read within the weekly category.

I would like to underline the overall low readership figures – see percentages for each newspaper in Table 4.2⁴⁵ – in terms of the total number of population⁴⁶ that reads newspapers daily. This phenomenon becomes a topic of debate within the data, and has also been highlighted by several authors cited in Chapter 3, since this indifference toward the print media might open the path to more dominant and hegemonic constructions of national identity.⁴⁷ This issue is discussed in the analysis chapters.

⁴⁴ All the information presented in this chapter concerning readership, newspaper circulation and other related figures is based on the data available in the annual reports produced on the mass media in Portugal by OberCom, the Observatory for Research and Knowledge in Communication (www.obercom.pt) and in the surveys regularly conducted by Markttest (www.markttest.pt).

⁴⁵ In bold are the newspapers examined for this study.

⁴⁶ Total population over 15 years of age living in continental Portugal (i.e. population from the Madeira and Azores islands are not included).

⁴⁷ According to *Working Report No.8, Públicos de Media em Portugal* [Media Audiences in Portugal] from Obercom (2007: 37), the newspapers *Público* and *Expresso* are more frequently read by people with more years of schooling, whereas the newspaper *Correio da Manhã* is preferred amongst regular newspaper readership with less years of schooling.

Daily national newspapers	April /June 2004 %	Weekly national newspapers	April /June 2004 %	Weekly magazines	April/June 2004
<i>Jornal de Notícias</i>	11.3	<i>Expresso</i>	7.7	<i>Visão</i>	6.7
<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	9.4	<i>Independente</i>	1.5	<i>Focus</i>	1.6
<i>Público</i>	5.4	<i>Tal & Qual</i>	1.0		
<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	3.9				
<i>24 Horas</i>	2.9				
Total	32.9		10.2		8.3
Population	8,311,000				

Table 4.2 Readership of general information newspapers and magazines (adapted from Bareme Imprensa)⁴⁸

4.5.2 Radio

National radio broadcasting has an audience share of 57.2%, diffused by twelve different radio stations, as Table 4.3 illustrates.

Radio stations	July /September 2006 %	Radio stations	July /September 2006 %
<i>RFM</i>	13.7	<i>Radio Club</i>	2.4
<i>RR</i>	10.1	<i>Mega FM</i>	1.5
<i>Rádio Comercial</i>	6.9	<i>Best Rock FM</i>	0.8
<i>Cidade FM</i>	4.8	<i>Antena 2</i>	0.7
<i>Antena 1</i>	4.7	<i>Other stations</i>	12.9
<i>TSF/Press</i>	4.4	<i>Don't know</i>	1.9
<i>Antena 3</i>	3.6		
		Total radio audience	57.2%
		Population	8,311,000 ⁴⁹

Table 4.3 Radio audiences (adapted from Bareme Imprensa)⁵⁰

In the period July-September 2006 (during which the radio programme analysed here was broadcast), Antena 1 (in the table, in bold) was the fifth radio station in terms of audience number, with 4.7% of the total national radio audience (*Bareme*

⁴⁸ Marktest. www.marktest.pt

⁴⁹ Total population over 15 years of age living in continental Portugal (i.e. population from the Madeira and Azores islands are not included).

⁵⁰ Marktest. www.marktest.pt

Radio. Markttest). In the case of this dataset, the audience share was not a criterion, but rather the topic of the programme itself.

4.5.3 Audiences

Audience's interpretations are the product of their own "interests, frames, lifestyles and trajectories of socialization" (Jensen, 2002: 164); furthermore, and according to this author, "media use is a specific, reflexive form of social action" (ibid.). Indeed, there are various ways to explore the concept of audience agency or interaction in media discourse (see Cotter, 2001: 421ss for a detailed overview). One important aspect to consider, when dealing with the audience-media relationship, is the link between knowledge and discourse structures. Van Dijk (2003: 97) has explored this link by recognizing that reading a headline might activate different kinds of knowledge; he points out, nonetheless, that there is "no systematic procedure that allows [the reader] to find the structures of discourse that are controlled by the knowledge structures". Even though I believe audience considerations are of crucial relevance to studies following a CDA framework, as CDA is at the end of the line interested in explaining media discourse in terms of the community that produces and simultaneously receives it, for the purposes of the present investigation, audience considerations are kept to a minimum, insofar as they contextualize "the extra-linguistic social variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation'" (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 93).

When considering audiences, many analysts assume the media are addressing and constituting a coherent national public, bringing together disparate individuals who are able to imagine themselves as belonging to the same community (Skey, 2008: 71). Indeed, these seem to be Figueiras' (2000; 2008) assumptions in her study on *Opinion Makers in the Portuguese Press*, previously mentioned. However, if we look more closely at the complexity and disparity of media output, we must question the notion of a homogeneous national audience (Skey, 2008: 71). As Richardson (2007: 78) argues, "there are a variety of consumers with different tastes and different preferences and these audience groups choose to consume different newspapers (within the limitations of the products on offer) on the basis of these

preferences". In fact, tables 4.2 and 4.3 above illustrate this point clearly since, as we have seen, different media sources have different audience ratings. Therefore, rather than having a homogeneous audience, this "proliferation of news media outlets on the total body of the potential audience" creates *audience fragmentation* (ibid.: 78). Additionally, the patterns of news consumption are rapidly changing due to growing cable and Internet audiences, causing a decline in national newspapers and news programmes, and further audience fragmentation.

Richardson refers to the "preponderance of newspapers designed to sell to the richer social classes" (2007: 79). This is the case in the UK, he adds, where broadsheets tend to sell more within the elite and upper-middle classes, and mid-market newspapers tend to sell to the middle and lower-middle classes. Historically, for reasons already examined in the previous chapter, Portugal has one of the lowest newspaper readerships in Europe.⁵¹

Ideological affiliations	Medium	Target audience
Centre-right	<i>Expresso</i> (broadsheet, weekly)	<i>Middle class</i>
Centre left	<i>Público</i> (broadsheet)	<i>Middle class</i>
Centre-right	<i>Correio da Manhã</i> (tabloid)	<i>Lower-middle class; working class</i>
State-run radio	<i>Antena 1</i>	<i>Lower-middle class and middle class</i>

Table 4.4 Ideological affiliations of the newspapers and radio station⁵²

4.6 Newspaper data: discourse practice of opinion articles

Opinion articles may constitute the *voices* of the newspaper, as an institution, on relevant current events, situations, peoples and conflicts. When reading these types of texts, readers expect direction and interpretation of events. In this way they become a potent means of social influence. However, I would like to make a clear distinction – which also underpinned my choice for this kind of newspaper articles – between editorials and opinion articles which appear regularly on a specific day and

⁵¹ However, because of how literacy rates have developed in Portugal, and the fact that the percentage of population with no formal schooling or with up to four years of schooling was 37.1% in 2007 (Santos, 2007: 15), it is not easy to observe a direct link between social class and newspaper audiences.

⁵² These are very broad generalizations. There are minor ideological differences among the newspapers cited in any category.

in a specific column of a newspaper. Whereas editorials represent the voice of the newspaper, opinion articles may, and in many ways should, oppose that voice. Therefore, within the same newspaper, I collected articles representing left-wing, right-wing and centre viewpoints. This broad spectrum of opinions serves to enrich the analysis since, within the same newspaper, it is possible to observe the re-representation and reframing of discourses, as the data analysis will try to prove. Nonetheless, the tabloid paper *Correio da Manhã* revealed a more limited spectrum of political or ideological positions and less variety in terms of discursive strategies (see Chapters 6 and 7).

According to van Dijk (1992: 244), press editorials have as yet hardly been analysed in a systematic and explicit way. Thus, I have not encountered many studies on this genre of opinion and media discourse by discourse analysts. Van Dijk (1995a; 1998) has highlighted the prominent function of editorials in the expression and construction of public opinion, not only about “what is said but also about the writer or the newspaper” (van Dijk, 1998: 28). The genre (editorials) is characterized by being one of the widely-circulated opinion discourses in society. The schematic structure of editorials typically consists of a summary of the event, an evaluation and a pragmatic conclusion. However, the opinion articles selected mix and omit many of these components, which makes them a particular challenging ‘research object’.

The articles are all signed by their authors who have had a regular column in their respective newspapers for some time. Some are not journalists, coming from different political backgrounds and having distinct professions outside the media business. Their comments, presented as individual accounts and perceptions, are very influential in the reconstruction of Portugal’s recent history, because all the authors could be positioned as belonging to the Portuguese symbolic elite. Having preferential access to the media through a personal column empowers these individuals with the possibility of “setting or selecting agendas, topics, choice of language, style, strategies of politeness or deference, and many other properties of text and talk” (van Dijk, 1995a: 12). Hence, the ‘preferential access to discourse and communicative events’ discussed by van Dijk is worth discussing briefly in order to understand the texts under analysis. The author’s arguments and framework for newspaper editorials, in terms of discourse and readers’ expectations, seems to be

applicable to print data: the articles express the opinion (ideologies, evaluative beliefs, etc.) of each writer. They are a special type of media discourse and they also belong to the large class of opinion discourses. Their major function is the “expression and persuasive communication of opinions” and their readers will expect this type of article to formulate opinions about recent events (van Dijk, 1996: 11). Furthermore, “dissemination to large audiences enhances the constitutive effect of discourse – its power to shape widely shared constructions of reality” (Mautner, 2008: 33).

After TV talk shows and newspaper editorials, opinion articles are probably the most widely-circulated opinion discourses in modern society. Their influence is not so much based on massive popular influence, as on their influence on the elites. Furthermore, whereas editorials usually express an institutional opinion, these articles, because they are signed, constitute an added problem for the analyst. The ambiguity brought forth by the double authorial ‘voice’ – the newspaper and the individual signature – prove to be more challenging to the analyst than editorials in general, because the opinion articles are apparently personal, but they tend to express socially shared beliefs; first person pronouns and expanded use of personal experiences signal authorial positioning, although the ultimate aim is the persuasive discussion of a public event. Like editorials, these opinion articles support general opinions, usually shared by other elites.

The great majority of these columnists are professional opinion makers. However being a commentator is not a profession; they do not have a formal ethics code, professional authority or professional culture. Even though considered as a group, they are individuals from very diverse backgrounds, and they do not have a professed common professional framework of reference, Figueiras (2008: 12) points to their ‘marked homogeneity’. This homogeneity holds various important implications for the texts and their embedded discourses: first, they end up sharing repertoires many times due to the (national and news) events they attend together; second, they exchange opinions and socialise, ending up building a joint interpretation of events, and therefore they end up reframing their discourses accordingly. Figueiras (ibid.) claims, and the data analysed for this research seem to prove her right, that these journalists belong to the same community of practice (see

Wodak, 2009 for an overview of the concept) and, by reading each other's texts and sharing the same television and radio talk shows, the interdiscursive and intertextual dimensions appear to be especially marked in this community.

The articles serve various specific purposes linked to the convictions and beliefs of reifying national identity in several ways. We should keep in mind that these particular texts were, at the time of publishing, widely read and, therefore, the language use in these texts is likely to have had a great impact on people's understanding of language and on people's reproduction of language related to the two events being examined.

4.7 Open-line talk-radio broadcast

This dataset consists of a radio phone-in national programme called *Antena Aberta* (Open Antenna), broadcast under the heading 'Is Portugal national identity in crisis?' live on 27 June 2006 during the Football World Championship, when the Portuguese team seemed at the time a possible finalist.

The presence of ordinary members of the public talking on the show is one of the reasons that make these data particularly interesting to analyse. Lay members of the public sharing their opinions overlaps key sociological categories such as private and public, lay and professional, in sometimes complex ways. The data are therefore quite different from the discourse of broadcast news. The discourse of broadcast news occurs within a defined domain to which access is regulated on the basis of profession, or being a recognized public figure or member of the public with a particular involvement in the news (Montgomery, 2007). Keeping in mind this key point, it is important to highlight the important features of this spoken corpus: the talk, although *public* (national broadcast and carried out by public figures the 'experts') is "oriented towards an approximation of the conditions of interpersonal communication in everyday face-to-face situations" (Hutchby, 2006: 14), furthermore, if we take into account 'who is doing the talking' (individuals representing the private sphere) we also need to take this 'private' component on

board; is *naturally occurring* (Wetherell et al., 2001) and is *unscripted* or *fresh talk* (Hutchby, 2006; Goffman, 1981). I consider it to be ‘naturally occurring language’ (i.e. without any interference from the researcher), although the situational context has a declared purpose (discussion of the topic of national identity) and a particular venue. Even though designating this data as *naturally occurring* is indeed controversial, my take here is that talk can occur in a natural way in more structured situations. Wetherell et al. (2001: 27) discuss this issue of ‘naturalness’, stating that it does not necessarily refer to speakers being unselfconscious ‘but to the talk being uninfluenced by the presence of the observer’. Even though the researcher is not present or even conceived as such, the programme’s perceived audience will tend to constrain participants. Nonetheless, and even though the amount of naturalness we may observe is arguable, I think we can defend the ‘naturalness’ of this data if compared to scripted talk.

Due to some necessary concessions to the tendencies to informalisation and conversationalisation, Montgomery (2007) claims there are various degrees of scriptedness, ranging from the very constrained news bulletins (which present very different, although equally complex, participation frameworks) to various kinds of loose scripting, such as questions in interviews. He distinguishes between news-bulletin programmes, interviews and live two-ways. Furthermore, he suggests that degrees of scriptedness should be noted in studies of the discourse of broadcast news. However, the data are not broadcast news, but a radio phone-in programme. Consequently, phone-ins unfold in real time, they are not scripted, meaning that callers must be creative in reacting and responding (Hutchby, 2006), even though the macro-topic and the participation framework guide participants to construct certain discourses, and users of the discourses toward a distinctive set of roles (Montgomery, 2007: 29) (see Chapter 8). This dataset is significant for the objectives of this research because it facilitates analysis of the meta-debate and meta-discourses on the topic of national identity as well as providing ‘unscripted’ materials against which the non-spontaneous written texts might be compared.

4.8 Analysing different datasets

As I noted earlier, this research project encounters several challenges of a methodological nature. The first and possibly the most crucial is how to intertwine the large amounts of data generated by the national events selected. Scholars such as Wodak et al. (1999, 2009) have carried out such large-scale investigations as a multidisciplinary team, but most PhD research is necessarily conducted on smaller-scale data samples. The second issue, related to the method of data collection and analysis, is the linking of different types of data, each catering for specific analytical methods – spoken data (DHA and CA) and written data (DHA and a preliminary corpus-linguistics approach) – as will be thoroughly discussed in the next chapter. Research conducted by Caldas-Coulthard (2003) successfully applied this type of methodological procedure, connecting three different sources within the same study. She used a corpus-linguistics approach to the newspaper section of the Bank of English corpus; she analysed visual representations in the press; and finally, she analysed 28 news texts. Also, the *RASIM* project (on the representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants conducted by a research team at Lancaster University's Linguistic and English Language Department) combined the traditionally qualitative approach of CDA and a quantitative methodology corpus-linguistic approach from DHA (see Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; KhosraviNik, 2009).

It would be impossible to analyse in depth the 181 news articles, due to the word limitation of this thesis and also because the research questions could be answered using samples from the corpus, as I collected enough data to yield up (repeatedly) all the possible representations within the limitations of the media sources previously selected. In other words, the 181 articles, due to their homogeneity in terms of event, medium, genre and authorship, reproduced and represented a (limited) discursive construction of national identity, which became recurrent once I started analysing them. Thus, I can claim that my corpus reached 'saturation' (Mautner, 2008: 35), well before collection was completed.

This observation led me to conduct the opinion-articles analysis in several stages: first, I organized and categorized the texts according to dates, newspapers,

events and authorship. This stage allowed me to become acquainted with the texts, their intertextual and interdiscursive devices and the headline layouts; secondly, I conducted a preliminary quantitative analysis, using a corpus-linguistics approach, on all the print data, which allowed me to ascertain certain discursive patterns. At the end of this stage I realized that I had to choose different approaches to the different sub-corpus. Thus, from the football sub-corpus, I selected a sample of four articles, representative of each newspaper, on which I conducted an in-depth analysis together with the analysis of every article headline (Chapter 7). For the April 25th sub-corpus, I decided I could proceed directly with an in-depth analysis of the 40 articles (Chapter 6).

All the data are, of course, in Portuguese and I only translated the extracts I quote directly. The texts have been organized in chronological order within each paper source and event. Appendix A presents the list of newspaper texts and Appendix D the radio programme transcription.

4.9 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to justify the data that make up the corpus of the present investigation. On the whole, the data selected constitute representative discourse suitable to meet the objectives of this research.

The three different print sources and the radio phone-in programme, whose in-built theme is the elaboration of national identity narratives, allows for several contrastive analytical procedures, by which each corpus reinforces, validates and/or adds new discursive features and therefore new functions to the narrative(s). Figure 4.3 below accounts for these relationships in a simplified fashion, illustrating how public discourse – newspaper texts – cater for an (intended) audience, who in turn produce meta-discourses on the debate surrounding the discursive construction of the events under discussion. The next chapter consists of the second part of the methodological section of this document, describing and justifying the analytical approaches and methods applied to each dataset.

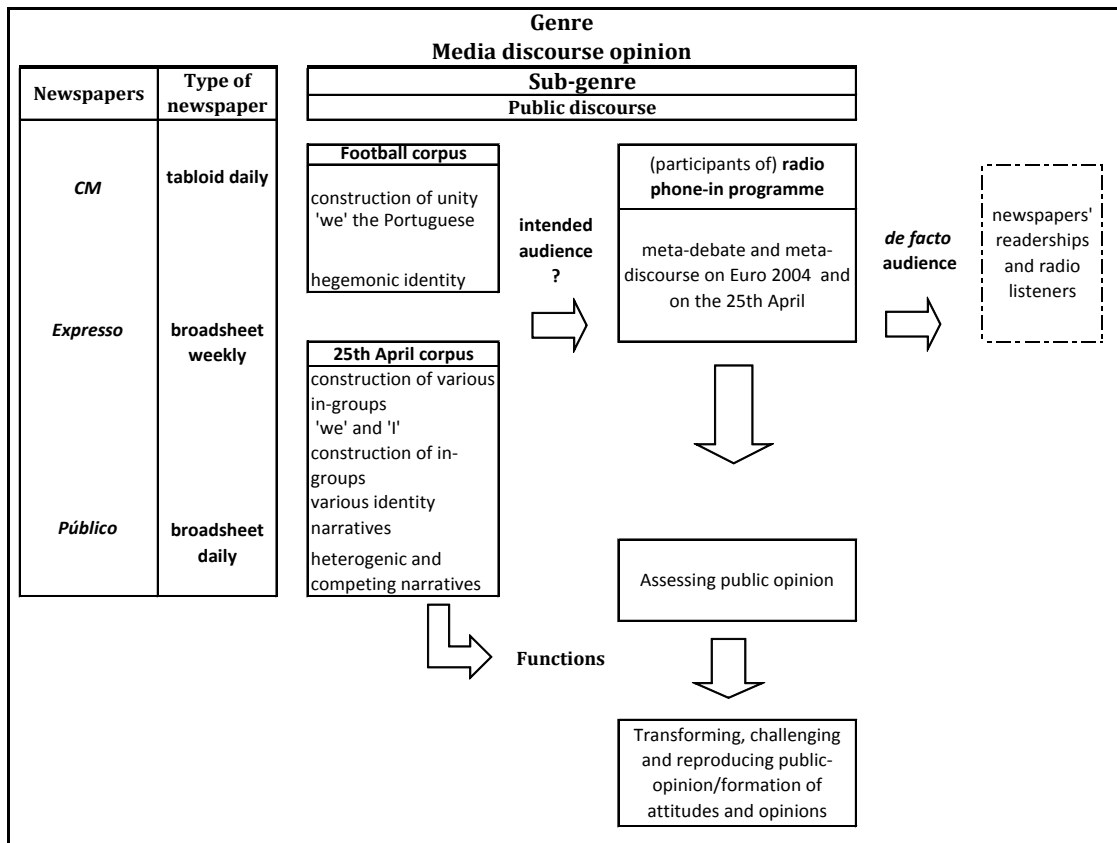


Figure 4.3 Relationships between genres and datasets according to themes and identity narratives

5 Methodological framework

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed description of the methodological framework applied to this study. The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first discusses DHA as the overall epistemological framework, with related methodological tools, for analysing the various datasets selected for this research project. The next section describes the other two analytical methods which are applied, partially, to the different datasets, in combination with the former (DHA), these are: corpus linguistics (CL) and conversation analysis (CA). This description is complemented by a critical assessment of each method applied in this study and a brief discussion of the triangulation of methods: DHA and CL for analysis of the written media texts, and DHA and CA for analysis of the spoken data. I will argue that a mixed-method approach entailing a combination of methods, sets of data, analytic findings and perspectives is the best option to comprehend better the complex phenomenon of *language use and national identity*. This will be followed by a brief reference to the concepts of validity and reliability of procedures as they apply to this research design.

My approach to the media was guided by DHA studies, where projects on media sources have been multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary. To avoid problems arising from a qualitative approach, concerning the validity and bias of results, Wodak recommends “following the principle of triangulation” (2001), i.e. “combining various interdisciplinary, methodological and source-specific approaches to investigate a particular discourse phenomenon” (de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999; see also Wodak, 2009). In this regard, the framework for the analysis of the datasets is multi-

methodological, thus somewhat eclectic, but adequate for the phenomenon under investigation, within the discourse analysis discipline. Besides the major theoretical and methodological framework proposed by CDA, and more specifically DHA, including its various analytical dimensions and linguistic categories (see Figure 5.1 below), I felt it necessary to combine these with a conversation analysis model for analysis of the radio phone-in programme. I resort to corpus linguistics tools as a preliminary approach to my corpus, as they allow me to confirm the validity and interpretation of the datasets and to select some texts for a case study of each event under analysis. The main concern in arriving at robust research is, of course, validity, i.e. whether (and to what extent) my findings accurately represent the relationship between Portugal's national identity(-ies), media discourses and major national events.

5.2 Methodological framework and methods of analysis

Discourse analysis is a committed qualitative orientation to linguistic and social understanding. Therefore, it incorporates both the weaknesses and strengths of qualitative research. One of the weaknesses is in justifying the selection of materials as research data. As such, and applying these concepts to the present work, if my analysis claims that there have been broad social changes in the last decade, i.e. changes over time, concerning discourse on Portuguese national identity, this needs to be substantiated with time-sequenced data, which should demonstrate significant differences. The point here, according to Jaworski and Coupland (1999: 36), is that "interpretative studies of particular fragments of discourse are not self-sufficient" (ibid.). They emphasize that one of the major weaknesses of discourse analysis is "the potential mismatch between the analytic method and the interpretation of data in *distributional* terms". It was precisely to overcome this inherent limitation of qualitative and fragmented analysis that my research project relies on the following choices: the collection of the complete newspapers' output for each of the two media events (within the time-span limit referred to in Chapter 4); a strong multi-

methodical orientation incorporating corpus linguistics (which overcomes the distributional dilemma) and conversation analysis (which resists the conventional view of social structure). Although this research design is based mainly on a qualitative methodology within a general CDA framework, and more specifically DHA, I felt the need to elaborate an exploratory approach to both the football corpus and the April 25th corpus, using CL tools in order to tease out the most representative linguistic and discursive tendencies, such as keywords. For the radio phone-in programme, again I combined DHA with CA as these two methodologies enable me to understand, simultaneously, the discursive construction of national identity narratives, and how the talk-in-interaction between the various participants mirrors the thematic macro-structures on national identity.

5.3 The discourse-historical approach: different levels of analysis

Wodak summarizes the usefulness of DHA as follows:

DHA provides a vehicle for looking at latent power dynamics and the range of potentials in agents, because it integrates and triangulates *knowledge* about historical sources and the background of the social and political fields within which discursive events are embedded. [my emphasis] (2009: 38)

Thus, when analysing textual data, this knowledge or context should be segmented into four layers, all of which should be taken into account: the broader socio-political and historical context; the institutional frames; the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between texts, genres and discourses; and the immediate text internal co-text.

The discourse-historical approach presents other fundamental features that make the approach a fully integrated methodology. Firstly, this approach works with the integration of large quantities of “available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which the discursive events are embedded” (Wodak, 2001: 65). Secondly, it analyses the historical

dimensions of discourses by “exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change” (ibid.). Finally, the analyst should integrate social theories to explain this vast context. As such, and because of the importance attached to context (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.3), it is crucial to explain the whole approach; DHA integrates a particular discourse event within fields of action and genres with specific functions from which macro discourse topics stem, overlap or juxtapose.

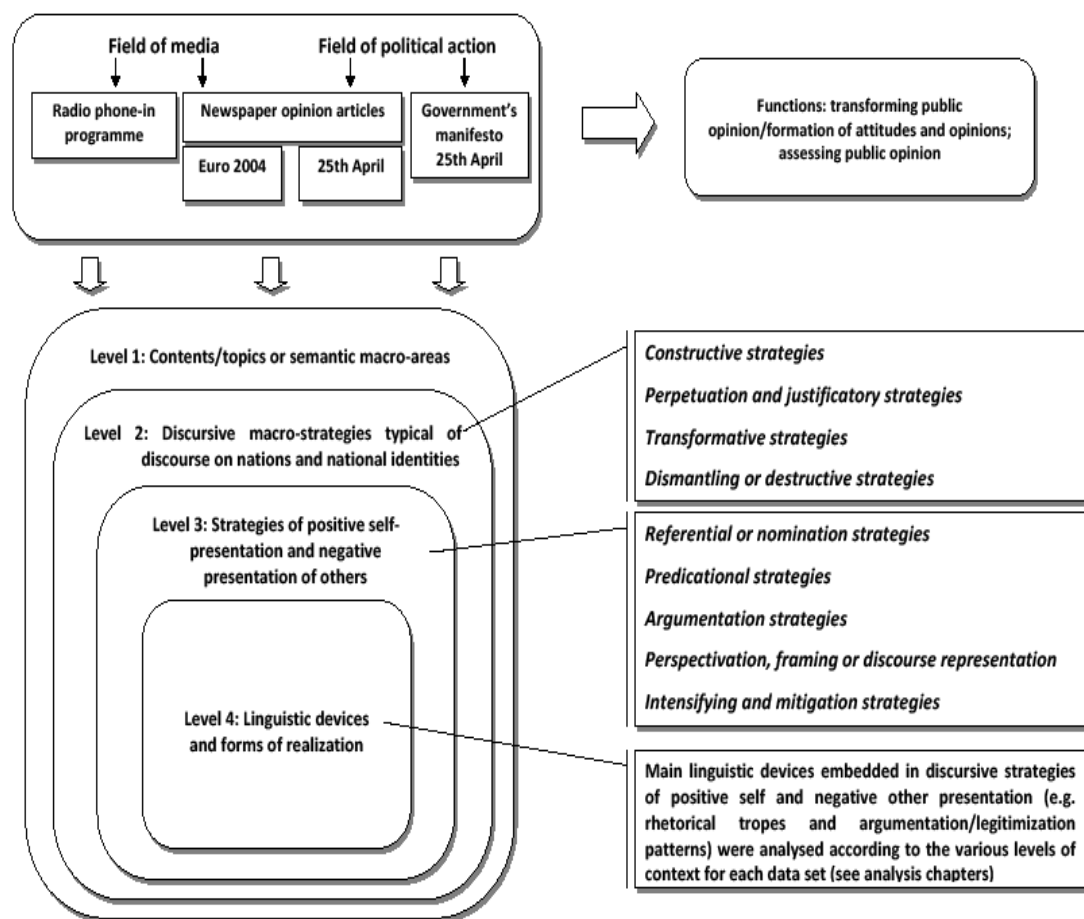


Figure 5.1 Dimensions of analysis applied to the discursive construction of national identity

DHA proposes that the following four interrelated dimensions of analysis be addressed recursively:

Level 1 - to identify the specific contents or topics of a specific discourse;

Level 2 - to investigate the discursive macro-strategies typical of discourses on nations and national identities;

Level 3 - to examine the discursive strategies of positive self-presentation and negative presentation of others;

Level 4 - and to examine linguistic means and specific context-dependent linguistic realizations.

De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999) and Reisigl and Wodak (2001; 2009) list the sequentially-interrelated dimensions, levels 1, 2 and 4. I decided, however, to integrate into the diagram level 3 - strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation, and discuss the interconnection of the four levels together, as both levels 2 and 3 are crucial for the analyses of discourses on national identity. As such, the diagram above (Figure 5.1) brings together, in holistic fashion, the various dimensions proposed by DHA, integrating each dataset into its own specific field of action, media genre, discourse and function.

According to this model, discourses about nations and national identities rely on four macro-strategies (level 2, Figure 5.1), even though these are at a more generic level than the five discursive strategies of positive self- and negative other presentation (level 3, Figure 5.1). As such, the *discursive macro-strategies typical of discourses on nations and national identities* are reflected in the five subsequent strategies (level 3) which, in turn, are identifiable through detailed linguistic means and context-dependent linguistic realizations (level 4) related to positive self- and negative other presentations. Within DHA, *strategy* means a “more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim” (Wodak, 2002: 41). Strategies indicate systematic ways of using language, and they can be located at different levels of linguistic organization and complexity.

The data selected belong to the media field of action. Yet during the analysis sections, and as a contribution to the macro-context, I also make reference to data belonging to the field of political action (in order to integrate the interdiscursive and intertextual dimensions). The first level of analysis focuses on the semantic macro-areas or topics, in order to identify the main discourse topics within the overall

theme of national identity. After identifying the major discursive topics, discursive macro-strategies constructing discourses on nation and national identity are explored. According to DHA proponents, there are four discursive macro-strategies embedded in the discursive construction of national identity:

Constructive strategies – these encompass the linguistic acts which serve to build and establish a particular national identity, e.g. discursively establishing groups ‘us’ and ‘them’ or an image of oneself, or an identity. These are primarily linguistic procedures, which constitute a national ‘we-group’ through particular acts of *reference*;

Perpetuation and justificatory strategies – these attempt to maintain or reproduce already established groups, images or other discursive artefacts. Supporting the move, justifications are frequently used when the status quo is under dispute, and needs to be justified in order to be preserved. They are used to emphasize continuity. Justification and legitimization strategies are specific types of perpetuation strategies and are employed to defend and preserve a problematic narrative of ‘national history’, such as the colonization of Africa.

Transformative strategies – these strategies attempt to transform the meaning of a relatively well-established aspect of national identity into another.

Dismantling or destructive strategies – these serve to de-mythologize or demolish existing national identities or elements of them. One example of this strategy in the Portuguese context is the explicit de-mythologizing of the idea of the colonial empire, as the following extract from the radio show illustrates: “the identity of the empire, we never had a great a great feeling of identity for the empire because the empire has been an imposition”.

For each of the four strategies above, it is possible to identify five sub-strategies (focused on self- and other-presentation, thus on ‘us’ and ‘them’). Each of these answers a specific question oriented by the construction of in- and out-groups and are briefly conceptualized in Table 5.1 (below).

Notwithstanding the long list of linguistic devices Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 94) propose for a complete analysis of texts, which are themselves selected examples and not an exhaustive list, in my analysis I focus in more detail on a few specific strategies and devices that are most salient to the data and to the particular genres I

am examining, always bearing in mind that the main objective of this study is to understand the discursive construction of national identity. The degree of saliency of strategies also differs according to the dataset at hand.

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
nomination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms, etc. tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches (<i>pars pro toto</i>, <i>totum pro parte</i>) verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, etc.
predication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses and participial clauses or groups) explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns collocations explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms) allusions, evocations, presuppositions/implicatures, etc.
argumentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What arguments (justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness) are employed in the discourse in question? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> topoi (formal or more content-related) fallacies
perspectivization, framing or discourse representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> deictics direct, indirect or free indirect speech quotation marks, discourse markers/particles metaphors animating prosody, etc.
intensification, mitigation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diminutives or augmentatives (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctives, hesitations, vague expressions, etc. hyperboles, litotes indirect speech acts (e.g. question instead of assertion) verbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc.

Table 5.1 A selection of discursive strategies (from Reisigl and Wodak, 2009)

The deliberate choice of focusing on key categories and devices allows me to cover the various aforementioned dimensions of analysis in a recursive fashion, working from both a top-down and bottom-up approach, embracing a true

triangulation of methods, and allowing for a more holistic understanding of the phenomena at work.

Thus, and as an illustration, in the newspaper commentary on Euro 2004, the saliency of the social actors, such as nations and national football teams, calls for analysis of nomination/referential and predication strategies in the construction of ‘us’ vs. ‘them’, ‘friends and foes’.

In the debate surrounding the commemorative event, argumentation strategies become a significant category of analysis as the various participants struggle to impose their own narratives of the events. In this case, particular emphasis should be given to topoi and fallacies. The third example is taken from the radio talk-show: as the show involves experts and lay participants, perspectivization strategies (e.g. deictics) are significant for examining the various speakers’ viewpoints regarding national identity and each other’s points of view. These examples do not mean, of course, that I reduce my analysis only to these pre-selected categories.

I also apply Wodak et al.’s (1999: 30-1) matrix of thematic contents, within the construction of national identity, to each of the datasets with the necessary adaptations (see Chapter 6, section 6.3.1; Chapter 7, section 7.4.4; Chapter 8, section 8.5.2) through which it is possible to distinguish five major areas in discourse: the linguistic construction of the *homo nationalis*; the narration and confabulation of a common political past; the linguistic construction of a common culture; the linguistic construction of a common political present and future; and, finally, the linguistic construction of a ‘national body’. Each of the analysis chapters describes in more detail the respective linguistic devices applicable to what the data yield.

5.3.1 Genre

The concept of genre (and subgenre) is essential to understanding the identity narratives and discourses at hand, as the rules and expectations applied to a specific genre obey certain social conventions, and audiences – which is an important concept in this study and already discussed in the preceding chapter – expect a specific format from specific genres. Genres may be characterized as the specific “discoursal aspect of ways of acting and interacting in the course of events”

(Fairclough, 2003: 65). Hence, when we analyse a text or interaction in terms of genre, “we are asking how it figures within and contributes to social action and interaction in social events” (ibid.). Genre can also be understood as “a regulative device through which relations of power are realised as forms of control” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 144).

Bakhtin and Volosinov’s linguistic theory of ideology views every instance of language as ideological. Bakhtin (1981) stresses the dialogic properties of texts – their ‘intertextuality’ to use Julia Kristeva’s term which was, in turn, appropriated by CDA – in that every text is viewed as a part of a series of texts to which it reacts and refers, and which it modifies. Bakhtin’s theory of genre was also adopted by CDA (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 119). This involves seeing every text as dependent on socially predetermined repertoires of genres (for example, news articles), and means that differing genres can be mixed in creative ways, as for instance in newspaper opinion articles (see Chapter 4, section 4.6).

The data collected belong to the generic genre of media. Additionally, I also make reference to (a very generic) political genre (see Figures 5.2 and 5.3, below).⁵³ However, and because many genres are not stable, fixed or homogeneous (Montgomery exemplifies this type of intermediate case with the ‘news feature’, a hybrid between ‘news piece’ and ‘feature’, 2007: 26-7) but rather fluid in nature, it is difficult to pinpoint the particular genre of a text or discourse. This fluidity and genre mix is illustrated by both the opinion articles and the spoken data. The latter, although undoubtedly belonging to the media genre (public radio show, national broadcast) include private, non-institutionalized attributes because of the lay participants. The talk of the two academics that come on to the programme also defy initial genre categorization, as their discourse, although eminently public, is essentially academic, encompassing forms of linguistic realization distinct from the moderator’s and other participants and characteristic of the academia subgenre. These issues will be addressed in more detail in the analysis chapters.

⁵³ Fairclough notes that there is no established terminology for genres. For a detailed discussion of genres, categories and pre-genres as a more abstract category, see Fairclough (2005: 65-86).

5.3.2 Intertextuality, interdiscursivity and recontextualization

DHA takes into consideration the “*intertextual* and *interdiscursive* relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourses” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 90). Texts do not stand alone. They refer to other texts both in the past and in the present. Like any other system of signs and messages, texts make sense because they present a relationship with other texts. In the case of news articles, it is possible to establish links to other news stories and other discourse types within the newspaper (e.g. editorial commentaries) or with former editions, in a process that Fairclough (1995: 88) terms “sequential and embedded” forms of intertextuality.

However, intertextuality may also involve looking at the ways news texts draw on and discursively adapt other texts which have been generated outside of any immediate journalistic activity, such as the government’s official statement on the April 25th Commemorations. How do these other texts contribute to the constitution of news text? How are these other texts represented, how are they distinguished from the news texts themselves, and what transformations/recontextualizations can be said to have occurred in their journalistic translation? In fact, when it comes to the corpus selected for this thesis, the issue of intertextuality is very much present, as most of the data discourses are re-framing and reproducing other discourses and texts. The connections established with other texts might be: through “explicit reference to a topic or main actor; through references to the same events; by allusions or evocations;⁵⁴ by the transfer of main arguments from one text to the next” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 90). According to them, this process can follow two different operations: de-contextualization when a given element is taken out of a specific context, and recontextualization when the element is then inserted into a new context. This element acquires a partial new meaning. Recontextualization is clearly illustrated in the (few) counter-discourses on the topic of football (see Chapter 7, section 7.4.1) wherein the topic of national identity and ‘patriotism’

⁵⁴ Fairclough (2003: 39ff.) makes a distinction between intertextuality and assumptions, the latter not being attributed or attributable to specific texts. When Reisigl and Wodak (2009) refer to ‘allusions or evocations’, I believe they are conveying the equivalent idea of ‘voices’ from other texts being recontextualized along chains and embedded in subsequent texts.

present in most texts is reframed by a change of social actors as the narrative is in first-person singular narrative, de-mythologizing and recontextualizing the topic.⁵⁵

With regard to interdiscursivity, DHA defines it as discourses linked to each other in various ways. As such, within the broader Portuguese sociopolitical and historical context, the ‘discourse on national identity’ is closely linked to other discourses on the issues of governance, economy, Europe, social class and so forth. In the case of my datasets, discourses are highly hybrid, intersecting with various sub-topics belonging to discourses on other topics, as I demonstrate in the data analysis chapters.

5.3.3 Topoi

I would like to spend a moment explaining in detail the argumentative device of *topos*, as this is one of the key instruments I rely on in the analysis chapters. As already mentioned, discourses on nations and national identity are built on systems of cultural representation that rely heavily on *presupposition*, i.e. as a sort of ‘habitus’, (related emotional attitudes intersubjectively shared within a specific group of people), or as presupposing difference and uniqueness, etc. (see Chapter 1, section 1.6). Accordingly, *topoi* (or *loci communes*) are often based on standard arguments that can carry the “socially shared identities of feeling” (Shotter, 1993, cited in Myers, 2005: 536). Thus, *topoi* should be seen as warrants and are best approached from the angle of commonplace phrasing, when people draw on a shared repertoire or *topos* to convey and legitimate their (public) viewpoints, often reproduced as an uncritical judgment (*ibid.*) and which hold an argumentative character. Moreover, a *topos* can be regarded as a system of public knowledge, a discursive resource in which one finds arguments to sustain a conclusion (Valk, 2003). Thus, *topoi* are general principles that support an argument without themselves constituting the argument itself, providing the standard arguments, typical of specific issues. *Topoi* can be described as parts of argumentation which

⁵⁵ Intertextual relationships can be regarded as unlimited access to any voice, therefore making it particularly difficult to delimit them (see Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Therefore, the concept of recontextualization within a specific social context helps to operationalise the analysis.

belong to “obligatory, either explicit or inferable, premises” (Wodak, 2001:74). Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 75) define *topoi* as the “content-related warrants or ‘conclusion rules’ that connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim. As such, they justify (a shortcut) transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion”. *Topoi* are not always expressed explicitly, but can be made explicit as conditional or causal paraphrases, such as “if x, then y’ or ‘y, because x” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 110).

Kienpointner and Kindt (1997: 562) claim that the “logical structure of argument schemes remains largely implicit in everyday arguments” thus “the meaning and use of these schemes must be highly conventionalized and form a stable part of the tacit knowledge of a speech community”. In terms of Aristotelian rhetoric, a *topos* (plural *topoi*) is a general argumentative form or pattern that enables a rhetorician to construe a concrete argument for a given conclusion (Rapp, 2010). This means that “*topoi* are general instructions saying that a conclusion of a certain form can be derived from premises of a certain form” and that “one *topos* can be used to construe several different arguments” (ibid.). Furthermore, *topoi* are based on the description of things as good, noble, just, honourable etc.⁵⁶ According to Aristotle, syllogisms of a rhetorical deductive nature are enthymemes (van Eemeren et al., 1987: 71) which means that for the formulation of enthymemes (deductive arguments), they should display a premise-conclusion structure. However, as rhetorical deductive syllogisms are rational ways of persuasion bound to a particular form of communication, e.g. monologue or public speeches, “the speaker can do without premises if he can assume that his audience automatically accepts certain premises as obvious or taken for granted” (ibid.). Enthymemes are at the core of the persuasive process, and “the construction of enthymemes is primarily a matter of deducing accepted opinions” (Rapp, 2010), as opposed to deductions from true sentences or principles. Therefore, enthymemes must include a statement as well as a reason for the given statement. Typically, this reason is given in a conditional ‘if’ clause or a causal ‘since’, ‘therefore’ or ‘then’ clause, for instance “*If* historical events

⁵⁶ Aristotle provides a distinction between specific *topoi* (particular to certain species of rhetoric or in discourse analysis terms, a certain discourse type) and common *topoi* ‘which are common to moral, scientific and political questions and to questions of many different specific characters’ (I.2, 1358a).

mark a nation's identity, and the 25th April is a historical event, *then* it should be considered an element of national identity". According to Rapp (2010), Aristotle has been misinterpreted in regards of the suppression of premises in argument. However, as stated above, van Eemeren (ibid.) argues that certain premises might be taken for granted, thus they need not be spelt out, which seems to be how DHA scholars have interpreted enthymemes, i.e. the enthymeme is the hidden premise of the topos that induces a logical leap between the premise and the conclusion without spelling out the argument.

For the purposes of this study, I follow Rubinelli (2009: 14) who regards topos "as an argumentation scheme of universal applicability" perceived as a dynamic and pragmatic concept as it "describes an argument by focusing on the formal structure of its constitutive propositions" (ibid.). As such, and bringing together classical rhetoric and DHA, I use topoi for those argumentation schemes, based on persuasion, where deductive arguments or enthymemes are based on the description of things or commonplace arguments which are commonly presupposed to be good, noble, just, etc. (or that are lacking in these same characteristics) within a specific field of action and discourse. I believe that by using topoi, DHA brings to the field of CDA a particularly useful tool for locating arguments as commonplace – which become very persuasive for the recipients within a certain discourse/field of action – and deconstructing them. As Zompetti points out, "using topoi can aid us in discovering and identifying arguments" and, he adds, they "allow us to notice arguments where we would otherwise probably miss them" (2006: 20). Whilst proceeding with identifying topoi, we may find that argumentation schemes can be reasonable or fallacious, depending on their deviation from the argumentation rules proposed by van Eemeren et al. These include:

freedom of arguing, the obligation to give reasons, the correct reference to implicit premises, the respect of shared starting points, the use of plausible arguments and schemes of argumentation, logical validity, the acceptance of the discussion's results, and the clarity of expression and correct interpretation (1992, cited in Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 110).

5.4 Corpus linguistics: an overview

This study combines a quantitatively-orientated corpus-linguistic tool with critical discourse analysis. However, CL only plays a minor role. Therefore, it is not a corpus-based or corpus-driven study but rather a corpus-informed one.

My corpus has a high degree of homogeneity as all the texts are taken from the same genre, concern the same subject, and therefore can claim a reasonable degree of representativity. My intention is not to conduct a full-scale corpus analysis but to use CL tools as a preliminary approach to the written texts, comparing the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers for each of the two events under analysis. By implementing some CL tools such as searching for keywords, keyword comparison and collocations of some keywords to the two sub-corpora, I aimed to provide an entry point to guide my selection of a sample of articles and subsequent downsizing for qualitative analysis. I follow the methodological steps suggested by Stubbs (1996), Baker (2006) and Mautner (2008; 2009), using a software concordance programme, i.e. word frequencies of lexical words, frequencies of lexical keywords, and keyness.

Until recently, quantitatively-driven discourse studies were sparse (see Orpin, 2005; Khosravini, 2007). According to Biber et al. (1998: 106), “we still know surprisingly little about the discourse similarities or differences across texts and registers”. It would seem there is a big division between those who champion a machine-based methodology, such as Stubbs (1996), Hunston (2002), Mautner (2008, 2009) and Baker (2006), and those who do not regard corpus-linguistic methodology very favourably. Van Dijk (2000: 33), for instance, shows his lack of confidence in quantitative analysis: “we do not treat news as transparent messages whose contents may be analysed in a superficial, quantitative way. Rather, we examine the complex structures and strategies of news reports and their relations to the social context”, although he does not object to corpus linguistics completely. However, in the past few years, the techniques of corpus linguistics have been edging their way into CDA’s methodological canon (Baker, 2006; Baker et al., 2008; Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Koller and Mautner, 2004; Mautner, 2008; 2009; Stubbs,

1996). These techniques allow researchers to work with larger volumes of data, complementing and triangulating other forms of analysis, and thus providing “additional linguistic devices for thorough analysis” which can be applied against the backdrop of CDA approaches (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 26).

There have been a few well-known studies, such as Hardt-Mautner’s (1995) analysis of EU discourse of the British Press and Fairclough’s (2000) study of political texts. Caldas-Coulthard (2003) has also examined the representation of ‘otherness’ in media discourse. More recently, Koller and Mautner (2004) and Baker (2006) have discussed the fruitful combination of corpus linguistics tools and CDA, Heywood and Semino (2006) have taken a CL approach to metaphors in the British press, and Baker, Gabrielatos, KhosraviNik, Krzyżanowski, McEnery and Wodak (2008) bring together CDA and CL in the research project *RASIM*, on discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, 1996-2006.

Mautner (2009) summarizes, into three main points, the potential of combining corpus linguistics and CDA: (1) corpus linguistics allows critical discourse analysts to work with larger volumes of data; (2) by broadening the empirical base, corpus linguistics can help reduce researcher bias, a problem which has often been the subject of criticism (e.g. Widdowson, 2004); (3) corpus-linguistics software – such as the software program I am using here, WordSmith Tools 3.0 – offers both quantitative and qualitative perspectives on textual data, as it computes frequencies and measures of statistical significance as well as presenting data extracts that enable the researcher to assess individual occurrences of search words, to examine their collocational environments, to describe semantic patterns and identify discourse functions (Mautner, 2009: 123).

The existence of discourses is highlighted by how “patterns of association – how lexical items tend to co-occur – are built over large amounts of text and are often unavailable to intuition or conscious awareness” (Hunston, 2002: 109). Guided by the following specific research question: *What discourses do the media (opinion articles) draw on to construe and/or represent Portugal’s national identity when discussing major national events of the present and the past?*, I assume that each newspaper type (tabloid and broadsheet) will emphasise a particular viewpoint in regard to national identity discourses and narratives informing distinct textual discourses, and

reflecting distinct interpretations, perspectives and constructions of national identity. Therefore, by using a few well-chosen corpus-linguistics tools, it will become possible to provide some empirical evidence as well as an introductory picture of the overall representativeness of the corpus in relation to the macro-topic and differences between broadsheets and tabloids.

5.4.1 Critique and rationale of CL in this study

Gabrielatos and Baker (2008: 6) claim that a corpus-based approach helps in addressing criticisms of CDA methodology which has been denounced for its arbitrary selection of texts, problems of representativeness, and for the analysis of a small number of texts or text fragments, which cannot be expected to reveal helpful insights into their frequency or distribution. It is true, as Koller and Mautner (2004: 217) point out, that the quantitative dissection of text “appears to be at odds with CDA’s commitment to analyzing coherent discourse at all linguistic levels” as it implies isolating components of a discourse out of their context or, in other words, analysing “decontextualized, semiotically reduced language” (Mautner, 2009: 140). As the authors also point out, the problem of sample representativeness becomes an issue: “there may be a temptation to proclaim features as typical rather than build up the notion of typicality on the basis of frequency” (2004: 218). Accordingly, my 100,000+ word written corpus, although quite small in terms of corpus linguistics, is enormous to take on from a qualitative discourse analytic perspective, and also too large to tackle by conventional methods alone. Therefore, the most obvious advantage of introducing CL tools into this study is to counterbalance the intuition-based approach, since a corpus-informed approach can find differences and similarities that intuition alone cannot perceive (Baker, McEnery et al., 2006: 6; Mautner, 2008, 2009; Koller and Mautner, 2004).

Methods	Objectives	Devices
Corpus linguistics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the discourse topics? • What are the differences and similarities between newspapers? • Is the corpus collected valid? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • frequency of lexical words • keywords • keyness • concordance lines of top-40 lexical words • downsizing for qualitative analysis
Conversation analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does the host introduce the topic and callers? • How does the caller manoeuvre into position as expert or lay person? • How is talk-in-interaction negotiated in the immediate institutional setting? • Do these traits impact on the discursive construction of national identity and if yes, how? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • patterns of talk-in-interaction • turn sequences • participants' framing • authenticating and conversationalizing institutional talk • forms of address between participants

Table 5.2 A selection of objectives and devices of CL and CA applied to the data

I apply CL tools for an initial keyword analysis and keyword comparison using the CL concept of *keyness*, based on the idea that there are two perspectives (tabloid vs. broadsheet newspapers) on the events under analysis, and that by comparing one against the other I am likely to find a list of keywords that act as signposts to the underlying discourses within the discursive construction of national identity. A keyword list is a useful tool for directing researchers to significant lexical differences between texts. It is also a way of uncovering the lexical salience between texts (Baker, 2006). See Table 5.2 above for a summary of objectives and devices.

As for limitations, one of the dangers of applying CL tools to discourse analysis is that it “tends to obscure the character of each text as a text” (Hunston, 2002: 110), because each individual example is de-contextualized. The context, then, becomes the co-text. Another limitation is linked to the analysis of argumentation strategies and so forth which need more than just the immediate co-text and context. A CL approach can kick-start the analysis by teasing out tendencies, but does not provide explanations for what is being observed; what the analyst finds depends fundamentally on what he or she is looking for, i.e. research questions need to be clearly formulated; and finally, we should keep in mind that findings based on a particular corpus only tell us what is true in that corpus, “unwarranted

generalizations can be misleading” (McEnery, Xiao and Tono, 2006: 121). This last point links to the issues of overinterpretation and underinterpretation (O’Halloran and Coffin, 2004) that are a particularly sensitive spot in some discourse analyses. A triangulation of methods would appear to be the best way to avoid these two problems, as discussed in the last section of this chapter.

5.5 Conversation analysis: an overview

Together with CDA, CA is probably the most widely-adopted approach to the study of media talk. Developed in the 1960s in American sociology by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (see Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974; Sacks, 1992), CA has been applied to various studies of media talk. From the mid-1980s onwards, conversation analysts have contributed to the general field of broadcast-talk studies. Since the 1990s, Hutchby (1996, 1999, 2001, 2006) and Thornborrow (2001a; 2001b) have contributed to studies of radio phone-in broadcasts, the only genre of media *talk* analysed in this thesis⁵⁷, by applying insights of situated sequential analysis to the rigid formats of institutional talk (Myers, 2008: 125).

CA and CDA share various theoretical assumptions. Both are discursive approaches to social order and to the study of talk in interaction. Each claims that identities are organised within the social order, are mobilized within the ongoing details of talk and communication within a situated use, and within a process of an ongoing interaction. Both assume that we construct and are constructed by societal and historical discourses. The differences arise from the way each approach conceptualizes *context* and their methodological endeavours to invoke context in the *interpretation of social action*. CA approaches discourse analysis with a focus on the activity of language use, “investigating the to-and-fro of interactions” and “looking for patterns in what language users (speakers) do” (Taylor, 2001: 7). In this approach, the user is not considered a free agent but is seen as being constrained by the interactive context; meaning is therefore created within the interaction. However,

⁵⁷ See Hutchby (2006: 18ff.) and Woffitt (2005) for an overview of the approach.

both CDA and CA regard the language user as always “located, immersed in the medium and struggling to take her or his own social and cultural positioning into account” (Taylor, 2001: 9-10). Moreover, both approaches pay due attention to the “all-enveloping nature of discourse as a fluid, shifting medium in which meaning is created and contested” (Taylor, 2001: 9).

Yet CA has been the subject of criticism from critical media-discourse researchers. Although there are some points of overlap between CDA and CA, there are many points of contention. First, researchers with a critical agenda claim that CA lacks an adequate sense of contextualization of utterances within a wider set of social relations. Second, conversation analysts are considered to be unwilling to make links between the ‘micro’ details of talk-in-interaction and the ‘macro’ levels of sociological variables – class, gender, and so forth. Fairclough, for instance, argues that the CA approach is conducted “upon relational aspects of conversation and questions of representation and associated linguistic features are given relatively little attention”. He also claims, as I have already stated, that CA is “resistant to linking properties of talk with higher-level features of society and culture” (Fairclough, 1995: 23), implying, as many critical discourse analysts argue, that talk-in-interaction should be studied as a reflection of wider structural and social inequalities (see also Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 7). Thus, the analyst brings into the analysis preconceptions as to what might be important and what the key issues are. Conversely, CA is concerned with understanding how “people’s own interpretations of on-going talk inform their subsequent contributions to the turn-by-turn unfolding of interactions” (Woffitt, 2005: 145). CA proponents argue that interpreting participants’ conduct in terms of analysts’ theoretical or political concerns obscures and diminishes the importance of the communicative competencies which people are using as they organize their talk in a collaborative manner.

Hutchby claims that conversation analysts are suspicious of “what they see as preconceptions” built into social insights, as critical discourse analysts claim; furthermore, he claims “CA does indeed link the properties of talk with ‘higher-level’ features of society” and he suggests there “is a tacit idea of power to be located in much CA work on institutional discourse” (2006: 32). CDA assumes that power

relations and other sociological variables are pre-established features of context. This leads us to a key difference between the two approaches:

[W]hile CA aims to describe the ways participants display that they are aware of specific contextual factors (by observingly modifying the ways that they talk), CDA maintains that there are other factors, external to the situation the speakers are in, and of which the speakers may not be aware, that impact on the production of their talk. (Hutchby, 2006: 33)

There was an important methodological debate on the merits and drawbacks of CDA and CA conducted by Schegloff, Billig and Wetherell in *Discourse and Society* 8(2); 9(3) in the late 1990s. Van Dijk, in an editorial of the same publication with the suggestive heading “Critical Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis” (1999b: 459-60), summarises the main points from the debate, stating that the research areas are not incompatible but are able to complement each other, since CDA shares many basic criteria and aims with CA, namely interest in naturally-occurring text or talk; both acknowledge the context-dependency of discourse; both recognize the relevance of an interactional dimension of language; both attend to sequential phenomena in text and talk and, in general, examine order and organization of expression, meaning and action at several levels of analysis; furthermore, he adds, “both CDA and CA are relevant for analysing the social dimensions of discourse, namely socially situated interaction, and more global, societal structures, respectively”.

It is in the light of these overlapping aims that I draw on a conversation-analytical framework as the guiding resource for the initial approach to the radio talk-show, as some distinct features of this type of data, such as the local interactive processes of negotiating and conflict management, cannot be accounted for solely with DHA.

5.5.1 Critique and rationale of CA in this study

As already stated in Chapter 4 (section 4.7), the radio phone-in broadcast revealed distinct features deriving from genre (media discourse, public discourse) and distinct meta-discursive features that set it apart from the newspaper data in terms of

analytical procedures. Some of these features were audience participation, constraints of topic and time, conversational tone and the local interactive processes of negotiating, which could not be totally accounted for with DHA. Thus, I selected a conversation-analytical tool as the guiding resource for the initial approach to this data set at the micro-analytical level. Accordingly, this instrument allows me to focus on how normative frameworks underpin the sequential organisation of interaction within a constrained and highly conventional (institutional) setting, and what kind of patterns emerged. My aim is to understand or explain the talk-in-interaction, without contextual categories (power, gender, race, religion, social class, etc.) postulated a priori, unless these were highlighted by the participants themselves. As such, while from a CDA, and more specifically DHA, perspective, I may bring to the analysis my social, historical and contextual knowledge (for instance, that being right-wing or working class or a scholar affects the way people construe national identity), from a CA perspective these issues will have to come out through talk without any a priori assumptions, which is, in fact, what my data appear to suggest.

The present CA framework will follow Ian Hutchby's (2006; 2001; 1999; 1996) and Joanna Thornborrow's (2001a; 2001b) extensive work on media talk, and in particular their work on radio phone-in programmes. My argument claims that CA allows for analysis of the *organization of interaction*, one of the key features present in these data, and that it helps to gain some insights into the immediate language or text-internal co-text. I also rely on some of van Dijk's (1999b, see above) and Hutchby's arguments to claim that "a good deal of CA links the properties of talk with 'higher-level' features of society" (Hutchby, 2006: 32). My claim goes against detractors of this framework, such as Billig (1999) and Fairclough, who believe that the CA approach is flawed by being "resistant to linking properties of talk with higher-level features of society and culture – relations of power, ideologies, cultural values" (Fairclough, 1995: 23; see also Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 7ss).

The co-construction of meaning in talk-in-interaction impacts on the discourse produced on national identity, as certain topics or even agency and 'othering' strategies are framed, produced and recontextualized co-textually. I suggest that from a conversation-analytical approach there are three resources, stemming from talk-in-interaction, affecting the usage of the 'us and them' deictics, and hence on

the discourses produced on national identity in these data. First, there is the co-construction of arguments within the interaction; then, the asymmetric positions set up in the opening turn sequence between host and callers; and finally, the strong and deep-seated hierarchical forms of address in the Portuguese language.

My main position in this study is critical discourse analysis, for I believe, in short, that language is a reflection of a wider social, and in the case of national identity also historical, context. Nonetheless, I believe that CA, like CDA, views language use as “a form of social action and that the study of everyday talk cannot properly be undertaken outside of the interactional contexts in which the talk takes place” (Hutchby, 2006: 20). Therefore, I suggest that CA provides the necessary framework for a detailed analysis of the on-going interactional situation in order to answer the following questions: How does the host introduce the topic and callers?; How does the caller manoeuvre into position as expert or lay person?; How is talk-in-interaction negotiated?. Finally, and most importantly: Do these traits impact on the discursive construction of national identity, and if yes, how? My claim is that in this particular dataset, talk-in-interaction is negotiated according to the immediate institutional setting (phone-in radio broadcast live), but the basic elements of turn-taking and sequencing follow a specific pattern determined by *who* is doing the talking. I suggest that *who* is doing the talking (expert or lay person) links to wider social structures connected with power and dominance, that is, a CA approach enables me to proceed with a detailed analysis of differences in interactional patterns.

CA usually focuses on three basic elements: adjacency, turn-taking, and sequencing (or the existence of predictable sequences for performing conversational acts). What interests me in this framework as it applies to my data are the following issues: in adjacency, the issues related to scripted talk and conversationalizing institutional talk, where the host performs simulated greetings for the audience; in turn-taking, how this proceeds, how host and participant mutually understand how to accomplish turn-taking and how institutionally predetermined these are since participants have ‘pre-allocated roles’, where it is the responsibility of the host to ask questions and create topic-links, and for the participants to respond.

Hence, these conventions are highly institutionalized and constrained by the setting. Yet only a CA approach would allow me to describe these traits in details. Hutchby (1996, 2006) observes how the sequences in radio phone-in programmes follow four 'phases' in a call: (1) announcement and greetings; (2) extended turn in which caller states opinion; (3) the host argues with the statement which may be followed by a free exchange of speaking turns in which host and caller discuss the issue in question (Hutchby, 1996: 15); until (4) the host initiates a closing. Regular deviations to this sequencing in phase 3 indicate a need to explore further and understand these deviations within the situational context. Accordingly, a CA methodology enables me to confirm one of the hypotheses of this study: the access to the media, time of turn-taking, formulations and 'pre-allocated roles' of the different participants – within the interactional context – are constituted by differences in power and dominance that, in turn, impact on the hegemonic discourses produced on national identity (see table 5.2 above). My larger claim is that a CA approach enables me to tease out relevant interactional traits and patterns that reinforce the DHA findings.

5.6 Combining data and methods, and criteria for assessing quality

This research project encounters several challenges of a methodological nature. The first and possibly the most crucial one is how to intertwine the large amounts of data generated by the national events selected. Scholars such as Wodak et al. (1999) have in fact carried out such large-scale investigations as a multidisciplinary team, but most PhD research is necessarily conducted on smaller-scale data samples. The second issue, related to methods of data collection and analysis, is the linking of different types/genres of data, each catering for specific analytical methods. Research conducted by Caldas-Coulthard (2003) has tried out this type of methodological procedure, linking three different sources within the same study. She used a corpus-linguistics approach on the newspaper section of the Bank of English

corpus; she analysed visual representations in the press; and finally, she analysed 28 news texts. Also, Wodak et al. (1999) relied on various types of data (commemorative speeches, focus groups and interviews) to investigate the discursive construction of Austrian national identity.

I have already covered most of the drawbacks and advantages of combining data (Chapter 4) and methods. The triangulation of methodologies and methods is aimed at “improving reliability by ensuring uniformity and enhancing validity of instruments by removing a potential source of distortion” (Abell and Myers, 2008: 146). To ensure validity, DHA proponents (see, for example, Wodak, 2004: 205; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 31) suggest two types of triangulation: one based mainly on theoretical premises wherein the permanent switching between levels (see Figure 5.1) and evaluating the findings from these various perspectives minimizes the risk of being biased; and methodological triangulation using multimethodical designs according to the variety of empirical data at hand and to background information (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 31). From what has been explained so far, it is clear that my study proposes to bring together both types of triangulation. Theoretically, this study examines context, taking into account the various levels and various fields of action and genres; methodologically, it proposes making use of “integrative logic” by “mixing methods to ask questions about connecting parts, segments or layers of a social whole” (Mason, 2006:6), assuming that parts of the different types or layers of data can play different roles in the overall story. In fact, a mixed-method approach is an epistemological claim concerning what more can be known about a phenomenon when the findings from data generated by two or more methods are brought together. On this account, the differences in findings from combining methods will reinforce the idea of societal phenomena as multi-faceted and complex, and this mixing of methods will allow me to reveal this. One important conclusion for the knowledge claims on findings is that mixing methods is, thus, not regarded as a way of validating findings *per se* but is more concerned with the multiplex, contingent nature of the social world.

5.7 Summary: strengths of triangulation

I have described in detail each of the methodological tools, with a strong focus on the overall methodology of DHA. I have also mapped out the links between research questions, data and methods. Moreover, I explained the major issues of concern regarding each analytical tool and the various combinations. One of the main challenges of the present research design lay in developing an overall methodological framework applicable to the diverse sets of data without losing the individual characteristics of each type of data. However, drawing from a range of theories, methodologies and methods turned the challenge into the true potential strength of this study, as I hope will become clear in the next chapters. Whereas drawing from various theoretical approaches allows me to examine the various levels of context in which the data are embedded, drawing from various methodological tools (under the major methodological framework umbrella of DHA) enables me to explore the data in order to answer my research questions more effectively.

The usefulness of DHA in research on the broad topic of national identity has been amply tested. Nonetheless, I extend the approach by combining and applying various methodological tools. These combinations stem from the three media datasets I selected, which are different in nature – spoken and written; in the event they cover; and type of participant. A final point is that I am aware, as a sole researcher, that rigorous ‘objectivity’ cannot be reached by means of discourse analysis, for each ‘technology’ of research must itself be examined as potentially embedding the beliefs and ideologies of the analyst and therefore guiding the analysis towards the analysts’ preconceptions.

6 Analysis of commemorative discourse

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the data collected on the thirtieth anniversary commemorations of the Portuguese revolution in 2004 in terms of national identity discursive construction. It focuses on the analysis of two different types of written documents which are linked through theme and content: (1) The government's *Programme of Action* for the 2004 revolution commemorations; and (2) a set of forty opinion articles published at the time. After introducing the main theoretical concepts relating to collective memories, I describe the corpus briefly (media field of action) and revisit some of the analytic underpinning the analysis. The following section is dedicated to analysis of the Portuguese government's *Programme of Action* for the commemorations. The examination of this official document (political field of action) provides the contextual knowledge about the background of the social and political fields in which the discursive events are embedded. The remaining sections examine the newspaper corpus. I start my approach to the corpus by applying corpus linguistics tools in order to compare tabloid vs. broadsheet newspapers and to tease out relevant keywords and concordance lines of a selection of keywords that would facilitate the subsequent qualitative analysis. I then describe the main topics, discursive strategies and what I have selected as the most salient linguistic realizations that could explain what I understand to be the key hegemonic narratives.

Two important concepts for the following analysis are those of collective memory and individual memory. Wodak and de Cillia (2007: 343), following

Halbwachs and Ricoeur consider individual memories as a viewpoint on collective memory, the latter being a “collection of traces and events that were important for the historical sequence of a particular group” (Ricoeur, 1997, cited in Wodak and de Cillia, 2007: 343). This implies that such events contribute to the definition of national identities, as the group “preserves their stability through the integration of positive recollections and the rejection of negative ones” (ibid.). In the case of the 25th April commemorations in 2004, national in-groups were still competing for stabilization of both the collective memory of the events and the “anticipation of a particular future”. Because the revolution was a ‘lived experience’ which occurred during the life time of the ‘narrators’ of the opinion articles, individual memories, presented using first person pronoun, are a ‘particular viewpoint on collective memory’ as the narrator shares in the public sphere his or her memories with those who will have witnessed the same lived experiences. For background on the revolution, see Chapter 3, section 3.4.

Research on the discourse about and around the 25th April 1974 revolution is scarce (cf. Mendes 2001, Mattos-Parreira 2000)⁵⁸ and, in my view, much needed in order to understand what happened then and how the population relate to the event today, especially as many of the historical analyses conducted so far have been mostly conducted by researchers who are also agents of the events they were analysing (Cerezales, 2003: 885). In what follows this double role of researcher/protagonist is salient in the many versions of the event and to its consequences. As Wertsch (2002: 25) points out, “if members of a group have experienced the events being remembered, they typically do not interpret or remember these events in the same way”. Drawing from DHA framework and methodology in which I incorporate van Leeuwen’s social actor and social action theory (2000, 2008) and following in the footsteps of various discourse-historical studies (Oberhuber et al, 2005; Reisigl and Wodak 2001, 2009; van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999; Wodak et al. 1999, 2009) my analysis is guided by the following specific questions which will enable me to answer the initial research questions of

⁵⁸ Mendes investigated the Azores island identity construction represented in the respective regional newspapers 1974-1975, wherein the archipelago’s media represented a regional identity distinct from mainland Portugal. Mattos-Parreira (2000) studied how the expatriate media in Portugal constructed the Portuguese revolution in 1973-1977.

this study: How do the media represent the event? How are key social actors and actions represented? Who has power? Who is capable of acting? As I have explained in Chapter 4, the nature of this analysis is both relatively open-ended and iterative, shuttling 'back and forth' in order to define which of the linguistic units of texts are recurrent. I examined the corpus according to DHA dimensions, and concluded that the following linguistic realizations were the most significant for answering the research questions: topoi, national deixis, nominalization, passivization and deagentialization. I will refer to the necessary theoretical assumptions for each of these linguistic devices in each corresponding section. I had to find the right balance between exploring the whole corpus and paying special attention to the appropriate linguistic features related to national identity construction, such as the different argumentation strategies each writer employs, namely legitimating arguments and claims, topoi, the referential matrix of the collective we, including various in-groups and out-groups. For practical reasons, I only quote the relevant extracts to illustrate my argument. At times I need to reproduce lengthier quotes to show how particular sequences are framed. These are direct translations from the original texts in Portuguese. Chilton and Ilyin (1993: 14) in their analysis of "Metaphor in Political Discourse" point to the problem of "translating between cultures", claiming that between languages "available translation equivalents do not correspond to the same cognitive schema". Although they are concerned with translating metaphors and how these impact on international politics, it is true that differences in semantics and in word order between Portuguese and English were an added challenge in my investigation, as all the data collected was in Portuguese.

6.2 Describing the data

For the thirtieth anniversary commemorations in 2004 the Portuguese government decided to launch a campaign where the 'strategic concept' *'April is Evolution'* was introduced based on the concept of '30 years the age of maturity' in order to replace the 30-year-old slogan *'April is Revolution'*. The government's public discourse

arguing for a new slogan ‘April is Evolution’ instead of the traditional phrase ‘April is Revolution’ can be seen as both transformative and dismantling discursive strategies. The government’s *Programme of Action* was clearly signalling a discursive change in collective memories, transforming, and in some ways, dismantling the *past* in favour of a new focus on the idea of the *present* and the *future*. This “radical challenge of the hegemonic narrative” (Wodak and Richardson 2009: 231) spurred a heated pro and con debate in the media. The image below condenses the debate on the reconceptualization of (r)evolution and shows a cleansing pinkish version of the 1974 deep red carnation, the former symbol of the revolution. For this reason, this chapter analyses both the government’s (political field of action) and the press’s discursive construction of the commemorations (media field of action) focusing on the competing narratives of both the historical event itself and the official commemorations. The debate around the word (r)evolution illustrates how different actors have different views of the significance of wording (Chilton 2004: 7). However, we will see below that this was not a case of representing the issue as “just semantics”, as usually happens in political argumentation (ibid.) but quite the opposite, since the wording and phrasing of the government’s programme proposed a new conceptualization of the historic event.



Figure 6.1 Example of billboard⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Photograph of one of the billboards displayed outdoors across the country during March-April 2004; in this particular image a man is adding an 'R' before and an exclamation mark after the word 'Evolution'. Available at: <http://ressabiator.wordpress.com/2008/04/25/mao-ii-ou-uma-no-cravo/>

The opinion articles were selected from three different newspapers (the daily tabloid *Correio da Manhã*, the daily and weekly broadsheets *Público* and *Expresso* respectively). Chapter 4 has presented a detailed description of the corpus. Table 6.1 shows the number of texts collected per newspaper and the corresponding word number and percentage within the overall sub-corpus.

25th April commemorations corpus		Articles		Words	
Newspaper		Number	Percentage of corpus	Number	Percentage of corpus
Broadsheet	<i>Expresso</i>	13	31.71	8,612	25,00
	<i>Público</i>	21	51.22	23,224	67,41
Tabloid	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	6	17.07	2,614	07,59
	Total	40	100%	34,450	100%

Table 6.1 *Number of words and articles in the 25 April corpus*

In the newspaper texts, we encounter various contextual dimensions of interference in what is being remembered (and forgotten): the fact that the narrator may himself have been involved in the events narrated and interpreted; the fact that the narrator may himself be a researcher (of the event); the fact that the narrator may have witnessed the events, without actively participating in them. To these various roles, we must add the mediated action of the news text. The juxtaposition of these various dimensions makes the discursive analysis of these texts particularly complex and at the same time, particularly rich. These texts evaluate the socio-political and historical context of the event, of its impact during the thirty years, and of the present context, selecting, reframing and backgrounding or even omitting (historical) facts. Each writer promotes arguments that are both individually-conditioned (personal experience and personal memories) and collectively typical (political affiliations, ideological world-view, a selected interpretation of one historical account amongst the many available). We thus encounter *consensual narratives* where the emphasis is placed on several post-revolution landmarks such as the 1976 Constitution, joining the (then) European Economic Community (EEC) and social and economic progress - views aligned with the two political parties, the

centre-left socialist party PS, and the centre-right social democratic party (PSD), which have taken turns in government since 1976 - or counter-discourses which again are politically aligned with left-wing (the Communists, PCP) or right-wing (Social Democratic Centre, CDS) parties. These latter groups present more negative views on both the revolution itself (the right-wing CDS) and on its outcomes (the left-wing partisans). The historical reasons for this have been briefly summarized in Chapter 3, section 3.4. Finally, we also encounter personal accounts of 'lived' experience, which nevertheless, reproduce discourses – of the left or of the right. The commemorations are, thus, used as a field of political struggle, a way of settling accounts, trying, therefore, to impose particular narratives of the events.

6.3 Analysis of the government's *Programme of Action for the Commemorations*

Based on DHA framework, I focus on the dismantling and transformative discursive strategies (see Reisigl and Wodak 2001, 2009; De Cillia et al. 1999). My point of departure for applying these strategies is as follows: *dismantling strategies* are used to demolish an established situation or image, e.g., in the case of the *Programme of Action*, the government felt it necessary to construe a 'new' discourse on the event that was dissociated from the concept of revolution; *strategies of transformation* try to transform the status quo (the revolution) into something different (evolution), therefore positive attributes are no longer directly dependent on the revolution, but on various other factors, construed as independent, such as being a "member of the most prestigious International Organizations", so the emphasis is no longer on the past (1974) but on the 'present' time as preparation for the 'future'. As the discursive transformation of 'revolution' into 'evolution' was the main intention, the text begins with argumentation and dismantling strategies (see below lines 1-9) followed by transformative strategies (lines 10-29) (see Appendix B for original text in Portuguese). These discursive strategies are linked to reframing national identity through the all inclusive national group whose collective memories are being

delimited anew, i.e. the text recontextualizes the revolution's semiotic indexes such as the red carnation, freedom and democracy.

6.3.1 "But we don't want to live in the past": dismantling strategies

As already stated, the significant traits of the official version of the commemorations are the salience of both *transformative* and *dismantling* discursive strategies in relation to the many on-going discourses of the event over the previous decades. The text is composed of two parts: the first part presents a static image of 'our collective memory' and its 'symbols'; the second part begins with the sentence "But we do not want to live in the past" (lines 6-7) signalling a transition and a clear boundary between the *static* past and *dynamic* active future. The text is built along a dichotomy of these two time-dimensions, where the personal pronoun 'we' in the form of the 1st person plural verb conjugation becomes the agent of change.

(1)

- 1 Every culture, society, nation has in its history small and large events
- 2 that mark and constitute its identity. From those events, a collective
- 3 memory remains that, like its meanings, is alive, dynamic and evolving.
- 4 The 25 April is also an element of our history, of our collective memory.
- 5 The carnation is the buzz word. Synonymous with liberty, the beginning of a
- 6 life in democracy. Symbols we will never forget. But we do not want to
- 7 live in the past. We do not want the 25April to be just a memory. The
- 8 25April is renewed every time it is celebrated. The 25April 1974
- 9 indicated the beginning of a historical turning point in Portugal.

The noticeable omission of the word 'revolution' from the whole text (a deliberate choice) signals an overt dismantling strategy, through which the government seeks to erase the concept of revolution. As such, the 1974 revolution becomes only a date, the social actor '25th April'. However, this discursive dismantlement is framed within a recognizable, traditional discourse on the revolution as a form of national identity. Significantly, the semiotic and discursive elements that had until 2004 contributed to the collective memories of the 25th April 1974 revolution are listed as: "the *carnation* [...] synonymous with *liberty*, the beginning of a life in *democracy*, symbols we will never forget" (lines 5-6 my

emphasis). However, these are not referred to in full grammatical sentences with active verbs, but are presented elliptically as a description of (almost) loose elements, with the elision of cohesive devices, conveying the idea of a static 'memory' precisely the opposite of what is stated in lines 2-3: "From those events, a collective memory remains that, like its meanings, is *alive, dynamic* and *evolves*" (my emphasis). The explicit reference to the nation's 'identity' (line 2) predicated as the sum of 'small and large events' that make up 'a collective memory' sets up one of the macro-topics of this official document: national identity. However, the sentence "the 25th of April is also an element of our history, of our collective memory" (line 4) diminishes the event and situates it as one more element instead of *the* element to be celebrated; firstly, because it is not (positively) predicated; and secondly, the fact that it needs to be overtly stated presupposes that this claim might not be consensual.

6.3.2 "April is above all evolution": transformative strategies

Another dismantling strategy is conveyed through the repetition of the volitive mental verb form 'do not want' associated with 'the past'. These lexical choices reject the 'past' when 'Portugal' was 'a sad, poor, closed country looking for a destiny' (line 12, below). The mental verb, conjugated in the 3rd person plural: 'we want' [queremos] and 'we don't want' [não queremos], appears repeatedly. This apparently inclusive strategy is, in reality, very vague and ambiguous. In fact, 'we' could be either the government or the Portuguese people or both.

Along with dismantling the concept of 'revolution', the government proposes the new concept of 'evolution', transforming the "status quo into something different" (Benke and Wodak, 2003: 121), i.e. transforming 'revolution' into 'evolution'. The text accomplishes this effect by anthropomorphising the event 25 April as a living person, which 'grew', changed and reached the 'mature age of 30' as well as relying on topoi typical of the genre (political discourse, official commemorations; see Chapter 5, section 5.3.3 for a description of the concept). Table 6.2 (below) maps out the most salient topoi present in the *Programme of Action*. To arrive at these, I examined how certain phrases from the text reproduce

standard arguments which contain implicit premises as content-related warrants; these are not spelt out and therefore rely on a *system of public knowledge*; as such these phrases lead to certain conclusions in which the premises are taken for granted.

In the *Programme of Action*, it is not easy to distinguish whether an argumentation scheme has been employed as a reasonable topos or fallacy. However, and given the overall proposition – ‘April is evolution’ presupposing that it is *not* ‘Revolution’ - I have detected some fallacies, namely related to respect for a shared starting point, the obligation to give reasons and logical validity. For instance in the sentence “Every culture, society, nation has in its history small and large events that mark and constitute its identity but we do not want to live in the past” (lines 1-2), the topos of history links ‘national history’ to feelings of national identity belonging and at the same time presupposes that history and memory are the past and that remaining in the past is not good. One prominent topos links ‘evolution’ and ‘progress’ to happiness and well-being without explaining how the former leads to the latter (see Table 6.2 below). These topoi aim to construct ‘evolution’ as a positive value leading to the final conclusion, in which overall national in-group construction is prominent: “Let’s commemorate together the 30 years of evolution of the 25th of April” (line 28-29).

(2)

10 But with the conquest of Liberty, the Portuguese people turned to another conquest,
 11 that of Development. In 30 years, the 25April has grown, as the country has grown. In
 12 30 years, Portugal has changed from a sad, poor, closed country looking for a destiny
 13 into a socially and economically open, democratic, dynamic country. A country in
 14 which it is worth living. Portugal has a place of prominence in the World today. It
 15 is a member of the most prestigious International Organizations. It is a technologically
 16 developed country, with a modern Transportation system, where the quality of life of
 17 the average citizen has increased remarkably in just 30 years. This is April’s heritage.
 18 April is above all evolution. And after 30 years, it would be strange if the
 19 commemoration procedures did not change. The date that indicated the beginning of
 20 an era of progress in Portugal, should not, therefore, be a celebration of longing or
 21 solely ideological. It should be, instead, a National Celebration. A celebration, by which
 22 the idea of the Present will give us a vision of the Future. When we commemorate
 23 the idea of progress, which marks the daily lives of the whole population, we are
 24 saying that Portuguese society has fulfilled a mission. That it is proud of the Present
 25 and believes in the Future. This year’s commemorations will be, then, framed within a
 26 spirit of assertiveness of national self esteem. 2004 is a year of positive change for the
 27 economic cycle. It coincides with our hosting the largest sports event ever organized
 28 by Portugal, Euro 2004. Let’s commemorate together the 30 years of evolution of
 29 the 25 April. [capitals in original]

LINE	EXTRACT	TOPOI	ENTHYMEMES	CONCLUSION
1-2	<i>Every culture, society, nation has in its history small and large events that mark and constitute its identity</i>	Topos of history (positive)	Historical events mark a nation's identity;	25th April (revolution) marks national identity
4	<i>The 25th April is also an element of our history</i>		The 25 th April should be considered an element of history and memory.	
6-7	<i>But we do not want to live in the past</i>	Topos or fallacy of history (negative)	History is the past, memory is the past The past is static We don't want to live in the past The 25th April is past	The 25th April (revolution) is static /non-dynamic
8-9	<i>The 25th April 1974 indicated the beginning of a historical turning point in Portugal.</i>	Topos of rebirth	The 25th April indicated the beginning of a new life. The 25th April has grown and developed The country has grown	The country was reborn
12-13	<i>In 30 years, Portugal has changed from a sad, poor, closed country looking for a destiny into a socially and economically open, democratic, dynamic country.</i>	Topos or fallacy of fulfilled destiny	The country conquered liberty. The country was looking for a destiny. The Portuguese people conquered development. Portuguese society has fulfilled its mission	The country's destiny is development and economic growth
14-15	<i>Portugal has a place of prominence in the World. It is a member of prestigious International Organizations.</i>	Topos or fallacy of authority	International recognition is beneficial and positive to the country; if there is international recognition than it is true that the country has developed	If there is international recognition= authority than the country has developed positively
15-17	<i>It is a technologically developed country with a modern transportation system where the quality of life of the average citizen has increased remarkably in just 30 years.</i>	Topos or fallacy of progress (technology, innovation and modernity)	The quality of life has improved due to technological development and transportation. This April's heritage. April is above all evolution.	If there is progress and technology, than there is quality of life If April is evolution and progress, then it cannot be revolution
18-19	<i>The date [...] should not, therefore, be a celebration of longing or solely ideological. It should be, instead, a National Celebration.</i>	Topos of unity	25th April should be a National Celebration.	If celebrations do not change and continue to celebrate the revolution, than the celebration will not be national (construction of national in-group)
22-24	<i>When we commemorate the idea of progress, which marks the daily lives of the whole population, we are saying that Portuguese society has fulfilled a mission.</i>	Topos of progress /evolution Topos or fallacy of fulfilled destiny	If we do not commemorate progress we are not acknowledging the well-being (and happiness) of the population, therefore we are saying that Portuguese society has failed.	National Celebration is to commemorate the present and the future (not the past, not the revolution) Progress is the nation's mission, therefore if we do not commemorate progress we are saying that Portuguese society has failed

Table 6.2 Examples of some salient topoi and argumentation schemes in the government's Programme of Action

The transformative strategy based on the topos of evolution follows in the footsteps of what Santos (1993) and Ribeiro (2004) have argued to be the state's symbolic construction of Portugal as a European country, using the usual topoi which the Portuguese people recognize as 'the discourse on the 25th April', the government introduces arguments that lead to the idea of 'evolution'. The 25th April revolution is presented as an element of collective memory, as a symbol and as a historical watershed moment. It is equated with the past and with a moment of change confined to the past, instead (as had been the case in previous anniversaries) of being equated with a dynamic on-going process. Subtle changes in the argument convey this meaning. The topos of 'development' is associated both with the idea of 'maturity' and with the idea of centring the focus on the present moment. Therefore, although the discourse on the 25th April is recognizable it has changed its orientation. Another argument is the negative evaluation of those who wish to commemorate the past, as the document predicates that type of celebration as an 'ideological festivity' and a 'remembrance festivity,' in complete opposition to the government's own 'dynamic', 'open' and 'evolved' way of commemorating. The insistence on "celebration, by which the idea of the Present will give us the vision of the Future" (lines 21-22) emphasizes the 'strategic concept' and the metaphorical meaning of evolution as 'forward movement' in terms of time and accomplishments. The nouns 'progress', 'development' and 'evolution' become key lexical, semantic and metaphorical elements in the corpus, pointing to positive forward movement even though with various degrees of metaphoricity, they depend on the co-text.⁶⁰

In sum, my argument here is that 'revolution' metamorphosed into 'evolution' because the right-wing government felt the need to reshape social memory in terms of orientation towards the future. The debate – including strong resistance and also forceful agreement staged in the opinion articles analysed below around this lexical change – was, in part, a discussion of the meaning of discourse seen as language in use, or discourse seen as social practice. The government's linguistic choice for the slogan 'April is evolution' illustrates its need to introduce a different reading of the past. It also becomes clear that *language is, above all, social action*, since in this

⁶⁰ See Semino (2008: 14-15) for an overview of the archaic meaning of 'progress' as 'forward movement', in contrast with non metaphorical meanings.

particular instance a new language use was coined to talk about this particular historical event. Thus, does the new word reflect the changing of social practice or does it mean that from then onwards social practice changes could be accounted for by the word change? There is of course no easy answer to this question, but the dialectics of the relation appears to be evident.

In terms of socio-political practices, this reframing of the event and the erasure of the word revolution imply, in my view, a move towards an (even) more liberal market-oriented society, where increasing economic turnover is synonymous with progress and well-being. These values are also constructed as European (identity) values. See Section 6.4.9, 'Essentially the 25th April meant Europe', below for textual evidence.

Bearing this in mind, as the debate proceeds in the articles, it is possible to distinguish a dichotomy between those who discursively construct the revolution as a synonym of democracy, liberty and civic rights and undisputable stabilized national values and those who construct the revolution as the turning point (including the government) for overall national economic progress within an European context (although they seldom explain in detail how this affects the daily lives of the people). At this point it is important to highlight how the group who emphasises the idea of 'turning point' distinguishes between *turning* point and *starting* point as the latter only came about with the 1976 Constitution.

6.4 Analysis of articles

6.4.1 Searching for keywords

The corpus comprises a total of 34,450 words, unevenly distributed across the three different papers. The tabloid paper in particular appears to be too small to undergo a corpus linguistic approach (2,614 words). Even though corpus linguistics is generally concerned with much larger corpora, I decided to proceed with this approach in order to compare tabloid and broadsheet papers. For instance, Stubbs (1996: 81-4) has carried out studies on very small corpora. He conducted a comparative analysis of two very short texts (330 and 550 words) written by Baden-Powell (1857-1941) and was able to show how ideological (in this case sexist) positions were conveyed, not just by individual words, but by patterns of vocabulary and grammar. In this case, I am only conducting an initial exploration of the corpus. The corpus is not tagged, therefore, only collocation and keyword analyses are possible. To apply a keyword analysis I need to introduce the theoretical notion of keyness.

Keyness is defined as the statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or clusters in the corpus under analysis in comparison to another corpus, either a general reference corpus, or a comparable specialized corpus. (Baker et al., 2008: 277)

The purpose of this theoretical concept and its attendant analytical tools is to point towards a text's topic and the central elements of its content. Keywords analysis is based on the idea that there are two sides to the debate and that, by comparing one side to the other, we are likely to find a list of keywords that act as signposts to the underlying discourses within the discursive construction of national identity. A keyword list is a useful tool for directing researchers to significant lexical differences between texts. It is also a way of uncovering the lexical salience between texts (Baker, 2006). I run the data through a corpus linguistics tool, WordSmith 3.0 (Scott, 1999) which is a freeware concordance program.

6.4.2 Tabloid vs. broadsheet

By implementing a few corpus linguistics techniques it should be possible to provide some empirical evidence, as well as an introductory picture of the overall representativeness of the corpus in relation to the macro-topic and the differences between the broadsheets and the tabloid. A quick look over the standardised type/token ratio (STTR) shows that all papers operate with a roughly similar lexical variety, (see Appendix C, Tables 1 and 12).

I started by making a keyword comparison between the tabloid and the broadsheets (*Correio da Manhã* vs. *Público* and *Expresso*). *Keyness* is obtained by comparing two wordlists containing the frequencies of all of the words used in both corpora. A keywords comparison was carried out using these lists, in order to ascertain which words appeared significantly more often in one corpus as opposed to the other, based on the total number of words in each text. Keywords are obtained by cross-tabulating the frequencies of all lexical items against each other and the total word counts of the two sets of data, and then subjecting the frequencies of each lexical item to a log-likelihood test (the p value was set at 0.001, see below). A word is therefore key if it appears unusually frequently in one text, when compared to the other; a keyness score shows how strong a given keyword is. Keywords are important because they reveal the most significant lexical differences or features in a text or between texts. They act as lexical signposts, revealing what producers of a text have chosen to focus on (Baker, 2004).

I used the *Correio da Manhã* as a reference corpus for the two broadsheets and vice versa. Only eight words were found to be key, seven of which were more frequently used by the tabloid and one of which occurred more often in the broadsheets (for a list of the lexical keywords see Table 6.3 below where the words are presented in order of keyword strength or keyness; see also Appendix C, Table 6). Thus, the keywords did not reveal striking differences between the two types of newspaper, which can be explained by both the very small size of the tabloid sub-corpus, and also by the homogeneity of the field of action and genre – media, opinion articles.

Newspaper	Lexical words
Broadsheet	<não > (15.2)
Tabloid	<TV> (54); <RTP> (41.6); <servir>(14.8); <anedota> (14.7); <Jorge> (12.9)

**Table 6.3 Lexical keywords tabloid vs. broadsheet
(keyness in brackets, $p < 0.001$)**

Newspaper	Lexical words
Broadsheet	<Abril> (921.8), <revolução> (479.1), <democracia> (414.9), <evolução> (234.3), <liberdade> (147.3), <regime> (131.6), <trinta> (125.1), <comemorações> (100), <ditadura> (86.5), <revoluções> (77.7), <constituição> (64.7), <inquiridos> (64.6), <ruptura> (64.5), <golpe> (62.8), <esquerda> (60.4), <democrático> (55.8), <revolucionária > (55.6), <direita> (47.3), <anos > (45.1), <política> (44.4), <democrática> (44), <influências> (43.7), <colonial> (43.6), <constituente> (42.8), <corrupção> (40.2), <armadas> (39.5), <expressão> (39.5), <Portugueses> (39.3), <social> (38.5), <políticos> (37.9), <militar> (37.6), <conquistas> (36), <ideológico> (36), <hoje > (35.9), <sociais > (35.5), <história> (34.9), <liberdades> (34.6), <censura> (34.5), <salazarismo> (34.2), <MFA> (34.2), ⁶¹ <partidos > (32.5), <descolonização> (32.4), <transição> (32), <ditaduras> (31.5), <autoritário> (29.9), <revolucionário> (27.6), <sondagem> (27.3), <eleitorados> (27), <referenciados> (27), <defeitos> (26.4), <democratização>(25.7), <comemorar> (25.7), <políticas> (25.6), <militares> (25.4), <político> (25.4), <progresso> (25.4), <atitudes> (25.1)
Tabloid	<Abril> (83.8), <TV> (56.2), <RTP> (51.5), <trinta> (32.3), <revolução> (28.1), <liberdade> (25.1) <evolução> (24.2)

Table 6.4 Lexical keywords, broadsheets vs. reference corpus and tabloid vs. reference corpus (keyness in brackets $p < 0.000001$)

I set the minimum keyword frequency at three and I used both log-likelihood and chi-square keyword procedures to compare outputs, since I set the maximum p-value at a cut-off point of 0.001, a fairly high value for CL (see Baker, 2006: 125-6), but still lower than the normal limits of 0.05 (95%) or 0.01 (99%) for the social sciences. Repeatedly, the tabloid paper presented only two keyword occurrences: <TV> and <RTP> (Portuguese national television), which have no relevance to the research topic. I can safely say that the tabloid paper did not reveal a specific discursive construction of the event when compared to the broadsheets; if it did

⁶¹ MFA Movimento das Forças Armadas (Movement of the Armed Forces) part of the regular army responsible for starting the coup d'état that gave way to the revolution.

reveal anything, it was a lack of engagement with the topic, which can be supported by the keyword rank order.

As the results for the tabloid keywords were not particularly insightful, I proceeded with a keyword comparison between the whole corpus and the reference corpus CETEMPúblico,⁶² followed by a keyword comparison of the tabloid vs. CETEMPúblico and the broadsheets vs. CETEMPúblico (loglikelihood p value <0.000001).

In the following, I briefly introduce *a few* of the relevant keywords which appear significantly more often in the corpus when compared with the reference corpus (see Table 6.4, above). Checking the concordance lines of these keywords revealed their actual use, i.e. <TV> and <RTP> are frequent in two texts which discuss how freedom of the media and of opinion are crucial for contemporary Portugal, and how the event “represented a true revolution for state television”, thus a positive, though limited, representation of the revolution in terms of freedom of the media. The comparisons between broadsheet/reference corpus and tabloid/reference corpus revealed <April>, <thirty>, <revolution>, <liberty/freedom> and <evolution> to be keywords in the three newspapers. Furthermore, the broadsheets revealed a more comprehensive list of lexical keywords such as <democracy>, <regime>, <commemorations>, <dictatorship>, <constitution>, <rupture>, <politics>, <politicians>, <military> and <ideological>, amongst others. As I have indicated in Chapter 5, this study is only CL informed insofar as I use CL tools as a first device to approaching the data. The keywords roughly indicate the major macro-topics and I will be referring back to them as I proceed with the analysis.

6.4.3 Major thematic areas

Under the major umbrella topic of the ‘30th anniversary of the revolution’ the articles focus on six major topics. I summarise the main issues in relation to each

⁶² CETEMPúblico stands for ‘Corpus de Extractos de Textos Electrónicos MCT / Público’, and its full reference is available at <http://cgi.portugues.mct.pt/cetempublico/1991-1998>. The corpus was built from texts of the newspaper *Público*. The corpus consists of 2,600 complete published editions (plus unpublished material written during this time period) of which 2% are opinion articles, with a total of 191,687,833 words; however the section available for downloading from the Internet part of CETEMPúblico 1.7 consists of 269,530 tokens with an STTR of 54.28.

macro-topic and examine in more detail the concept of revolution and how it is approached in various ways. Although most of the articles refer to the commemorations, few discuss them directly. The (1) **commemorations** are used as a starting point to present, in most cases, a very specific perspective (given the referential strategies, discussed below) on the 'revolution', on 'Portuguese democracy', on 'Portuguese society' or on the 'Portuguese [people]'. The topic of (2) **revolution vs. evolution** takes up a lot of textual space. In order to legitimate what a revolution is /was or should be /should have been, the authors assess the (3) **revolution's (un)success** in terms of social and economic progress (evolution) and in terms of freedom and democratic practices. The texts, therefore, present modes of (de-)legitimizing social practices (van Leeuwen 2000; van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999), e.g. the revolution, by two main modes of representing social actors and activities: authorization and rationalization. Legitimation through *authorization* entails reference to authority – which takes the form of intertextual references to political theoreticians, historians, canonical writers or by quoting opinion polls prominently, e.g. "the majority of the Portuguese people state". Legitimation by *rationalization* entails "reference to the utility of social practice" (van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999: 105). In this case, phrases such as "the revolution was the catalyst for the evolution of Portuguese society" are instrumentalising practices involving rational justification of the revolution in terms of the utility of its outcome: 'evolution'. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 105) argue that this type of instrumental rationalization based on purposes and functions of practices "usually turn out to take the form of what we have called 'moralized activities'" (ibid.: 105). These moralized activities or 'teleological action' (van Leeuwen, 2000: 29) are represented by means of abstract terms that imply "a quality that triggers reference to positive or negative values" (van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999: 105). Below I discuss the frequent occurrences of abstract nominalization as forms of "submerged and oblique references to moral values" (Habermas, 1976: 22 cited in van Leeuwen, 2000: 69), through which interdiscursivity works, by embedding discourses of moral values into representations of 'democracy', 'freedom', 'social justice' and so forth.

Out of the 40 articles under analysis, only 18 make use of first person singular pronouns and, even then, in most instances, the author is singularizing his or her

memories and experiences as something unique: “I for one thank even this modest democracy and relive everything with pleasure”. (4) **Collective and individual remembering** is thus either signaled as something unique and personal or as a collective activity in which everyone should engage but from very specific perspectives. This issue is further addressed below. The remaining two macro-topics focus on comparisons. They evaluate the (5) **country’s progress** relying on ‘life as a journey’, ‘rebirth’ and ‘time as space’ metaphors in which the general mapping A NATION STATE IS A PERSON is evident⁶³; and lastly, they compare (6) **Portugal’s ‘progress’ to other western European countries**. In order to sustain arguments and claims, various topoi are employed – topos of history; topos of freedom; topos of democracy; topos of progress⁶⁴ - with a marked preference for the topos of numbers (e.g. “52% of the Portuguese think”) as five articles quote several polls and statistics for argumentation purposes. To evaluate the revolution’s success, the articles rely on comparing temporally - the past with the present; and geographically - Portugal with other western-European countries.

6.4.4 “You can erase the R but not History”: the concept of revolution

Since 1974, the concept of ‘revolution’ within the political, institutional and official discourses has carried a multiplicity of meanings ranging through the end of dictatorship, the reinstatement of democracy, a free economy, the end of political and territorial isolation. Above all it has been permanently associated with the abstract and diffuse concept of freedom as opposed to the ‘lack of freedom’ before the 25th April revolution. The noun ‘freedom’ [liberdade]⁶⁵ has been placed in a wide range of social, political and discursive contexts. One can claim that most Portuguese people have become familiar with the historical discourse on the 25th of April revolution and have assimilated one or more (often contradictory) representations of freedom. And ever since then, the Portuguese people have, in general, been reproducing and representing the past, the present and the future accordingly. The

⁶³ See Musolff (2006) for an analysis of source domains in metaphorical mappings in public discourse.

⁶⁴ These topoi are mostly context-dependent, which means they are ‘characteristic for the particular context of the textual material analysed’ (Oberhuber et al. 2005: 234).

⁶⁵ *Liberdade* can be translated as *freedom* or as *liberty*. I use both terms interchangeably.

following excerpt taken from the data exemplifies how primary school children are usually drilled in the idea of liberty: “In today’s schools, children recite - when they’re lucky enough to get teachers who teach this, if nothing else - that the 25th April of 1974 represented the establishment of liberty” [169].⁶⁶

Under the consensually-accepted umbrella concepts of ‘freedom’ and ‘democracy’ there are different re-readings of the past. For those who agree with the government’s new slogan, the revolution can be considered to have been a success as it enacted the necessary evolution that allowed the country to be included in Europe’s league of advanced countries. For those who believe in ‘commemorating the revolution’, the revolution was indeed successful although at various levels and in different shades. As mentioned earlier, and quoting from Wodak and de Cillia (2007: 339) “there is not one single past, nor one unique narrative, quite the contrary, many narratives which are informed by different interests are in conflict with each other for hegemonic status”. In the present accounts of the revolution and the subsequent years, we notice both a collective heritage of the past, of which different bits are selected as ‘the authentic’ past and the “anticipation of a particular future that is full of wishes, and fears, plans and visions” (ibid.: 343). Thus, the data present the polarity between “experiential space” and “horizon of expectation” proposed by Koselleck (cited in Wodak and de Cillia, 2007: 343). Thematically this polarity is visible in most of the articles, as the following extract illustrates:

(3)

In the collective imagination of the Portuguese people, **the 1974 Revolution was the catalyst for the evolution of the Portuguese society in the last 30 years.** [...] the majority of the Portuguese who consider that society changed significantly since the 25 April (70%), consider not only that these changes were more positive than negative but also that they only happened because of the Revolution. **Do these perceptions match the socio-economic reality of the last 30 years?** [...] **the economic and social revolution is very questionable.** [150, capitals in the original, bold highlighting added]

Another major subtopic relating to the topic of remembering concerns who remembers/will remember the events, this being one of the major implications of

⁶⁶ Each text was ascribed a number. The number identifies the article in the List of Articles, Appendix A.

the overall debate. Younger generations are portrayed as either valuing the revolution, “the younger they are, the prouder they are [of the revolution]” or not caring at all “the majority of young people do not know what the 25th April was”. A third view insists on educating the young about the value of political institutions, along with teaching about the value of the revolution: “As much as talking about the Revolution, we should talk to the young about the Constitution”, reinforcing the established political status quo.

6.5 The discursive construction of national identity: strategies and linguistic realizations

The extract below illustrates how the historical event was discursively constructed, in 2004, through five discourse topics on which most texts anchor their evaluations of the 30 years after the revolution: the end of empire, democracy, the European Union, social change and national (dis)unity. This extract also exemplifies the prominence given to social actors such as empire, democracy, the European Union and social change, with suppression of the human element as the effective actor responsible for those social actions.

(4)

The end of the empire, the consolidation of democracy, the EU membership and the social change of the last 30 years erased many of the conflicts that presided over the singularity of the Portuguese transition into democracy. [152]

A collective history calls for unity. People must feel united in order to accept and relate favourably to a specific construction of national history. The extract constructs unity by positive representation of the social actors – abstract and depersonalized entities – responsible for ‘erasing conflict’. Such genericisation, impersonalisation and abstraction are highly frequent in the data, through nominalization, agent deletion and passivisation, and are addressed below.

(1) The discursive construction of a 'Portuguese way' of being (national mentality, national behavioral dispositions/habits/attitudes)	
(2) The discursive construction of a collective political history	
(3) The discursive construction of a common political past, present, future	collective past, collective present and a collective future
(4) The discursive construction of the nation in Europe and the world	
(5) The discursive construction of historical uniqueness	
(6) The discursive construction of a 'national body' / The discursive construction of a 'common culture'	

Table 6.5 Major semantic macro-areas related to national identity construction

Drawing on Wodak et al.'s (1999; 2009) and de Cillia et al.'s (1999) frameworks, and taking into consideration the context of commemorations and collective remembering I selected, amongst the major thematic areas proposed by these authors, the corpus did not seem to provide explicit instances of the discursive construction of a 'national body' (only a few references to historic national borders) – however, prepositional clauses indicate the frequent construction of 'Portugal' and 'country' as a location or (mental) place – or 'of a common culture'. However, this last theme is embedded in the intertextual references to literary authors and historians as well as in the implicit quotes from the national literary canon, such as 'April was accomplished' [Abril foi cumprido].⁶⁷ The following section presents textual evidence of national identity construction along the semantic macro-structures listed above in Table 6.5.

6.5.1 "Portuguese society has changed a lot": the discursive construction of a 'Portuguese way' of being

The 'Portuguese way' of being and the 'Portuguese mentality' are prominent in the data. The discourse about the 'national way' is linked to various factors: the

⁶⁷ This phrase indicates explicit intertextuality with the words 'Falta cumprir-se Portugal' [We lack accomplishing Portugal] by the Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa (1934) *Mensagem*, in a direct reference to the previous Portuguese maritime empire which broke apart but indicating that Portugal was destined to have a great future. By the phrase 'April was accomplished', the authors are signalling that the revolution allowed Portugal to finally 'accomplish' its 'pre-destined fate'.

situational context (commemorative event and perceived economic and social problems); the political implications of the event being evaluated; the ideological positioning of the author in relation to the historic event and the Portuguese' conceptualization of democracy and freedom. The following extracts reveal conflicting views on the Portuguese' dispositions towards 'democracy' and, from those, we may infer the representation of general national attitudes and behaviour towards the aforementioned factors:

(5)

Curiously, at the same time, one despises discourses sustained on debate, on the ability to listen, learn, answer,... the more attention and reverence one shows to those who conduct monologues. [146]

(6)

It is clear that the Portuguese will not trade a parliamentary democracy for a 'strong leader', that [they] prefer 'specialists' to 'politicians', and think everyone should run for the elections even if they are running against democracy and that one should not impede freedom of speech even to those who proclaim fascism. [151]

On the one hand, the Portuguese people are represented as despising debates and admiring "those who conduct monologues", on the other they are represented as being critical enough to evaluate the enactment of political democracy; and finally they are said to prefer parliamentary democracy and to fully grasp the concept by not "impeding freedom of speech even to those who proclaim fascism". What becomes obvious from these extracts, selected from a number of similar examples, are the conflicting representations of the national group. In my view, these conflicting perspectives and representations are mainly interdiscursive strategies from political discourse (based on topoi and claims). The broader sociopolitical context is markedly framing these discourses; the news texts become the ideal arena to reframe the political-social practices of political groups.

6.5.2 “The 25th April is the most important event in the history of Portugal”: the discursive construction of a collective political history

The construction of a collective political history is mostly based on the moment in time – 25th April 1974 -, built in different ways according to the factors listed in the section above. The following main topics were identified: the myth of genesis and origin, and discursive evaluation of the years 1974-76 until the new constitution was approved. Many of the texts construe the event as *the* crucial collective and national accomplishment of the twentieth century, as a reaction to the ‘April is evolution’ official stance. The event is mostly portrayed as the great or foundational moment of change, of rebirth, and attached to strong emotional feelings, such as national pride or intense happiness. This ‘consensual’ discourse on the revolution as the modern foundational moment is constantly reframed by distinct argumentative strategies and linguistic realizations. Below are some extracts illustrating different strategies. Whereas in extract 7 (below) predication dichotomies are chosen to convey the idea of the magnitude of the event, and modality conveys authority, extract 8 relies on the topos of numbers and authority stemming from the opinion poll; unity is emphasized by reference to age groups and political affiliation or preferences. Thus, the construction of national identity based on the foundational moment assumes two main forms: it may be based on the temporal/historical contrast of backward country vs. modern nation; or it may be based on the presentation of what is perceived as social practices and attitudes, and the ‘voice’ of the people ‘authorizes’ the perspective presented.

(7)

There it is as the big and unmistakable presence of our contemporary times: big scare, big phantom, big hope, big experiment, depending on the outlook, certainly great, even if belated, moment of change of our country into modernity. [142]

(8)

The majority of the Portuguese people think the 25th April is the most important event in the history of Portugal [...] According to an opinion poll, this vision of the revolution as the most important historical event cuts across all age groups and voters of all political parties. [151]

6.5.3 “[The revolution is] a heritage that forces us to look into the future”: the discursive construction of a common political present and future

As a time construct, 25th April 1974 is construed as a participant and a marked theme, engaging in a symbolic role that goes well beyond the date: it signifies the material day, 30 years ago, to which the nation’s progress over 30 years is compared against and evaluated, as in the following example: “We’ve had, day after day, illustrations of how life was bad 30 years ago and how things have run successfully” [157], the time mediating over the before and now is evaluated. It is a bench-mark against which ‘today’ is compared with ‘yesterday = 25th April 1974’, as the following examples illustrate: “30 years after 25th April, and in spite of all the progress in so many areas, Portugal is in an extremely difficult situation and possibly as blocked as it was a few decades ago” [171], or “underneath this surface of modernity, the illiterate, poor and rural country changed into the European champion of illiteracy, debt, low productivity and suburbia” [179].

It is also marked as a moment in the past which, for those who experienced the moments live, became the ‘zero’ hour from which the future could begin, as the following extract illustrates: “April was that: the generalized social conviction of the weaker that it was possible, at that moment, with the help of the military, to change the world with their hands” [142].

Out of the 40 texts, only text [159] presents repetitive instances of a direct discursive construction of the future. This text projects directly into the future, using a comparative past-present-future continuum:

(9)

Today, like then, the large majority of the Portuguese people have no idea what to do with the Nation. [We] don’t have mid-term objectives. [We] don’t know where [we] are heading and naturally how [we] are heading. [We] don’t know what [we] will be doing in 10, 20 or 30 years. [159]

The future is construed in a definite time frame, as in the former example, or as a vague notion, also in the same text: [159] “We all lack – citizens, businesses, political parties, unions, and therefore the nation – ideas of development. Ideas of

future. We lack ideas of Portugal". The other instances of future construction are coupled with negative judgment of what it will entail, will provide etc., as in the following example from the tabloid newspaper:

(10)

And if we get used to the mediocre rhythms of the last few years, in the future [we] may even lose some of the comfort and quality of life gained in the meantime. [179]

6.5.4 "Essentially, the 25th April meant Europe": the discursive construction of the nation in Europe and the world

'Europe', 'European Union' or EEC (European Economic Community) are not keywords in the corpus. Nonetheless, a strong uniform vision of *EUrope* (also referred to as the EEC, at the time Portugal became a member in 1986) stands out in the three newspapers. The meaning of Europe, however, is abstract and vague, often presented as an ideal of progress and democracy ("where the standards of citizenship and human development head our civilization" [173]) to be emulated with no relation to its concrete member-states. *EUrope* represents everything Portugal aimed for in 1974, hence a crucial 'historical turn', a foundational moment equivalent to other national mythical events: "The restoration of independence in 1640 is regarded as the 2nd most important event followed by becoming a EEC member" [151] and "25th April meant Europe, therefore democracy"[153]. However, the human agent(s) responsible for this turn of events are usually omitted: "The Revolution of April 1974 and becoming a EEC member in 1986 marked a historic turning point for Portugal" [159].

Furthermore, Europe symbolizes the world in strategic political terms, in economic terms and as a rather abstract idea of modernity. All of these characteristics are conveyed by positive evaluation. The dichotomy of Europe-vision vs. Europe-reality, discussed in Oberhuber et al.'s (2005) study on representations of Europe in the newspaper coverage in several European countries, is therefore absent. The topos of comparison reporting to the past is used to contrast backward and closed-in 1974 Portugal (*poor, rural, isolated*) with advanced and open-bordered

EUrope (*economic and social evolution, the opening of borders*). The only exception to the highly valued representation of Europe is an article from the more conservative tabloid where EU is represented as a threat to national economy and agriculture: “The opening of borders [due to EU membership] destroyed great part of the Portuguese agriculture and many factories in the traditional sectors” [179].

Interestingly, the texts do not reveal a discursive in-group belonging to Europe in terms of constructive or transformative strategies. There are hardly any instances of the first person plural, indicating ‘we Europeans’ or ‘we Europe’. Thus, in the particular context of national commemorations, and even though becoming an EU member is represented as such a crucial landmark that some texts even counsel the Portuguese population to “celebrate [it] with more euphoria”, there seems to be a clear dividing line between ‘us the Portuguese’ and ‘them in Europe’, as the European goals of welfare, justice (i.e. lack of corruption) and democracy are perceived as not yet having been achieved.

6.5.5 “The Revolution was unique”: the discursive construction of historical uniqueness

One important aspect in the discourses on the 25th April Revolution is the concept of ‘uniqueness’. The predication of the revolution as *unique, singular, extraordinary* and *sui-generis* is a linguistic means of reinforcing the collective identity imaginary, uniting the people as a nation. These attributes are explained: “because it was not violent, but above all, because the majority of those who carried it out did not want the power to themselves. They wanted to return it to society, to the people” [172]. In this case, the social actor ‘they’ is neither nominated nor nominalized. In a different newspaper article, the revolution’s singularity is represented as a key foundational moment in contemporary *world* history: “the first of a group of political facts that indicated the beginning of a new era of change in the world” [170]. National singularity is thus foregrounded against the abstract category of ‘world’. Nonetheless, it is the revolution as a social actor, and not the ‘Portuguese people’, that is thus predicated as possessing a ‘unique’ special mentality that would allow it to achieve such an outcome. In fact, the noticeable backgrounding of collective

human agency in terms of discursive strategies and linguistic realizations (e.g. national population or specific groups) in the 'Revolution' narratives is one of the major issues in the data, as already pointed out.

6.6 Authorial voice(s) and national deixis: the discourse of sameness

As stated above, my data consist of signed opinion articles. Hence, how an author's voice positions itself in the utterance or text is indicative of foregrounding meanings and, above all, is indicative of inclusive and exclusive strategies, when the 'voice' associates itself to either a 'we' or to 'the Portuguese'. Chilton (2004: 56) points out that "in political discourse the first person plural (we, us, our) can be used to induce interpreters to conceptualise group identity".⁶⁸

The texts were, therefore, scanned for the use of 'we', 'I' and also for the use of 'they' including the corresponding possessive pronouns and respective verb inflexion.⁶⁹ All these pronouns have different referents according to the respective 'authorial voice', context and co-text. As the theme is the same in every text, I expected a frequent all-inclusive 'we' comprising 'all Portuguese people', including the author's voice. Contrary to what I had expected, national in-group constructions were quite infrequent. In fact, we find abundant use of the third person 'the Portuguese' with the added difficulty of impersonal passive construction of the

⁶⁸ Besides the "social dimension" included in the deictic forms of pronouns, Chilton's model includes spatial indexicals related to political or geopolitical space and temporal deixis (e.g. nowadays, today, now), which were not explored here extensively as the data were not mainly political.

⁶⁹ Portuguese is a null subject language, i.e., a language whose grammar permits and sometimes mandates the omission of an explicit subject. The grammatical subject is usually indicated by inflection of the verb. Another trait linked to the elision of explicit subject is how the Portuguese Reference system works. Barabara and Gouveia (2004: 160), who have studied the Portuguese reference system and compared it with the English one, state the following: "The framework that presupposes the presence of a pro-form that activates the reference, has proved adequate for English, and for many other SVO languages, but not for all of them, as is the case of Portuguese." They further state: "In Portuguese the absence of a pro-form that might correspond to Subject or Complement is also a cohesive phenomenon at the level of Reference" [capitals in original]. Although the authors are drawing on Halliday and Hasan's (1976) systemic framework and focusing on the system of cohesion activated by the textual metafunction, they are concerned with Reference as a "semantic relation".

Portuguese language or subject elision such as: *fez-se a revolução* [one made the revolution or the revolution was made].

We = Speaker inclusive/ addressee (reader) inclusive	These various uses of personal deictic forms draw from the Wodak et al. (1999) matrix and indicate various in-group and out-group constructions. One of the most noticeable patterns is the opposition we = subnational groups and they = subnational groups, or we = subnational groups and they = specific groups
We = subnational groups (speaker inclusive/ specific group inclusive/ addressee exclusive)	
We = Europeans	
We = I + You = Portugal; the Portuguese people	
We = I + you+ they	
They = Specific groups	
They= the Portuguese	
They = subnational groups	
I = speaker's voice	Although 18 texts use the first person singular, only 6 produce a personal (partial) account/ narrative. In all other instances, the 'I' is used as a rhetorical device to reinforce their argument, for instance: 'That is why I never enjoyed commemorations'
Impersonal passive construction	There is abundant use of this construction, signalling the discursive construction of distance between authorial voice and events/ actions being described and contamination of political rhetoric (genre) in the texts.

Table 6.6 The use of personal deictic-forms: first person singular and plural pronouns and the third person plural

This sentence structure, which is neither passive voice e.g. *the revolution was made* [a revolução foi feita] nor active voice e.g. *we made the revolution* [Nós fizemos a revolução], brings out complex problems relating to backgrounding and foregrounding agency.⁷⁰ Mainly used to delete or omit agency both grammatically and semantically, this structure supplies the authorial voice with a useful tool for backgrounding or omitting his or her own perspective, allowing him or her to keep a distance from the proposition or statement.

Thus, the following two types of sentence structure (including type of pronoun usage) are more common in the corpus when the referent is 'the Portuguese': the

⁷⁰ Portuguese has an impersonal passive construction, with the agent replaced by an indefinite pronoun. The agent is replaced by the pronoun 'se': '*Fez-se o 25 de Abril*' which translates as '*The 25th of April was made*' or '*One made the 25th April*', but literally it would translate as '*It is made the 25th April*'. Usually this structure is used when the identity of the agent is not considered to be relevant.

constant shifting between 'they' and 'we' (extract 11); and sentences with an impersonal passive construction and 'we' as in the example (extract 12):

(11)

30 years after the 25 April, there remain no doubts: the Portuguese value very positively the revolution, and think [the revolution] is responsible for the positive changes that occurred, **[they]** want to live in a democracy and are demanding in terms of the quality of that democracy. **[They]** are so demanding that **[they]** declare themselves to be unsatisfied with the democracy **[we]** have. [149; bold highlighting added]

(12)

It was precisely for 'this' that **25 April was made. 25 April was made** so that one can think, speak and love in liberty. To choose who represents **us**. And to send away who governs **us** badly. [157; bold highlighting added]

The high frequency of these constructions becomes a rhetorical strategy for distancing both the authorial voice and the 'we' group from the actions, activities and events being narrated. The more negatively events are assessed, the more frequent this structure becomes, in contrast with a more emotionally-driven text, where subject positioning is via the first person singular.

(13)

As one is facing popular dissatisfaction regarding a government whose actions aim at systematically dismantling everything that might recall April, one would expect citizens, groups, associations and parties from the left to mobilize. [158]

(14)

[We] don't have mid-range objectives. [We] don't know where [we] are going and, naturally, how [we] are going. [159]

Other referents of 'we' include either particular subnational groups such as political parties or rather imprecise subnational groups such as 'we who fought for democracy', 'we who are happy' with the revolution and 'we who are unhappy with

the revolution'. In these instances, the pronoun 'we' appears juxtaposed with 'they' to create a marked division between in-group and out-group, and this can signal partially or totally addressee-inclusive, or partially or totally addressee exclusive. The corpus thus reveals a more frequent construction of various sub-national in-groups in latent conflict, rather than evidence of the discursive construction of 'we the Portuguese people'. Furthermore, even when the agent is 'the Portuguese people' or 'Portuguese society', it is more frequently conjugated in the third person: "*Portuguese society* has evolved a lot during the last decades".

6.7 Representing social action and (de)legitimation

Although I started this study aiming to explore the discursive construction of in-groups and out-groups, using referential and predicational strategies, I became increasingly convinced that how social action was represented was, if not more at least, as important as representation of social actors. In terms of social actor representation, the analysis of the 'we' group construction and respective referential strategies above has highlighted how these groups are framed and reframed.

However, the discursive construction of abstract nouns such as *democracy*, *liberty(-ies)*, *revolution*, *evolution* and *April* still needed to be accounted for within a socio-semantic frame, beyond their lexical-grammatical realization (van Leeuwen, 2008: 55). At this point, it is important to refer back to the CL approach, whose lexical keyword comparison pointed to these same words (see Table 6.4 above). The following extract reveals the critical relevance of analyzing the representation of social action:

(15)

On 25 April 1975, for the first time in Portugal, truly free and democratic elections took place. A Constitution was written and approved. In spite of the 1974-75 tensions, one reached a large consensus around fundamental priorities: [civic] rights, liberties and guarantees; political democracy; the **priority of social welfare** (democratization of access to a health system, social security, education and housing); **decentralization**, with the **consolidation** of regional autonomies and local democratic power; **policy** of peace and

opening up to Europe and to the world. Democracy was institutionalized/officialized.
[170; bold highlighting added]

Frequent nominalizations such as *democratization*, *decentralization*, *consolidation*, *policy*, and *opening* contribute to bureaucratization and deagentialization of action as well as the more ideological features of positioning “reified concepts as agents and maintaining unequal power relations” (Billig, 2008: 785). This deagentialization “represented as brought about in other ways, impervious to human agency” (van Leeuwen, 2008: 66) is emphasized by the use of impersonal passive constructions “truly free and democratic elections took place” and the impersonal style “one reached a large consensus”. Evidently, there is no semantic perpetrator of actions; but neither is there a recipient of these actions.

Deagentialization removes traces of the human doer. Furthermore, these abstractions are presented as (positive) moralised actions. I believe that it is possible to regard these abstractions as a form of construing of moral qualities, since “moralised actions are realized by means, not of generalizations, but abstractions” (van Leeuwen 2008: 70). Consequently, these discourses present teleological values of democracy, justice and liberty. These are consensual values (or *topoi*, in terms of argumentation) in every opinion text. How these values have been or are being accomplished and to what degree might be subject to debate; their inherent value, however, does not seem to be under debate. Deagentialization is associated with abstractions in order to legitimize actions (and not agents). Abstraction tends to include only the names of episodes such as “the end of dictatorship, the establishing of liberties and democracy” or whole social practices such as “the change of working relationships”.

As such, this particular corpus, when referring to the revolutionary days or to the either ‘positive’ (more abundant) or ‘negative’ changes (political, social, daily well-being, etc.) presents a very high frequency of deagentialization and ‘objectivated naturalizations’. These become overtly evident in the texts from the newspaper *Público*, where several articles base their argumentation on the opinion polls carried out during the month before the commemorations. Passivized sentence structures such as the ones discussed above also contribute to agential deletion of

backgrounding. Generalization and abstraction are not limited to references to the opinion polls; metonymies also play an important role as they enable “the speakers to conjure away responsible, involved or affected actors (whether victims or perpetrators) or to keep them in the semantic background” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 58). The nation’s recent history is, thus, presented as ‘natural’ and ‘generalized’ through verbs and nouns such as ‘to develop/development’, ‘to progress/progress’ and ‘increase’; by the toponym Portugal used as a metonymy or personification for ‘the Portuguese people’, and by use of the political actionalisation device (i.e. anthroponyms such as ‘voters’ referring to persons in terms of political activities), wherein the in-group generalization ‘the Portuguese people’ is associated with frequent passivization.

6.8 Intertextuality and interdiscursivity

As discussed in Chapter 4, the columnists of these articles present a “marked homogeneity” (Figueiras, 2008: 12). This homogeneity holds various important implications for the texts and their embedded discourses: first, they end up sharing repertoires many times, due to the (national and news) events they attend together; second, they exchange opinions and socialise, ending up building a joint interpretation of events, and therefore they end up reframing their discourses accordingly. Figueiras (ibid.) claims, and the data analysed for this research seem to prove her right, these journalists belong to the same community of practice and, by reading each other’s texts, and by sharing the same television and radio talk shows, the interdiscursive and intertextual dimensions appear to be more prominent within this community. Returning to the Manifesto’s slogan, ‘April is Evolution’, each social and political group re-appropriated and reread the new slogan diversely, either by positive or negative argumentation and modality. The dialogical nature of this particular discourse is such that the opinion makers and the target audience express, re-read and re-represent the discourse on evolution (and on revolution) in a permanent reciprocal and dynamic fashion; in other words there is an inherent

intertextuality to these texts. They are not only persuading their audience, but also responding and persuading each other, re-writing and reframing each other's arguments, sometimes overtly, at other times implicitly. The government's new slogan lies in the background of most of the texts. The intertextual and interdiscursive nature of slogans, arguments, and other rhetorical features, as far the discourse on 25th April is concerned, is clear and permanently in the making. Articles' headings such as "Where did the «R» go?", "The «r» of freedom" or "Do revolutions have to fail?" represent these dynamics. Thus, and taking a broad view of intertextuality, following in the footsteps of Fairclough (2003: 39ff.) and Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 90), besides direct quotation of other texts, the focus is on incorporating elements of other texts (and discourses) in less obvious ways. Many of the texts quote each other's previous opinion articles, thus apparently opening up "difference by bringing other 'voices' into the text" (Fairclough, 2003:41). However, and due to their genre of 'opinion articles', this 'difference' is sometimes presented in two moves. Firstly, it is presented as a 'dialogicality' of similitude. The author claims to agree with the 'voice' s/he is quoting. Then, the author reframes the quote in order to serve his or her own, usually opposing, argument, as illustrated in the following extracts. Extract 16 was written by M. Alegre and published on 24 April; the author clearly states that what happened in 1974 was a 'pioneer revolution'. In extract 17, and using the first author's own words, the argument is reframed:

(16)

The government's billboards are ridiculous and pathetic. One cannot do, 30 years later, what one did not do before. One can erase the R but not History. [...] It was a Pioneer Revolution. [170]

(17)

«Incomplete revolution?», asked Manuel Alegre in this newspaper, in relation to 25 April, last week. And he answered: «In a way, good. Revolutions which are too complete usually degenerate and end up as bureaucratic dictatorships». I subscribe the sentence. [...] Something similar can be said about 25 April in Portugal. The democratic project triumphed because the revolutionary project failed. Or, to use Manuel Alegre's phrasing, because the revolution was incomplete. Or still, to link Manuel Alegre with the broader version of the Government's manifesto, it is because the revolution was incomplete that 'April is evolution'. [175]

Thus, and drawing on van Leeuwen's action legitimation theory, one could say that intertextual strategies are used as a form of legitimating claims through authority. As for interdiscursivity, the analysis above shows how these texts are contaminated, not only in terms of semantic content or phrases, such as "the opening up to the world", but in terms of discursive and linguistic strategies, such as the very frequent use of passivization, nominalization, few action verbs collocating with the national in-group 'the Portuguese', few first-person plural pronouns building the national in-group. The discursive topoi analysed above also illustrate how interdiscursivity is embedded in these texts, namely political-partisan and economic-discourse topoi, as well as moral abstraction legitimation, based on economic values to legitimate the post-revolution and contemporary political decisions.

6.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined issues surrounding national commemorations and collective memory and the inherent conflict in the discourse strategies aiming to represent and recontextualize the 25th April events and how these impact on Portuguese society in 2004. My approach has avoided treating identity as "a stable and cohesive 'property' that characterises a given group at a given point in time" in order to consider "inconsistencies, tensions and re-elaboration" of national identities within a community (Triandafyllidou and Wodak 2003: 208), although it is also true, as Triandafyllidou and Wodak (2003: 208) rightly argue, this type of approach becomes troublesome to the scholar as s/he is faced with a wide range of social and cultural forms that co-exist 'uncomfortably' with existing definitions of social identity.

In these hegemonic narrative(s) of the 25th April 1974 event, it is possible to establish a few parallels with the discursive and linguistic features examined by Wodak and de Cillia (2007) in their analysis of the "Rebirth of the Second Austrian

Republic”.⁷¹ The texts analysed present the political event as a ‘rebirth’, providing an initial metaphorical scenario in which Portugal is anthropomorphically represented as a new-born innocent child. The revolution is constituted as an event that opened the way to the values and goals that the nation aspires to or should aspire to. As Tiegă (2008: 377) states in relation to the Romanian 1989 ‘revolution’ “The ‘revolution’ is said to be at the same time the *foundation*, but also part and parcel of the political *project* of the nation”. The revolution’s validation is ambiguous because as the commentators belong to the political/institutional establishment, to validate the revolution *per se* could indicate the validation of future ‘revolutions’. Hence, they are particularly careful in framing the revolution in the past tense, as a period contained in time, followed by the regular function of institutions. Even the few references to the ‘unfinished revolution’ are carefully reframed and thoroughly explained through internal intertextual references to political scholars, or to other media texts, what has been described by Fairclough (1995: 76) as intertextuality in the form of textual chains typical of news texts.

The textual content from the three newspapers presents very similar characteristics. The in-group and out-group discursive strategies point to several sub-national references. Conversely, construction of the foreign ‘other’ is practically non-existent (the exceptions being two references to Eastern European countries joining the EU, thus constructed as a threat to Portugal’s unschooled population). ‘Othering’ is targeted at political parties, economic and social groups, etc who are selected as targets for negative valuation. Ultimately, the texts’ concerns are not with the Portuguese people, but with abstractions such as ‘economic and ‘social progress’. Drawing from Billig’s (2008) critique of nominalization and passivization, unequal power is thus established wherein the commentators refuse to attribute agency, and therefore responsibility to the national ‘we group’ in the events narrated.

One fundamental question remains to be answered: Is Portugal’s historical and cultural uniqueness, or what de Cillia et al. (1999: 161) have termed the “presupposing of intra-national sameness or similarity”, being foregrounded in these

⁷¹ Evidently, the comparison is limited to the discursive strategies and linguistic features. The enormous differences in the immediate historical contexts in which the texts were produced, background history and human suffering in Austria do not allow for any further comparisons.

articles? We can claim that the revolution is being foregrounded as unique. The discursive construction of national identity, and bearing in mind the various strategies analysed above, namely referential and predication strategies to talk about 'Portugal', 'the country', 'the Portuguese (society or people)', is ascribed top-down, objectifying, dehumanizing and through deagentialization of them. Furthermore, most arguments and claims to validate 'Portugal's unity' or 'Portugal's present situation' are 'authorized' by 'contamination' of scientific and economic discourses along with teleological valuation. It is thus possible to reach conclusions in regards to discursive strategies (transformative strategies) and linguistic patterns (such as nominalization, referential and predication strategies, topoi and passivization), but it is rather more complex to pinpoint the hegemonic narratives.

A hegemonic narrative is one that flags evolution, progress, democracy, liberty and social justice within the context of what I chose to call a state of transitional national identity that is represented as being aligned with (Western) European ideals. The right-wing government's programme kickstarts the debate by using dismantling and transformative strategies and various topoi and fallacies directed at transforming the revolution into 'evolution'. The texts are clearly very ambivalent with regard to the government's re-reading of the past, but they also engage in nominalizing the abstract teleological values aforementioned and reinforcing the (positive) topoi of (economic) progress and evolution. As such, I conclude that the discursive re-framing of these (European) values within the commemoration event is a means of building unity and cohesion, and of explaining the country's journeying – metaphor of time as space - over the last thirty years. Thus these linguistic structures pre-empt the democratic debate over what Portugal and/or the Portuguese might want to become or might have been as what 'we' want is decided for 'us'.⁷² Finally, the data overtly omit reference of the socio-historical context prior to the revolution such as political arrests, torture, censorship, women's civic rights, racial discrimination in Africa, civic and social rights. Whereas semantically many texts emphasize the need to pass on information to the younger generation, in fact this passing on is not accomplished. As I stated above, the overlapping of fields of action

⁷² Wodak (2009: 30) suggests identical phenomena in relation to EU politics.

in the corpus (e.g. political and opinion discourses), together with the many intertextual chains and data size blur distinctions and confuse the communication and pragmatic intention of these texts as well as the reader's expectations.

7 Analysis of the football corpus

7.1 Introduction

“Non hablo con españoles”.⁷³ It is 21 June 2004, the European Football Championship is in full swing. The Portuguese team is about to play against the Spanish team. The Portuguese daily tabloid *Correio da Manhã* (CM) chooses to quote, in an article headline, the Portuguese team’s coach, who is, notably, a Brazilian national, saying: “I don’t speak to Spaniards”. A few days later, the same newspaper asks: “Would Manuel Barroso’s visibility be the same if the Euro hadn’t been hosted by Portugal?” [104].⁷⁴ The European Council had just appointed the Portuguese PM, José Manuel Barroso, President-designate of the European Commission. Consequently, the Portuguese PM announced publicly his immediate resignation from the Portuguese government. The multiple ambivalences within these two quotes illustrate how the football championship provided ample grounds for the reproduction of nationalist discourses based on the dynamic and mutable discursive constructions of in-group and out-group belonging.

Billig (1995) has argued that national identity is so deeply institutionalized in the rhetoric of politicians, editorials and organization of newspapers that we are scarcely aware of it all, meaning that the mass media routinely reproduce a world composed of sovereign nations turned ‘banal’ from reiteration of the flagging up of nationhood. The corpus collected for this study proves Billig’s argument, by demonstrating how

⁷³ Original phrase in Spanish. All quotes from the corpus have been translated from the original Portuguese, unless otherwise indicated.

⁷⁴ Each text was ascribed a number. Each extract is followed by a number that identifies the corresponding newspaper article in the List of Articles, Appendix A.

pervasive nationalist discourses (and other semiotic practices, such as public flag displaying, face and car painting) became during the event. Billig (1995: 8) also argues that “[the] citizenry are daily reminded of their national place in a world of nations”, but this reminding is barely noticeable to those who participate in the consumption and reproduction of those practices. In fact, and aligning with Tzanelli (2006: 484), these semiotic practices are essential components of nationalist discourses and, in the case of the data selected, are clearly “mobilized by state agents” (ibid.). Therefore, “today the ‘banal’ can acquire a special place in official constructions of the national ‘self’” (ibid.).

The ways the media (re)invent national identity in international sports events have been amply noted (see for instance Billig, 1995; Crolley and Hand, 2006; King, 2006; Tzanelli, 2006). Research on Portuguese media coverage of the 1992 Olympics illustrates how the Portuguese media’s confidence was shaken by Portugal failing to win any medals (Blain et al., 1993); work on Euro 2004 (Boyle and Monteiro, 2005) has shown how newspaper representations of Portugal’s place in the world are at the centre of press coverage of the event.⁷⁵ Indeed, Crolley and Hand (2006: 2) point out that a snapshot of media sport coverage at any given day reveals social attitudes and values towards, for example, fair play, racism and religion. On the other hand, the way football games are metaphorically explored by newspapers, to contrast the country’s relationships, allegiances and conflicts within the European⁷⁶ political space, has also been described (Oberhuber et al., 2005: 249-59), proving the pervasiveness of both the football topic and its deployment for representing the political space (see also Boyle and Monteiro, 2005: 225). Euro 2004 exposed “official, consensual views of history” and become “interrelated with those non-official sites (for example the media) that transmit their views of history to the public, or bring to light the views of the public” (Wodak and de Cillia, 2007: 338).

In my view, the pervasiveness of flag branding during Euro 2004 denoted a new form of nationalism in Portugal, where people (from the left and right wings of the political spectrum) claimed their “national spirit or patriotic pride” [6]. Ten stadiums

⁷⁵ Besides these discursive topics, the ‘discourse of the tournament as an economy booster and promoter of tourism revenues’ was also a major theme (Boyle and Monteiro, 2005: 228).

⁷⁶ European indicates the idea/concept of Europe within the European Union.

were either built or transformed, demonstrating the state's heavy investment in the event. Over 7,000 journalists visited Portugal and the state was officially very keen to project a positive and modern image of the country.

In-group and out-group construction in football reporting underpins the representations of international tournaments as competitions between individual nations; performance is judged in terms of national characteristics. For instance, Portuguese press coverage depicted the Dutch as the "clockwork orange" that turned into a sour "mechanical lemon" after losing a match; the Greeks were deceitful by using a "Trojan ball"; and the Portugal-Spain match provided ample reason to recall every battlefield, war and national historical-mythical hero responsible for defeating the Castilians or Spaniards in the past. However, while down-playing individual teams - therefore stereotyping the nation's character traits - the press coverage reinforced the in-group belonging to the supranational abstract entity of Europe. In fact, Europe as a "vision or idea" (Oberhuber et al., 2005) would mean, in this particular context, unity, strength, efficiency and power. The European "spirit" arose during the event, and Portugal became its foremost guardian and conveyor. As Boyle and Monteiro (2005: 224) state, and as I have argued in Chapter 3, Euro 2004 "became an instrumental discourse for a nation which aspires to a post-Iberian, post-peripheral interpretation" also reinforcing a particular "fixation with Portugal's place in the world" (ibid.).

In the following, my prime objective is to conceptualise, identify and describe the various macro-strategies employed in the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity, bearing in mind such concepts as collective memory, social remembrance and how a sense of 'us', (the members of the national collective of the 'self') and 'them' (those who do not belong, the 'other'), is established.

The chapter begins by describing the corpus briefly. This is followed by a section presenting the initial corpus linguistics analysis of all the texts collected, from which keywords were the starting point. The next section of the chapter analyses in detail a sample of four texts from the three different newspapers, making salient how the identity narratives are very much embedded in 'official' and 'state narratives'; this is accomplished by way of highlighting their most salient topics or content themes, the style and register of the different articles, and how these impact on the texts'

function, and by applying the discourse-historical approach in order to identify referential, nomination and predication strategies and, lastly, the micro dimensions. The latter include how social actors, personal deixis and metaphor are used in the data. The final section is dedicated to a detailed examination of the articles' headlines, guided by the DHA matrix of semantic themes as applied to national identity discursive construction.

7.2 Describing the data

The corpus comprises 141 texts, published in three newspapers between 6 June and 10 July 2004, and made available on their Internet-accessible archives. Chapter 4, section 4.4, described in some detail the criteria for building the corpus. I decided on the starting point of June 6th as, the President of the Republic published an opinion article in the newspaper *Público* on the event on that day. The final match was played on 4 July and I considered that the data should include a few post-event articles in order to contrast the euphoric state building up to the event and that of its aftermath. I used the search words: 'football', 'euro' and 'championship' on several different occasions. Then, I cross-checked the initial collection by searching every regular opinion column and checking every article written by the regular commentators during the selected period.

European Football Championships 2004 corpus		Articles		Words	
	Newspaper	Number	% of corpus	Number	% of corpus
Broadsheet	<i>Expresso</i>	16	11	10,646	14.29
	<i>Público</i>	22	16	21,933	29.46
Tabloid	<i>Correio da Manhã (CM)</i>	103	73	41,871	56.24
	Total	141	100%	74,450	100%

Table 7.1 Number of words and articles in the Euro 2004 corpus

The tabloid *CM* was the most prolific with a total of 103, mostly short, articles (roughly 250-word articles), which amounted to an unbalanced 72% of the overall

corpus's articles. However, when we take word count into consideration, the percentage reduces to slightly over 50% (last column, table 7.1). The weekly *Expresso* published 16 articles and the daily *Público* produced 22 articles amounting, together, to 28% of the total corpus word count.

The data collected offer a daily 'report' on ongoing opinions on and emotions about what was happening in the football stadiums and also on reactions from 'all the Portuguese'. Regular commentators, whose jobs usually entail discussing current public events, wrote the majority of the opinion articles collected. However, in *CM*, a few were written by journalists specializing in football or by former football coaches and players turned commentators because of the event. I discussed, in Chapter 4, the specific nature of opinion articles, but here I would like to add that most of these writers are regular generic commentators, thus emphasizing the overall public importance of the event, and how the media explored it and contributed to its hyperbolization, when compared with other current national and international events.

Because these articles are not reporting factually but are rather conveying the 'opinions' of writers, these take either the form of national exaltation or (personal) narratives as representations for collective behaviour and as counsellors on attitudes and feelings that the collective nation ought to have or feel. Therefore, they presuppose intra-national sameness (de Cillia et al., 1999: 161). They recontextualize various phenomena such as the nation's history, national myths and symbols (the flag, Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas*,⁷⁷ the national anthem), and in each article the aim is to achieve the reader's feeling of communion with this collective sense of exhilaration.

⁷⁷ The most famous Portuguese classical poem written by Luís Vaz de Camões about Portuguese voyages of discovery, first published in 1572.

7.3 Analysis of articles

7.3.1 Searching for keywords

I explained, in detail, the rationale guiding the CL approach to corpora in Chapter 5. In order to follow the same methodological steps, as applied to the 25 April corpus (Chapter 6), the CL approach to the football corpus began with keyword analysis.

The total corpus on the Euro event amounts to approximately 74,000 words. Of these, some 32,000 consist of broadsheet opinion articles, while the tabloid articles amounted to over 41,000 words (see Table 7.1 above). As this was a relatively large body of data⁷⁸ to examine via manual analysis, a corpus-based comparison of the two sets of texts was performed, in order to determine the most significant differences between the two types of newspapers.

To assert the representativeness of the corpus, and as a useful first and preliminary analysis of the written corpus, I ran the data through a corpus-linguistics tool, WordSmith 3.0 (Scott, 1999). Thus, and basically following Stubbs's (1996), Baker's (2006) and Mautner's (2008; 2009) methods and guidelines, the data were submitted to analysis of word frequency i.e. the raw frequencies of lexical words, comparison between two corpora and keyness. These provided some empirical evidence as well as an overview of the overall representativeness of the corpus in relation to the macro-topic and the differences between the broadsheets and the tabloid. A quick view of the standardised type/token ratio (STTR) (Table 7, Appendix C) shows that all papers operate with roughly similar lexical variety (see also Table 8, Appendix C, for the top 35 most frequent lexical words per newspaper).

7.3.2 Tabloid vs. broadsheets

I started by making a keyword comparison between the tabloid and the broadsheets (*Correio da Manhã* vs. *Público* and *Expresso*). I used *Correio da Manhã* as a reference corpus for the two broadsheets and vice versa (for list of keywords, see Table 7.2

⁷⁸ Baker (2004) considers a 110,000-word corpus to be fairly large.

below). The keywords unsurprisingly illustrate the differences in the nature of the two sets of newspapers. I set the minimum keyword frequency at three and used both log-likelihood and chi-square keyword procedures to compare outputs, since I set the maximum p-value at the cut-off point of 0.001, as I had done for the 25 April sub-corpus. I worked with around 64 keywords, with a keyness higher than 10.9. I categorized the lexical items into three main categories: national identity, sport and other.

Newspaper	Category	Lexical words
	National identity	<Portugal> (33.4) <povo> (13.8)
Tabloid	Sport	<Figo> (39.9) <equipa> (38.4) <Scolari> (35.3) <Portugal> (33.4) <Rui> (33.4) <Deco> (32.2) <Holanda> (25.9) <Grécia> (22.5) <grupo> (20.9) <final> (20.7) <Inglaterra> (20.5) <Costa> (20.5) <selecção> (16.0) <onze> (15.9) <Pauleta> (15.6) <Ferreira> (15.6) <Queiroz> (15) <ganhou> (13.9) <Euro> (13.8) <Ricardo> (13.7) <Couto> (12.9) <Maniche> (12.9) <campeã> (12.7) <jogadores> (12.6) <Carvalho> (12.1) <finais> (12) <treinador> (11.7) <golos> (11)
	Other	<vai> (30.0) <fez> (18.4) <ontem> (16.8) <há> (14.8) <melhor> (12) <querem> (11.5) <certos> (11.5)
Broadsheet	National identity	<império> (23.1) <bandeiras> (22.5) <nacionalismo> (21.3) <comunidade> (13.2) <parvoíce> (13.2) <sociedade> (12) <século> (11.6)
	Sport	<futebol> (22.6) <desporto> (19) <corpos> (11.6) <ética> (11.6)
	Media	<páginas> (15.4); <televisão> (15.1) <jornalismo> (13.9) <tecnologia> (11.6)
	Other	<sexo> (13.2) <projecto> (11.6)

Table 7.2 Categories and lexical keywords, broadsheet vs. tabloid (keyness in brackets)

The *CM* keywords mostly relate to the names of Portuguese players and European countries, including <Portugal>, fourth on the list. The verb form <vai> ([he/she/it] goes/will go/will be) also came very high in the ranking.

As for the broadsheets, the keywords are less homogeneous: there are words such as <império> (empire), <bandeiras> (flags), <nacionalismo> (nationalism), <páginas> (pages), <televisão> (television), <jornalismo> (journalism), <comunidade> (community), <parvoíce> (stupidity), <sociedade> (society), <projecto> (project) <século> (century), <ética> (ethics), <corpos> (bodies), <tecnologia> (technology)

and <sexo> (sex), together with more obvious words such as <futebol> (football) or <desporto> (sport). Even without checking concordance lines or collocates, the keywords seem to indicate how the broadsheet opinion articles used the event to broaden the discussion beyond the football matches, whereby the national identity narrative(s) – through the frequent use of <império>, <bandeiras>, <comunidade> and <sociedade> – were activated. Interestingly, the keywords also indicate some kind of self-reflectivity, on the job of ‘being a journalist’, as the keywords relating to this thematic field are also salient. Other noticeable words are: <journalism> and <pages> which are eschewed by a single article on the journalists’ role during the Euro event; <bodies> which is a reference to the players’ bodies; <society> which collocates with <Portuguese> and <mediated>; and <stupidity> which is linked to collective self-esteem, emotions and tears.

The comparison of sub-corpora against each other – broadsheet vs. tabloid – revealed a clear relation between the articles’ topics and their keywords.

7.4 Small-scale sample analysis

Qualitative studies, such as the present one, involve the weighing of theoretical aims with practical constraints. It would be impossible to analyse every single text. Therefore, there was a need to ‘sample’ units of analysis (Jensen, 2002: 238) and, for the case in point, I decided for a *convenience small-scale sampling*, e.g. four texts (see Table 7.3 below) were selected to undergo a detailed analysis. This decision “allows testing categories and first assumptions as well as the further specification of assumptions” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 96). After reading the whole corpus, the texts were selected as being the most representative (i) for each of the three newspapers and (ii) of the various discursive constructions of national identity, including several discourse strategies and devices discussed below.

Even though the four articles have as common ground the discursive construction of national identity, the selection was also determined by the articles’ specific traits, relating to their tabloid or broadsheet source. Since the *CM* articles

were quite short, two articles were selected to achieve balance in terms of word count. Whereas the article from *Público* was sampled due to its manifest discursive strategies typical of this type of national event, the article from *Expresso* was chosen because it represents one of the rare critiques of the event, conveyed in an original style as we will see below. I do not claim that the latter is representative of the texts published in the newspaper, but rather that it illustrates one of the unique manifestations of counter-discourse in the data collected for analysis.

Newspaper	Headline	Date	No. words
Tabloid			
<i>Correio da Manhã</i> (daily)	Audácia e coração [Audacity and Heart] [127]	3.7.2004	230
<i>Correio da Manhã</i> (daily)	Espreitar a glória [Peeping at glory] [136]	5.7.2004	261
Broadsheet			
<i>Expresso</i> (weekly)	O espírito do futebol [The spirit of football] [32]	26.6.2004	1066
<i>Público</i> (daily)	[A noite dos gatos [The night of the cats] [13]	22.6.2004	732

Table 7.3 Articles for pilot analysis

7.4.1 Major thematic areas

Macro-topic is the “most salient feature of the definition of a discourse [...] Each macro-topic allows for many sub-topics” (Wodak, 2001: 66). Van Dijk introduced the concept of semantic macrostructures as a way of conveying meaning and reference to a text (1985: 69). Hence, discourse on national identity portrays macro-topics such as, for instance, “the idea of a collective destiny and life”, which in turn is expressed by sub-topics such as references to canonical national writers, or intertextuality with the national anthem. Van Dijk (1993: 272) has argued that topics at the macro-level represent events “as a function of underlying norms and values”, that is, they are always value-loaded in that they are constructed “within the framework of dominant ideologies”. This author proposes that news articles present a thematic structure (the overall organization of global topics) organized by schematic superstructures (the overall form of discourse). This is a useful analytical framework when dealing with news articles and news discourse. However, because my data consist of opinion

articles, and because these articles follow a very personalized ‘schemata’, it does not seem possible to apply this framework directly to these texts.

As stated previously, the articles are not reporting factually but rather conveying the ‘opinions’ of writers. They recontextualize various phenomena relating to national history and collective myths. In *CM*, for example, the writers are generalizing and objectifying what the two countries (Portugal and Greece) and their peoples ought to feel towards victory and towards football, and what their collective memories ought to recall. In the other two articles, the recontextualizing strategies take the form of personal narratives and personal feelings toward the concrete daily actions during a sports event. Mundane and highly personalized events are decontextualized from their original context and recontextualized in the text (e.g. “one spends a couple of weeks in another country and when one arrives one doesn’t recognize the country one owns”), often gaining new meanings.

Social actors	Nomination	Predication
“Audacity and Heart” & “Peeping at glory”, <i>Correio da Manhã</i>		
Portugal	the country	feels the fascination for the green and red flag the happiness and delirium with football victories in Euro 2004, Portugal
the Portuguese	many the inhabitants of this corner of Europe notable people people of Portugal	find yet the strength of their egregious ancestors reveal a profound identification who seeded the future during more than 8 centuries good and fearless fought the sublime war have to be champions at everything
Greece	we [1 occurrence] Ancient Greece	will help the most ancient civilization in Europe founder of democracy and of free will, thoughts of mythical origins
the spirit	the energy, the will, the strength the emotion, the hope and passion	of war (but it was only football) the magical effect of a football victory
“The spirit of football”, <i>Expresso</i>		
I		spends a couple of weeks abroad and when one arrives one is unable to recognize the country one has was ignorant about what had happened in Portugal was stupid am a writer started to fit in I, who adore the English and think of London as my home, ended up responding with refined sentences such as <i>fuck the beefs!</i>

Social actors	Nomination	Predication
“The spirit of football”, <i>Expresso</i> (cont.)		
they	the boys of the national team the Portuguese Football players nationalists Figo [famous Portuguese player]	In the heart of each Portuguese a flag is born used to be ashamed of the flag the national destiny Unrestrained
Portugal	my country the fatherland the country Lisbon Portugal European country	nothing happens had changed and plenty was going on was euphoric looked like a cosmopolitan city is a country of anxious and euphoric football players and nationalists finally looked like a European country
the flag	little flags	People used to be ashamed of the flag Portuguese, coloured and unashamed, flapped in the wind
the intellectuals		were bored and preoccupied with this acute nationalism some acquaintances who hate football were perspiring with enthusiasm intellectuals I know sent phone messages saying things like <i>Somos los mejores</i> [<i>we are the best</i> ; original in Spanish]
we		love our country do love our country indeed, even when it loses there was shouting, tears for the country
“The night of the cats”, <i>Público</i>		
I		thank my country
Iberia	my country today	
I + the Portuguese	I am Portuguese men of honour we Portuguese students	I am speaking a heresy But it is not a heresy for men of honour will still have to buy in Zara [Spanish store] and go to Prado, will still go to Madrid to study Medicine and to Barcelona to study architecture
Spanish poets		[two long quotes]
they		those who have never played like this those who humiliate their opponents
The Portuguese and the Spaniards		the tears of joy and sadness from the Portuguese and the Spaniards
Europe		needs the little countries
the cat		the common cat killed the snake the cat became our hero
the Portuguese team	not gods, nor heroes, but just men trapped animals	won who transcended themselves to save their lives it was the victory of willpower coupled with despair it was the victory of trapped animals taught us a lesson for the future, for those who play in the factories and the fields, in offices and hospitals, in courts and government blew the Spanish team away into the open sea

Table 7.4 Nomination and predication in the sampled texts

With the aim of summarizing and simplifying the analysis conducted on the texts, and presented in this section, Table 7.4 (above) accounts for the various social actors (used in a broad sense), referential and predicational strategies found in the four articles sampled. The table lists how persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions are named and referred to linguistically, and the characteristics, qualities and features attributed to them.

It also shows the overall construction of ‘us’ and ‘them’ strategies, as well as the main discursive topics, and how these are predicated more or less emotionally, by listing the various instantiations of subject position and their various referents through pronoun usage, as discussed below.

“Audacity at heart” & “Peeping at glory” (*Correio da Manhã*)

In the two *CM* articles, written immediately before and after the final match in which the Portuguese team was defeated by Greece, the message is one of gathering and maintaining the collective national unity, through national symbols such as the flag, the anthem and references to the Portuguese classical poet Camões.

The moment before the game is predicated as “this *extraordinary* moment of Portuguese collective life”. The hegemonic narrative of national identity is stated and overstated:

(1)⁷⁹

It is interesting that when singing the **National Anthem** many discover still the strength of their **distinguished forefathers, noble people** that during more than eight centuries planted the future of Portugal. And it is fabulous that the bus driving the team bears the inscription Audacity and Heart which has **always distinguished the good and fearless people of Portugal**. The joy and delirium with the football victories of Portugal in Euro 2004 reveal the **profound identification** of the inhabitants of **this corner of Europe overlooking the immense ocean**⁸⁰ with its symbols and its history [capitals in original].

⁷⁹ All the bold highlighting in the extracts has been added.

⁸⁰ Tomás Ribeiro (1831-1901) in his poem «A Portugal» [To Portugal], published in *D. Jaime* (1862), begins the third stanza “Jardim da Europa à beira-mar plantado” [Garden of Europe planted on the sea shore]. Over the years, this sentence has been reconfigured and recontextualized in various contexts (e.g. poems, official political speeches); for instance, Caller 14 from the radio dataset refers to “um bocadinho de terra à beira mar plantado” [a little bit of land planted on the sea shore] (line 1116).

The phrases in bold represent overt interdiscursivity with the country's official historical discourses on national identity and nationalism which are repeatedly reconfigured and recontextualized. They also represent intertextuality with 'national' poems and lines from the national anthem.⁸¹ Thus, unity is created through the double process of not only the poets and national anthem being explicitly and positively nominalized, but their own text lines also being interwoven into the 'opinion' newspaper text. The style of these texts is very close to official/state genre, in which the authorial voice is completely backgrounded. In the *CM* articles, as Table 7.4 (above) illustrates, the writer is backgrounded, allowing for the foregrounding of the discursive symbolic and historical elements that convey national unity. The field of action, 'football', is fully backgrounded, only being mentioned twice. The event is not important, but the discursive construction and repetition of elements of national identity are. The assertive syntactic construction 'It is' constructs the argument through claims of emotion. The collective 'we' is not present, it is replaced by the social actor 'the Portuguese', who are however backgrounded against the branding of collective symbols that the 'people of the nation' ought to recognize immediately. The 'country' and its symbolic representations, such as the anthem, the flag, and the poet, are indeed the social actors on this particular stage. The elision of the grammatical subject contributes to the foregrounding of the depersonalized narrative of the nation-state. In this text, the community of people is less important than the nation, re-constructed through symbols and, just as importantly, through nominalization of feelings as is visible in the ways the 'spirit' is predicated, see Table 7.4.

"The spirit of football" (*Expresso*)

The other two articles, however, utilize different discursive strategies at various levels with different functions. First, the authorial voice is present from the start in the form of the first person 'I' and the respective verb conjugations. They both take the form of personal or confessional narration. The *Expresso* article narrates the

⁸¹ Lyrics of *National Anthem* (1890) (first stanza): "Heroes of the sea, noble People / Fearless and immortal nation / Arise today once more / The splendor of Portugal! Amid the mist of memory / Oh Fatherland, feel the voice / Of your distinguished forefathers / That shall lead you to victory!"

evolution of the ‘character’/journalist from uninterested and sceptical to an enthusiastic spectator of the match between the Portuguese and Spanish teams, which would become, by all accounts, the most exciting match of the championship. During the first stages, the routine drive from the airport (arriving at the airport, taking a taxi, driving through Lisbon, looking at the flags) is narrated from an ignorant (because she had been travelling abroad) and thus critical and sceptical viewpoint. As the days go by, “the spirit of football” invades her and the narrator ends up watching the games on TV, learning the players’ names and positions, and even waving a flag on her balcony.

The article, in self-deprecating tone, evaluates what is perceived as the country’s uncharacteristic exaggerated patriotism and criticises the discursive construction of nationalism. Extract 2, line 3, illustrates this:

(2)

In my country, nothing ever happens, the poet said. But Portugal is no longer a country of poets, it is a country of anxious and euphoric football players, and euphoric nationalists. In each Portuguese heart, that human being that was ashamed of the flag and thought it was kitsch, you’re going in red and green, how awful! now stems the flag’s coat of arms, watered with sweat from the team’s boys.⁸²

The effect is obtained not by omitting patriotic elements, but precisely by overemphasizing and trivializing them by reframing them in a new (ironic) co-text. The country of poets becomes the country of anxious football players, the flag is born (the metaphor of birth and transformation is continuously repeated in the corpus) as it is “watered” with the “players’ sweat”.

A major challenge in this particular article is its use of reported speech, characteristic of both news reports and of fiction. Following Short, Semino and Wynne (2002: 328), I believe that a faithfulness-oriented position towards reported speech is based on a “context-sensitive account of discourse presentation and focuses on how contextual factors affect the relevance of the notion of faithfulness

⁸² As this last sentence reads very oddly in the English translation, I provide below the Portuguese original: “No coração de cada português, aquele espécime humano que tinha vergonha da bandeira e a julgava pirosa, vais de vermelho de verde, que horror!, nasce agora uma flor de escudos e quinas, regada com o suor dos rapazes da Selecção.”

to the production and reception of (stretches of) discourse presentation". The notion of remaining faithful (e.g. "the reproduction of the lexical items and grammatical structures used in the anterior discourse" in Short et al., 2002: 328) to the original enunciations arises when the written and oral modes of communication become blended, as the writer constructs dialogue by reporting on the speech, opinions and thoughts held by several agents in the story: the taxi driver, the intellectuals whose opinions she reads in the newspaper, her acquaintances, her British friends. Nonetheless, and because this text is on the borderline between news reporting and (fictional) narrative, whose thoughts and voice(s) the writer is reporting on is relatively ambiguous. Moreover, the assumption of a 'verbatim' quality in this report is not within the horizon of expectation of the audience. In fact, the memory of what is being reported does not call for faithfulness. To sum up, because the above factors are understandable to all, readers would apply the same kind of reasoning in assessing whether to assume that the reporter is trying to report faithfully or merely dramatizing the presentation of what is being discussed, as is the case in this particular text. The writer intentionally blends her own opinions with the 'other' for effect:

(3)

I opened the newspapers and noticed that the intellectuals were bored and preoccupied with this acute nationalism. That it was not solely the problem of Figo [football player] getting older, it was the problem of losing it because eleven guys and a sphere thought they were the best and are paid their weight in gold. What the hell, was there no dignity? Logic? Reason?

As already noted, because every newspaper commentator was conscious of their role as 'speaker' for the discursive construction of the dominant narrative on Portuguese national identity, they had two options: either reclaiming and representing the dominant narrative, as illustrated by the *CM* articles, or opposing it. Wodak and de Cillia (2007) argue that elites must acknowledge many conflicting perspectives and narratives and openly confront them. Although in this particular corpus, there is very little evidence of conflicting narratives, the *Expresso* article, as I

stated previously, presents a rare critique of the hegemonic nationalist discourse.

The article ends with the following self-criticism:

(4)

There were shouts in the room, tears in the country. For hours there was a party, little flags and exacerbated patriotism, sea heroes and noble people and phone messages from intellectuals I know, saying things such as *Somos los mejores*, [original in Spanish] Portugal! Portugal!, and We killed them! Great, I thought, after all Aljubarrota [famous battle-place where Portugal defeated Spain] is like Grândola [small town in rural Portugal], time goes by and memories will stay. As I'm writing on a Tuesday, I don't know what's happening on Thursday, but I fear the worst. English friends who hate football and hold serious jobs such a lawyers and managers are sending me messages saying If you want to keep your country intact you better lose! And to sentences like *we're gonna kill you!* [original in English] I, who adore the English and think of London as my home, ended up responding with refined sentences such as *fuck the beefs!* [original in English] Nice, don't you think? It's the spirit of football.

The clear dismantling strategies of the text are based upon the explicit de-mythologizing of 'patriotic' feelings and of the national in-group boundary by turning 'upside down' the out-group construction (e.g. reference to Spanish and English friends and phrases written in Spanish and English) with specific references to increasing hatred and openly xenophobic feelings, precisely the opposite of the open 'hot nationalism' portrayed by the corpus in general. The very personal 'voice' of the narrator aids in building a sense of absurdity around the 'national event' and the reasons why football cements the national in-group.

"The night of the cats" (*Público*)

The *Público* opinion article presents a third discursive strategy, halfway between formal speech and written genre. The writer addresses the two teams directly and the Portuguese nation and/or people directly and indirectly. He is grateful to Portuguese and Spaniards alike for the "most dramatic and beautiful game" of the current European Championship. Most of the text is used to explain and justify (i) why the game was beautiful; (ii) why he is also thanking, besides the Portuguese, the Spaniards; (iii) the analogy between the game (Portugal vs. Spain) and a memorable fight he witnessed during the African colonial war between a cat and a snake; in the animal fight, the trapped cat killed the snake, against the odds, just as the apparently

trapped Portuguese team won the match; (iv) the tangible and intangible characteristics that the Portuguese team (therefore, the Portuguese people) possessed that enabled them to win.

Portugal-the-nation is premised upon a shared universal sentiment in this text, and nationhood is paraded initially through the construction of sameness (which was also present in the *CM* articles in relation to Greece), with Spain. In regard to Spain, this strategy is so uncommon within the hegemonic discursive construction of Portuguese national identity that the writer needs to remark on its unusualness (see phrase in bold below):

(5)

To every player, Portuguese and Spaniard, in the most dramatic and beautiful game of this championship, thank you for redeeming football! It is now dawn and **my country of today is Iberia**. Stated by a Portuguese, **it seems pure heresy**, is this moment of euphoria.

However, this construction of sameness – that evokes the whole Iberian Peninsula as a unified ‘imagined community’ and also includes Spanish poets (see following extract) – is a strategic move to argue for the exceptional nature of the Portuguese team, therefore of the Portuguese nation and its people. Were they not exceptional they would not have behaved like “men of honour”, or like that “exceptional cat” during the colonial war, which was thrown into a cage with a snake and managed to kill it. The metaphoric context of war is foregrounded and the text is constructed by this explicit analogy with the semiotics of war, as well as with the African colonial war as a backdrop. The religious element and the cleansing effect of victory are recalled through the metaphor of rebirth and by the dichotomy of death vs. life:

(6)

In this hour of happiness for the Portuguese, I would like to remind the Portuguese and the Spaniards of a stanza from the sonet ‘Que desengaños son la verdadera riqueza’ by the Spanish writer and poet Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas [...] [original in Spanish]. In this game, we all **died a little** on the Alvalade pitch, but the Alvalade pitch was not a battlefield. It was solely, and fortunately, the arena of an amazing football match, where tears of joy and of sadness from Portuguese and Spaniards did not stem **from death, but from life**.

These tears were not the children of the inescapable, but news of a **rebirth**. Tomorrow, in another match, we'll be there, **reborn**, to go on playing.

The text ends with repetition of the apparent construction of sameness to build on the positive self-presentation and create a symbolic distance from the 'other'. Therefore, there are several dichotomies, discursively presented by very strong linguistic and semantic tensions between sameness and difference, deictic usage of 'here' (Iberia, Portugal, Lisbon, Alvalade pitch) and 'there' (Spain, colonial war), Iberia (unity) and Portugal and Spain (disunity). Another key reference to 'Portuguese identity' is the symbolic representation of Portugal as a "historical nation of seafarers" which, during the twentieth century, has been discursively re-enacted through 'banal' repetition and transformation. The text ends by quoting a Spanish poet that the writer skilfully reframes and transforms to foreground the "team of Portugal" in the following way:

(7)

To our adversaries in the Sunday game, to our Spanish neighbours and brothers, I would like to leave the last stanza of the poem '¿A donde diablos?' by the poet Alberto Cortez: '¡ Pero que diablos! Si **eres la vela que me empuja a mar abierto**, [...] [original in Spanish]. It looks like the team of Portugal, was indeed, **the sail that pushed the team of Spain into open sea** and that the national Spanish team was drifting away.

The deliberate intertextuality with Spanish authors stresses the exceptionality of the Portuguese team, and of the Portuguese people, who have the generosity and dexterity to use the poets of 'others' to enhance 'self' ability. As I pointed out in the Introduction, and also in Chapter 3, the literary canon has traditionally been the major source which most discourses on national identity have drawn upon. It is not surprising, therefore, that these texts draw heavily on these essentialist representations.

7.4.2 Social actors

As we have already seen, the four articles draw on the representation of national identity that should immediately be identifiable by the Portuguese discursive community. This representation involves specific social actors, common to this type

of representation. How are the participants of the social practices – national identity, journalism and football – represented in these discourses? Van Leeuwen (2008: 23) establishes a “socio-semantic inventory of the ways in which social actors can be represented”, before turning to “the question of how they are realized linguistically”. He goes on to note that sociological categories and linguistic categories do not always overlap or juxtapose, and the critical discourse analyst should not focus entirely on specific linguistic operations or categories (ibid.: 24). This “lack of bi-uniqueness of language” (ibid.: 23ss) creates problems of categorization which I encountered while labelling the social actors in these particular articles. Especially so when the genre ‘opinion’ does not lend itself easily to categorization, for the diversity of subject positioning, from text to text and within the two broadsheet texts, foregoes any clear-cut classification.

For the purposes of self and other discursive construction within national identity, I focus in some detail on the three social actors: ‘Portugal/the country’, ‘the Portuguese’ and ‘we’ (please refer to Table 7.4 above). It is possible to say that ‘Portugal’ and ‘the country’ are used interchangeably. We do not find instances of metonymic devices when referring to this entity, which is not surprising, since the reiteration of toponymy or noun as country emphasizes the idea of global unity. Portugal is anthropomorphized through the use of verbs in the present tense and of abstract feelings such as the “country feels happiness”, “the country is delirious”, “the country is euphoric”. The four articles convey the notion that they are speaking for and in the name of the ‘Portuguese people’. However, there is almost a complete juxtaposition of ‘people’, ‘the Portuguese’, ‘the Portuguese people’, ‘Portugal’ and ‘the country’, and ‘we’ (and other all-inclusive personal pronouns). Thus, ‘Portugal’ and ‘the country’ become a generalizing synecdoche (*totum pro parte*) representing either the Portuguese team or, in other instances, representing the emotions and feelings of groups of people. There are only two instances, in the broadsheets, in which the nouns ‘country’ or ‘Portugal’ in this particular context represent a political entity which is represented rather negatively:

(8)

One day later, I noticed that **Portugal had forgotten** the Casa Pia, Carlos Cruz, [names and events related to a major paedophile court case] [...] the depression, Barroso [former prime-minister who was chosen for the EU Presidency, quitting his political job within two days of the public announcement], the tunnel and Iraq. [32] (*Expresso*)

(9)

It is true that a football game does not change reality. Tomorrow **we'll have to buy** in Zara [Spanish store] and **go to Prado, Portuguese students will still go to** Madrid to study Medicine and to Barcelona to study Architecture. [13](*Público*)

Whereas in extract 8 the focus is on the representation of domestic politics, in extract 9 the focus is on comparing Portugal to Spain economically. In both extracts, it appears that politicians are to blame for the state of affairs. Conversely, in the tabloid paper, we do not encounter this type of construction in which political decisions and the political entity 'Portugal' are recontextualized within the football event. Indeed, the toponymic nouns represent the collective body of people, with its common history, collective memories, symbols and players who belong to them. In the *Expresso* article, there seems to be a conscious preference for the definite article, 'the', followed by a 'country' noun. This is a distancing strategy from the object of analysis. 'The country' depersonalizes the object and the relationship between recipient and object. Discursive strategies to refer to Portugal in the press are varied, including its official name, anthroponyms and personal pronouns. In the headlines, (as we will see below) the most frequent way to refer to the country is via the toponym 'Portugal', a political entity reference. However, the word 'country' is also used, as well as the personal pronoun 'we' and its variants 'us' and 'our'. The choice of personal pronouns fulfils the discursive function of adding the human dimension to the social actor 'Portugal', and of reinforcing belonging. With this human dimension it is also easier to attach human properties to it. This metonymic device transforms the political entity into a (more) humane concept or entity.

The authorial voices in these articles claim various 'truths' about the nation, the country and its people. Discourses on national identity are built upon systems of

cultural representation that are based on topoi, not only by explicit construction of the in-group but also, I contend, through linguistic reconstruction of fallacious topoi (see definition of this concept in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.3). Amongst the many topoi in the data, I selected the following illustrative examples of the topos of belonging from the tabloid newspaper:

(10)

If we win on the pitch, eleven against eleven, **[we] will be 10 million winning.** [51]

(11)

The inhabitants of this corner of Europe facing the immense sea **reveal a profound identification with its symbols and its history.** [127]

Both extracts are claiming that every Portuguese, because of Euro 2004, feels a deeper belonging to the nation. The topos of belonging is forced on the readership, without explicit argumentation of how this assertion comes to pass. It is interesting to note that the single presidential speech on the topic of Euro 2004, delivered at the closing of the event, also employs topoi such as the topos of belonging and the topos of unity, corroborating the hegemonic collective narrative of 'self' mirrored by 'international recognition' of the 'other':

(12)

Portugal won this seriously demanding challenge! It won international recognition, it won in fair play and in hospitality [...] And it won, because it learned once again that it is capable of doing big projects. [...] **United around our team, the Portuguese vibrated and demonstrated their patriotism'** (Speech of the President of the Republic, 5.7.2004).⁸³

⁸³ This speech was delivered during the greeting ceremony for the national team, at the Presidential palace.

7.4.3 Representations of 'Portugal' and deixis

As we have seen in Chapter 2, section 2.6, nationhood is reinforced by “routine deixis” (Billig, 1995: 11). Words, indicators of time (‘today’, ‘now’, ‘then’) and of place (‘here’, ‘there’, ‘away’), demonstratives (‘this’ and ‘that’) and personal pronouns (‘I’, ‘our’, ‘you’, ‘we’) denote when, where and who forms the deictic centre of the nation. Such small words centre the addressee within a shared verbal universe. National deictic “context-setting dialogically anticipates an instantaneous acceptance of speaker-listener unanimity” (Law, 2001: 301; see also Billig, 1995: 93ss). For valorisation, nations depend on the force of deictic repetition and familiarity. Repeatability stabilizes and reifies national identity as both singularly novel and reassuringly the same (de Cillia et al., 1999). Chilton (2003: 108), for instance, proposes that “geopolitical realities are mental representations” which contain “entities positioned and oriented in relation to speaker and hearer”. Within a cognitive discourse-analytical perspective applied to political discourse,⁸⁴ Chilton starts with four dimensions of deictic positioning: pronouns, time, location and modality, considering the self – *I* or *we* – as the “deictic centre” and the “origin of the [other] three dimensions” or axes: space, time and modality. Within this model, the text becomes a “three-dimensional space”, branching out from a deictic centre. However, I suppose the model works best when applied to political discourse, where potential and actual enemies need to be identified.

Deixis operates at deeper levels when it comes to newspapers texts and, more specifically, when it comes to ‘opinion texts’. ‘Now’ provides a temporal constancy to the currentness of the new(s); ‘here’ is a national sense of ‘this’ place; ‘we’ includes not only ‘we’ the reader and writer but also the global ‘we’ composed of all reasonable people. Whole nations are personified by parts, leaders for their peoples, states metonymically by capital cities. The mode of address assumes that a global audience will share the same right-thinking sentiments. During Euro 2004, daily, Portugal-the-nation was premised upon a shared universal sentiment. Sport, martial metaphors and national politics freely intermingled (Law, 2001: 302). People are

⁸⁴ In which the speaker is a salient category, as was the case in President Clinton’s speech, the object of this author’s analysis in this particular study.

prepared to line up for the national team, the state. These mega sports events serve the fundamental function of parading nationhood and mobilizing nationalism. Besides pronoun deixis, in the Portuguese language, first-person plural-verb conjugations are another linguistic form by which the construction of inner-group sameness is achieved. As we have seen in Chapter 6, Section 6.5, Portuguese language rules of syntax do not require explicit use of the personal pronoun, as is clear in the following sentences:

(13)

No domingo jogamos com a Espanha e temos de ganhar (*Expresso*)
On Sunday, [we] play against Spain and [we] have got to win.

(14)

Temos de ser campeões em tudo. (*CM*)
[We] Have got to be champions at everything.

The Portuguese language is very flexible and there are no syntactic rules that impose either inclusion or exclusion of personal pronouns, apart from style and intended emphasis or meaning (see Bárbara and Gouveia, 2004), as is the case in the next example:

(15)

Nós amamos o nosso país, pensei com um bocejo «jetlag». (*Expresso*)
We love our country, [I] thought with a «jetlag» yawn.

Bearing this in mind, I could not simply count frequencies of occurrences of pronouns, as I would do if I were dealing with texts in English. I had to search for first-person-plural verb conjugations. The verb ending *-mos* allowed me to study ‘we’ and ‘us’ occurrences and, in fact, as Table 7.5 (below) demonstrates, the verb conjugation frequency (20) is higher than overall explicit pronoun occurrences (nós, nos) and its equivalents (nosso(s), nossa(s)) (17).

No. words in text		<i>Correio da Manhã</i> 491	<i>Expresso</i> 1066	<i>Público</i> 732	Total raw occurrences
Words	English translation				
Portugal	<i>Portugal</i>	4	5	3	12
o país	<i>the country</i>	2	13	1	16
os portugueses	<i>the Portuguese</i>	1	1	6	8
nós, nos	<i>we, us</i>	1	3	4	8
nosso(s), nossa(s)	<i>our</i>	3	2	4	9
-mos	<i>verbs in 1st person plural</i>	1	12	7	20
eu, meu, minha	<i>I, my, mine</i>	--	11	1	12
pátria	<i>homeland/fatherland</i>	--	1	--	1
gente	<i>the people</i>	2	2	--	4

Table 7.5 Occurrences of ‘Portugal’ (and other referents), ‘the Portuguese’ and narrator’s voice in the sample

Table 7.5 shows the raw occurrences and percentages of the various representations of Portugal and its people in the four articles, including the narrator’s voice. The toponymic noun ‘Portugal’ and its equivalent ‘the country’ are almost as abundant as ‘the Portuguese’ and the personal pronoun ‘we’, including its equivalents and corresponding possessive pronouns. Even though ‘we’ may have different referents, in the case of these articles, ‘we’ represents the inner-homogeneous ‘Portuguese’ of today: “We love our country” (*Expresso*). There are distinct differences in the way the data discursively construct the entities ‘Portugal’, ‘the country’ and ‘we’. Whereas in the tabloid *CM* ‘Portugal’ is the object of phrases, such as “the future of Portugal”, “the fearless people of Portugal” and “the football victories of Portugal”, in the broadsheet *Expresso* ‘Portugal’ and ‘the country’ become grammatical and semantic agents: “in my country nothing happens” (*Expresso*), “Portugal, finally seemed a European country” (*Expresso*). In the broadsheet *Público*, the emphasis is given to the social actor ‘the Portuguese’: “In this hour of happiness for the Portuguese I would like to remind the Portuguese”.

7.4.4 “Our tears were the beginning of a rebirth”: some salient metaphors

Metaphor is used to construct discursively and cognitively national (hegemonic) subjective realities (Wodak and de Cillia, 2007: 348). The authors stress the importance of “conceptual frames, realized in metaphorical expressions, for the

discursive construction of national identity [...] Metaphors support the construction of specific ‘events models’, which serve to establish a coherent narrative” (ibid.: 348). In fact, these ‘coherent narratives’ are supported by drawing upon ‘events models’ or ‘conventional conceptual metaphors’, as Semino points out:

When particular uses of metaphor become the dominant way of talking about a particular aspect of reality within a particular discourse, they may be extremely difficult to perceive and challenge, since they come to represent the ‘commonsense’ or ‘natural’ view of things. In such cases, conventional conceptual metaphors can be seen as an important part of shared sets of beliefs, or ‘ideology’ that characterize a particular social group. (2008: 33)

Meaning is based on conventionalized conceptual structures. Thus, semantic structure reflects the mental categories which people have formed from their experience of acting in the world (Saeed, 2009: 357). Metaphor, as one of these conceptual structures and processes, is an essential element in our categorization of the world and our thinking processes. These conceptual structures pervade ordinary language and are widely shared among the discursive community. The identification of devices as metaphors relies on the cognitivist conceptualization of metaphor as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1993 [1980]), and followed by Koller (2004; 2005), Wodak and de Cillia (2007) and Semino (2008) whereby conceptual metaphors are deduced from underlying expressions.

This approach builds on a common-sense definition of metaphors as devices for “seeing something in terms of something else” (Burke, 1945: 503 cited in Drulák, 2008: 106). “Metaphors guide our thinking without us often being aware of them. Their examination may therefore reveal hidden structural conditions which shape the imagination of social actors” (Drulák, 2008: 106). I apply a methodological distinction between *conceptual metaphors* and *metaphorical expressions*. The first consists of an abstract connection between two conceptual domains (e.g. PORTUGAL IS A GARDEN), which makes us apply what we know about source domain (gardens) to target domain (Portugal). *Metaphorical expressions* are concrete statements which can be found in actual discourse and which exemplify conceptual metaphors. There is a variety of metaphorical expressions relying on the conceptual metaphor

'PORTUGAL IS A GARDEN', such as "Portugal finally looked like a European country and not a badly seeded garden inhabited by withered people" (*Expresso*).

Taking into consideration the methodological distinction briefly described above, it would be possible to elaborate a detailed list of common metaphorical expressions and how they link to their conceptual counterparts, namely the COUNTRIES ARE PERSONS metaphor which is abundant in the data (and in data related to national identity) and of which I have already forwarded examples when I discussed social actors, above (e.g. "the country *feels* the fascination for the green and red flag") (*CM*).

Therefore, I will focus solely on the conventional conceptual metaphors that are deeply embedded in the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity and which exhibit conventionality, being highly familiar metaphors to the discourse community. In fact, I would argue that most of the metaphoric expressions in these texts are highly conventional and poor in creativity; however, as Lakoff and Johnson (1993) have argued, metaphors can systematically shape our world views and, in the case of these texts, they are another discursive device in the construction of national identity.

Source domain	Metaphorical concept	Metaphoric expressions
Life cycle Rebirth	FOOTBALL IS LIFE [AND DEATH]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In every Portuguese's heart the flag's coat of arms is born (E) • Our tears were the beginning of a rebirth. Tomorrow we'll be reborn. (P) • We all died a little in the Alvalade pitch (P)
Warfare	FOOTBALL IS WAR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The most pacific of all wars (CM) • The spirit was of war (CM) • Football is not a war (CM) • After all, Aljubarrota stays in our memories (E)
Nature	'PORTUGAL IS A GARDEN planted on the seashore'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Portugal finally looked like a European country and not a badly-seeded country inhabited by withered people (E) • [Our ancestors] planted the future of Portugal (CM)
Navigation		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Portugal's team was the sail which blew the Spanish team offshore into open sea (P)

Table 7.6 Some conceptual metaphors and metaphoric expressions

Table 7.6 illustrates the main four source domains: life, warfare, nature and navigation. The source domain LIFE is linked to the target domain FOOTBALL. Football becomes the mediator of the life cycle: birth, rebirth and death. The linguistic

expression 'rebirth' is not original in the discursive construction of a nation's 'new beginning' (cf. Wodak et al., 1999: 84). However, the context here is a football match, and thus it is possible to argue that a major sports event is being linguistically branded as a watershed moment for a new beginning. The war metaphor is recurrent in this type of event, although curiously the *CM* articles carefully deconstruct the metaphor, stating that "it's the most pacific of all wars" and "football is not a war". The discursive representation of the Portuguese as a non-belligose country is evident in this deconstruction of the war metaphor, and contributes to the ongoing hegemonic narration of the national character as non-aggressive and pacific. In these texts, the anthropomorphizing metaphor of rebirth point to bridging past and future through the present. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, it is a very common metaphor.

The metaphor "Este país/este canto à beira-mar plantado" [This country/this corner planted on the seashore] is so ingrained in discourses about 'the country' that the discursive community came to regard it as an idiom. The first level of literal interpretation would read the expression as denoting the geographical location of the country. However, there are several levels embedded in the source domain: it is a country facing the sea therefore with its back to Europe; it is a country easily forgotten [by Europe] because it is far away from the decision centres; it is a backward country; it is a peaceful country. The result of the football match as a sea journey is the fourth metaphor analysed in these texts. Again, the sea-journey-with-bearing is a very typical image in Portuguese representations of national identity and in its positive self-representation.⁸⁵ In this particular context, the Portuguese stand out as the true navigators against the 'lost' Spaniards.

⁸⁵ The sea journey combined with the navigator metaphor is very different from the life-as-a-sea-journey metaphor, also a recurrent theme in Portuguese literature, where the individual is portrayed as not knowing his bearings, lost at sea.

7.5 Discursive macro-strategies

From the analysis above, focusing on self and other presentation, in which nomination, predication, argumentation and perspectivization were analysed, it is possible to draw some conclusions in relation to how the four macro-strategies work in the sample texts, and in order to test the hypothesis that there are discursive differences between the tabloid *CM* and the broadsheets *Público* and *Expresso*.

Out of the four discursive strategies of DHA – the construction, perpetuation, transformation and dismantling of nations and national identities – the first, third and fourth strategies appear to be observable in the sample. As for the *construction strategy*, it is understandably present because constructive strategies encompass those linguistic acts which serve to “build and establish a particular national identity” (de Cillia et al., 1999: 160). These articles propose acts of reference, which appeal directly to the renewal of national unity and solidarity, as I have discussed above. The *transformation strategy* is observable in the *Expresso* article, where the author’s individual transformation from a sceptical observer into a Portuguese team fan is signalling a metonymic function (the journalist is a part of the total in-group of ‘intellectuals’ who have undergone the same metamorphosis, see Table 7.4, above, for examples). In this particular text, the national flag is submitted to another transformative strategy: “People used to be ashamed of the flag” but are not ashamed any more. However, there are also *dismantling strategies* at work in the severe critique delivered which are not completely captured by the DHA model of analysis, as self and other presentation categories do not seem to be the appropriate tool to deal with rhetorical devices such as irony, sarcasm and playful language within the genre of ‘opinion’ articles.

7.6 Analysis of headlines

In the remainder of the chapter, I propose to convey an overall picture of the data. In order to accomplish that aim, I choose to rely mostly on headlines and, when

necessary, I will select further extracts from the bodies of the texts. Headlines forward most of the discursive themes that are expanded in the texts, conveying a fairly accurate picture of some of the linguistic devices and linguistic realizations activated in the identity narratives brought forth by the football event. Headlines usually summarize the main information of a text and signal what is important for the writer or newspaper. They are fundamental in terms of assigning importance and relevance to specific macro-propositions or topics. Additionally, they play a very specific thematic function: they usually express the most important topic of the news item and they play a major role in an article's relevance structure (see van Dijk, 1985, 1991a). As headlines summarize macro-topics at a higher level of abstraction, they delete information, involving generalization and (re)construction of information: "They reduce the complex, detailed meaning structure of a text into a simpler, more general and abstract meaning of a text" (van Dijk, 1985: 76). This process, of course, is highly significant for the analysis at hand, because the macro-proposition of a headline guides the reader to a specific thematic macro-structure, which may not correspond to the actual content of the article. Indeed, almost half of the texts' headlines propose a thematic structure for corresponding articles relating to the discursive construction of national identity, regardless of newspaper source or article subtopic. In Billig's (1995) terms, 'the flagging of nationhood' becomes an overall proposition. The remaining headlines focus on the team, individual players, its coach or on particular football playing strategies.

The headlines contribute to positive self-presentation. *Portugal and the Portuguese people*, of course, encompasses multiple meanings that go beyond linguistic agency or grammatical roles. They are referred to directly and indirectly, and they also constitute an implicit social actor in several references to collective historical imagery. This collective historical imagery is also expanded and played with.

Following Wodak and her collaborators' (1999: 30-1) matrix of thematic contents, I was able to identify, in headlines. The following major semantic macro-areas, closely related to the topic of the *discursive construction of national identity*:

- (1) The discursive construction of 'us' and 'them'
- (2) The discursive construction of Portugal as a European country

- (3) The idea of a collective destiny and life
- (4) The narrative of a glorious collective history
- (5) The discursive construction of common values and common emotions

7.7 The discursive construction of national identity

7.7.1 'Us' and 'them'

"Saint Beckham"

If, in one particular textual instance, the generic representation of countries reveals a neutral attitude, when discussing individual teams against which the Portuguese team has played or will play, each nation gains negative attributes since nationalist discourse operates through binary divisions – between 'us' and 'them', 'friends' and 'foes'.

On the surface, construction of in-groups and out-groups in the headlines shows humour and skilful usage of language with reverberating stereotypical notions for each European country. Therefore, discursive oversimplified versions of alienness were reproduced. Whereas the discursive representation of the social actors 'Portugal' and its 'people' is positive, through nominalization, repetition and predication devices, for the other countries, the choice lay in negative other-presentation. The British and the Spanish became the primary targets of the Portuguese press, and metonymical devices implied that a certain player and his flaws would represent the character of the whole nation. Thus, strategies for dehumanizing and objectifying the team are evident when the English football player is predicated as a 'saint' ("Saint Beckham" [55]) and the English team are nominalised as 'beef meat' ("Let the 'bifes' [beef meat] come!" [97]). The Dutch are referred to as 'oranges' who became as sour as 'lemons', when they lost the game. The Spanish are not even nominalised, but there are two headings which use the Spanish language, the first to declare that "[I] don't talk to Spaniards" [79], and the second, "Festa ou fiesta, marqués ou cibelles" [original title in Portuguese and Spanish] [85] to show

(superficial) similarities between the Portuguese and Spanish languages. Headline [85] is creating distance from the Spanish but, on the other hand, is bridging the gap by using the Spanish language. This double bind is a recurrent discursive device when the relationship between the two countries is at stake, as we have seen above in the analysis of the *Público* article.

There is no possibility of reconstructing a modern discourse on Greece or its people, because there are no ongoing discourses about this country within the Portuguese cultural or political context. Writers were left with puns concerning Ancient history, thus the reference to the “Trojan ball” [115] and to the “Greek mermaid’s chant” [140]. However, Greece won the championship, and the titles fall back upon echoing the ideas of deceit and falsity through references to ancient Troy and to an alluring mermaid’s chant, thus representing the Greeks as false. It is important to remember that, in every case, these traits are represented as national and the team in most instances represents the whole nation and its people.

Because national community cannot be imagined without imagining communities of foreigners which make ‘our’ culture unique, and because there can be no ‘us’ without ‘them’, as I have pointed out in the preceding section, Portugal-the-nation was premised upon a shared universal sentiment, and nationhood is paraded initially through the construction of sameness with other countries as we have observed (in the *CM* articles in relation to Greece or Spain, and in the *Público* article in relation to Spain).

“The various tribes of Europe are strolling through Portugal”: the foreign other

As we have seen above, an important point within the co-formation of *hot* and *banal* nationalism is the ‘other’, i.e. the international context – “which needs to be imagined every bit as much as one does the national community” (Billig, 1995: 83) – against which “the consciousness of national identity” rises. However, and this is an important thread for the analysis of the data at hand, Billig also claims “there are infinite discursive possibilities for talking about ‘us’ and ‘them’ [...] ‘We’ is not confined to simple differentiating stereotypes, which downgrade the foreigner as the mysterious other” (ibid.: 87). Hence, extract [16], below, demonstrates how foreign nations are like ‘ours’ but never completely alike. Indeed, data analysis points to the

topos of the ‘foreign other’ being represented both positively and negatively. In fact, individual and collective identities, in their daily routines or within a ‘flagged’ event, express (national) identities in contradictory ways or via different validity claims. Thus, there is explicit foregrounding of selective events and discourses that deliberately contribute to the construction of a collective identity. Reading about this global sports event in the press reveals a code for broader national characteristics, based on the subjective perception of the ‘other’ nation that lies in the imagination of the readers and “is articulated as a coherent, homogeneous concept” (Crolley and Hand, 2006: 4).

(16)

Now, Europe is literally with us. [...] Our neighbor and eternal rival Spain, the distant and recently liberated Latvia. The European Union’s united front with the German-French axis, the United Kingdom, of deep democratic roots and the birth nation of modern capitalism. Italy, the cradle of roman civilization, Greece another millenary pillar of civilization, Russia which survived totalitarianism, Switzerland neutral and rich in peace, Denmark which, for three centuries, has dignified the idea of education and popular university, Sweden, the well-succeeding nation of social democracy. Small ancient and stable nations such as the Netherlands and others that seek guidance like Bulgaria, Croatia and the Czech Republic. [39]

7.7.2 The discursive construction of Portugal as a European country

The preceding extract leads us to the representation of belonging to a larger entity, ‘Europe’. While individual countries are downplayed and negatively presented by the tabloid paper, the broadsheet papers construe Europe as an important social actor, (which has been described earlier in this chapter). The headlines convey this idea of EEurope at the centre of in-group construction.⁸⁶ It is the in-group to which Portugal-the-nation can/should belong as the following headlines demonstrate: “More European” [4]; “We and Europe, other reasons” [20]; “Euronotes” [24]; “The Euro

⁸⁶ The meaning or representation of ‘Europe’ within these discourses lies beyond the scope of this study. Is it a material Europe with an (un)definable landmass? Is it the European Union? Is it a shifting idea that might include or exclude variable attributes, such as ‘way of life’, an idea of modernity, or of sophistication? In this context, we could ask: “What could Europe be beyond language and discourse?” (cf. Walter and Helmig, 2008).

and globalization” [34]. Thus, Europe is represented as a supranational abstract and positive entity, and not the sum of different countries. As Stråth and Wodak (2009: 15) point out, “‘Europe’ has no essence *per se*, but is a discursive construct and a product of many overlapping discourses”. The discursive construction of in-group belonging to Europe (global entity) appears to be one of the original features of constructing Portuguese national identity, even within the football context; nevertheless, Delanty, in his seminal book on European identity, has pointed out that “Europe is not an alternative to nationalism but a *confirmation* of the hegemony of the nation state [my italics]” (Delanty, 1995: 156). He rightly adds the following: “Europe as a discursive strategy is the focus for articulating a variety of political standpoints. In the discourse of Europe, mutually opposed groups can find in the single entity a focal point for the pursuit of their projects” (Delanty, 1995: 157).

Therefore, it seems that ‘Europe’ becomes central, as it did in the data analysed in the preceding chapter, to distinguish ‘us’ from ‘them’ and reaffirm whom ‘we’ are. I close this section with an extract that illustrates the juxtaposition and interaction of the relevant (national) identity narrative, at the time, with European politics:

(17)

We can already conclude that our country’s image is going to come out stronger after what has happened so far. We could even ask if the wave of sympathy felt throughout Europe influenced Barroso’s invitation to the presidency of the European Commission?
[34]

7.7.3 “Let’s fulfil our destiny”: nationalism is a way of seeing and interpreting the world

Continual reminding (which is taken for granted by most people) transforms national identity into a form of life, a way of seeing and interpreting the world, thereby securing the nation’s existence (Yumul and Özkirimli, 1997). The extract below is illustrative of the arguments relative to the discursive construction of in-group and out-group boundaries. The following is the chosen identity narrative divulged during the event for local consumption:

(18)

We navigated, we conquered, we occupied and we exported the language, Port wine and Mateus Rosé. We lost (a few) and won (many) battles. Everything is written down within the folds of History. [8]

The founding myths, and the reconstruction and imaginaries on which everyday recollections as well as collective experiences draw, form a part of the official past of every nation-state (Wodak and de Cillia, 2007). The references to real or legendary historical events, with the function of contributing to making up the Portuguese 'imaginary community', are present in several headlines: "The sixth empire" [5]; "Portugal is winning" [26]; "Heroes of the sea" [48]; "The team of the people" [87]; "Let's fulfil our destiny" [125]; "The country at their feet" [132]; and "The victory is ours" [107].

'The Portuguese' and 'To be Portuguese' are also contained in these headlines, whose main purpose is to include every Portuguese individual in this concept of Portugal and 'us'. The headlines "The victory is *ours*" or "Let's fulfil *our* destiny" clearly demonstrate that overall inclusion, as well as "the team of the People". The referential and nomination strategies also contribute to the construction of an in-group identity, unifying its people: these headlines are discussing "our glory" and "our destiny", blending strong religious references with the football event. Therefore, unity is discursively constructed through various unification strategies: lexical choices, all-inclusive personal pronouns and metaphors.

7.7.4 "We've been Barbarians, Lusitans, Romans, Arabs and Castilians": the narrative of a glorious collective history

A key concept in the analysis of these headlines is the notion of narrative identity. Ricoeur (1992: 141) claims that "narrative identity is an identity seen as identity of a character" (cited in Wodak et al., 1999: 14). Following the same argument, here the character Portugal is in part a 'fable composition' that becomes the narrative identity linking every headline (and corresponding texts) from which the plot or story stems.

The embedded narration for each of the texts' plots or stories, and for each of the recipients' plots or stories, becomes linked by the narrative identity of Portugal. Each reader will draw his or her identity of being Portuguese and belonging to Portugal via their own interpretative devices. However, the discursive construction of the 'national identity' narrative aims at the construction of a feeling of imaginarily 'being and feeling' historically and collectively 'Portuguese', whatever this might mean to each individual identity narrative.

Thus, one of the curious devices present in these headlines is a clear resonating of history, blending echoes of Portuguese collective memory with football. For instance, the headline "The sixth empire" [5] encapsulates a large variety of these echoes. It is built on the mythical notion of a 'fifth empire', created in the eighteenth century, when Portugal's overseas commercial influence was rapidly declining. Since then, "The fifth empire" has represented every unaccomplished political process that has tried to construct Portugal as an international power. Therefore, using not the 'fifth', but the 'sixth', Empire represents what the Portuguese and the country might in fact actually accomplish. The headline "Heroes of the sea" [48] not only nominalises the agent team players as 'heroes', but predicates them as 'sea heroes', recollecting all historical references to Portugal's maritime discoveries, resonating with memories and recontextualizing them within the sports event. This phrase also demonstrates the intertextual relationships between headlines and other sources, such as the direct appropriation of the first verse of the national anthem, "Heroes of the sea", with the obvious intention of constructing unity through historical deeds.

7.7.5 The discursive construction of common values and emotions

"Green and Red euphoria swept Portugal": the flag

The 'flagging' of Portuguese identity reached its apotheosis during Euro 2004. This was a moment in which 'banal practices' blended with an unusual moment in the country's collective life. As such, the national flag was democratised and became banal. The nationalist content of the event was very prominent in the highly unusual uses (as far as major national events were concerned, including any kind of former sports events) that people gave to the Portuguese flag, and in the ways these uses

were constantly highlighted in the press. The entire country was collectively displaying the Portuguese flag on, over and in, balconies, doorsteps, cars, cafés and restaurants, etc. Inhabitants of building apartments competed over who had the highest number of flags on outside display.

Headlines such as “Green and red euphoria swept Portugal” [11], “I bought some flags” [28], “The flag fashion” [29] or “The country in green and red” [39] demonstrate how the media highlighted these uses and emphasized them, focusing on the flags’ colours. Therefore, the flag has the double function of signalling the boundaries between ‘nation’ and ‘others’, and confirming and overemphasizing unity and belonging.

7.8 Conclusion: the performance of Portugueseness

The newspaper texts show three major patterns relating to (1) positive self-presentation based on the collective historical imagery of Portugal-the-nation, which is a common referent in contemporary Portuguese national self-narration, whilst (2) stereotyping the foreign team and (3) constructing in-group belonging to Europe. Construction and perpetuation discursive strategies contribute to an all-inclusive sense of belonging, of being part of something bigger and greater than the individual, whereby the national people are branded within the European context as exceptional. However, the counter-discourse, based on dismantling strategies present in the broadsheet articles sampled, reveals that overall national identity is also a dynamic and unsettled issue always ‘in the making’.

Data analysis reveals how social and cultural constraints – e.g. institutional embeddedness and ideological orientation of journalists according to their newspaper (van Dijk, 1985, 1991b, 1996) – do not operate distinctively in each newspaper. These constraints operate, instead, at a socio-macro level, as if commentators were conscious of their role as ‘speakers’ for the discursive construction of the official narrative on Portuguese national identity. In theory, the

commentators have the options of reclaiming and representing the official narratives or opposing them. I argue that these constraints do not come from the individual newspapers, but from the commentators' perceived socio-function of constructing national identity through an international sports event. Most of these articles serve the specific purpose of reifying national identity in several ways. One of the most crucial is the construction of difference/distinctiveness and uniqueness, in relation to some individual countries or in relation to Europe. For the vast majority of consumers/viewers of Euro 2004, their imaginations and concepts of the event and of Portugal-the-nation were strongly influenced by the reporting of the mass media, especially when they were presented as individual accounts and perceptions (mostly in the broadsheet papers) of the symbolic elite. Consequently, these particular texts were, at the time of publishing, widely read and, therefore, the discourses used were likely to have had a great impact on people's understanding and reproduction of the discourses produced apropos the event.

These headlines and the accompanying texts convey a high valuation of Portugal, the Portuguese in their multiple facets as well as a high valuation of Europe. As for individual countries or nations, the valuation is ambivalent and may discursively construct the same country as a distinct 'other' or like 'ours' – but never completely alike. This ambivalence is particularly relevant when it happens that “our neighbour and eternal rival”, the Spanish team, is under appraisal and against which Portugal-the-team (and therefore Portugal-the-nation) is being compared.

Using the discourse-historical approach as the main guideline, I explored the main macro-strategies employed in the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity in press commentaries. Firstly, through the analysis of a sample of four articles, I pinpointed some of the main topics used to celebrate nationhood. Secondly, the construction of in-group and out-group differences and uniqueness through deictic binary divisions and stereotyping were described. Thirdly, I looked at the emphasis placed on the discursive strategies that convey 'sameness' or a united 'imagined community' that may include or exclude some of the 'others', through referential and nomination strategies (as was the case for Spain and Greece). Finally, I outlined some of the major intertextual devices through which selected canonical texts were reframed. The analysis of headlines broadly followed the same analytical

steps and was carried out in order to convey the overall picture of what the texts say and how they say it.

The analysis indicates differences between the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. The tabloid is more locally nationalistic, emotional, calling upon construction and justificatory and perpetuation strategies, reinforcing in-group/out-group boundaries and constantly 'flagging nationhood'; the broadsheets are more global, constructing Portugal within a broader European context. However, the differences are not as marked as the similarities. Thus, the results concur with studies carried out on England's (King, 2006) and Greece's (Tzanelli, 2006) discursive constructions of 'us' and 'them' boundaries. Even in an old nation-state such as Portugal (almost 100% monolingual with undisputed national borders), we are able to reaffirm the idea that "nations are fluid categories of self-ascription that are maintained by marking boundaries with 'others'" (Hutchinson, 2006: 304). Therefore, even though these texts describe a marked localized and nationalist setting, they are also globally homogeneous in terms of discursive features and genre when compared to the aforementioned studies. This marked localized setting does, in fact, indicate that Euro 2004 was the first time, after the ending of dictatorship in 1974, that 'local patriotism' was overtly and nationally favoured over 'global' discourses on Europe, which had been a feature of the construction of national identity in media and official state discourses after the 1974 revolution. As I have shown in Chapter 3, national identity is discursively constructed upon literary canonical narratives which, for the most part, emphasize historical (de)feats (battles, wars, etc), 'historical contributions to the world' (maritime discoveries, the overseas empire), or major historical figures (kings, queens, princes, etc.). During the twentieth century, a large part of scientific production in the social sciences was forbidden by *Estado Novo*, thus it was left to literary authors (poets, playwrights and novelists), to a certain extent, to produce alternative readings, other than the hegemonic discourse of the State. At the same time, the State reinforced the recontextualization of the 'maritime discoveries and its heroes' within *Estado Novo's* ideology.

The analysis proves Billig's claim that nationalism, far from being an intermittent mood in established nations, is an "endemic condition" (1995: 6). The discursive construction of unity and nationalism only works because there is an endemic

condition upon which these discourses will 'naturally' flourish. This endemic condition or 'banal nationalism' is present in topoi and validity claims, in linguistic devices such as personal deixis, and in the ways the nation (and other social actors) are nominalised and predicated. Without 'banal nationalism,' there would not be a frame of discursive reference upon which these headlines and articles make sense to the discursive community. 'Banal nationalism' is pervasive and selective in its construction of reality through discourse. Due to the constant repetition and re-actualisation of these choices, these traits, characteristics or feelings tend to become 'naturalised'. Thus, when the President of the Republic declared that: "Portugal [had] won this seriously demanding challenge" (*Speech of the President of the Republic*, 5.7.2004), no one dared to ask what were the referents of these lexical items. Finally, and reiterating King's (2006) warning against overgeneralization, even though the transformation of national identity is evident in the ritual of sport, it does not automatically follow that this particular identity will be reflected in all other spheres of social activity.

8 Analysis of the radio phone-in data⁸⁷

8.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the discursive construction of national identity in an hour-long phone-in radio broadcast, broadcast live on 27 June 2006 during the football World Cup, when the Portuguese team seemed a possible finalist. The programme was presented under the heading “Is Portugal national identity in crisis?” and linked the mega-event to nationalist feelings.

I will examine how two apparently competing discourses (that of the elite and that of laypeople) reframe the nation’s national identity in the radio show. I am interested in how these types of participants co-construct and negotiate (national) identities. I begin the data analysis by applying conversation analysis (CA). I then explore, within the discourse-historical approach (DHA) framework, the main discursive strategies. (See Chapter 5, section 5.5 for an overview of CA and the epistemological debate about integrating CA and CDA). The analysis stems from two main research questions: (1) What discourses do (public and semi-public) lay participants and ‘experts’ draw on to construe and/or represent Portugal’s national identity? (2) How are the ‘us’ and the ‘other’ discursively represented when constructing national identity? The conclusions will link findings with the concept of communication in the public sphere.

Most CDA carried out on the topic of national identity is not applied through the analysis of (spoken or written) texts whose main topic is explicitly *national identity*,

⁸⁷ Parts of earlier drafts of this chapter were published in Ribeiro (2009) and Ribeiro (2010).

which is the case with this radio show. The fact that this specific data set deals explicitly with the topic of national identity and that every participant consciously participates in the debate impacts on the discourses produced during the show. I pay special attention to this thread of analysis in this chapter. Another fundamental issue in this data relates to its complex participation framework. As Montgomery emphasises for broadcast news (2007: 30), there is a double orientation to the audience: on the one hand, it is oriented towards an audience with a potential reach of several millions; on the other hand, parts of the discourses may be conducted as interchanges between direct interlocutors, as is the case with this data set. Therefore, we can distinguish between interaction amongst immediate interlocutors that is designed to be overheard by the broadcast audience and discourse that is directly addressed to it, namely the first two opening turns of the generic radio presenter and of the programme host. As a result, when interviewing, the discourse of the interviewer is bidirectional: it is oriented primarily towards the interviewee, but the question design is also shaped by the broadcast audience beyond. This is particularly noticeable in the interaction between the host and the 'expert' participants.

After describing the data and the main semantic macro-topics presented in the programme, I divided the data analysis into two main parts. The first part describes how the host and phone-in participants negotiate identities according to differential distributions of discursive resources (section 8.4), closely following Hutchby's conversational analysis framework that accounts for power as an integral feature of talk-in-interaction (1996, 2006). I will claim that this feature impacts on the discourses produced on national identity, for this approach helps us to understand how and why certain discourse topics are framed, produced and recontextualized, not only contextually, but also co-textually. I have discussed in Chapter 5, section 5.5, the theoretical debates related to combining CA and CDA (see for instance the epistemological concerns brought forth by Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 7ss, in relation to CA, in which they contest the idea that a "formal analysis which excludes theoretical preoccupations of the analyst is possible"). The second part is dedicated to the analysis of the construction of national identity following DHA. I focus on identifying some discursive strategies such as perspectivization or framing (this

strategy positions speaker's point of view, expressing involvement or distance); nomination or referential strategies (e.g. the discursive construction of the social actors 'Portugal' and the 'Portuguese people'); some argumentation strategies, namely topoi; and finally synecdoche and personification devices related to the representation of Portugal-the-nation.

8.2 Describing the data

Participants	'Floor' time, to the nearest second
radio presenter	0:00:46
host	0:01:58
1	0:01:38
2	0:02:23
3	0:08:01
4i	0:01:00
4ii	0:02:49
5	0:05:37
6	0:04:02
7i	0:00:22
8	0:01:34
9	0:05:18
7ii	0:02:38
10	0:04:21
11i	0:00:39
12	0:05:01
11ii	0:11:27
13	0:04:11
14	0:02:45
Total duration of programme	1:06:30

Table 8.1 List of participants and turn duration⁸⁸

⁸⁸ The host interacts in between calls but, for the purposes of the overall time taken up by each participant, these turn-takings are not accounted for in the table. The radio presenter and the host are two different persons.

The show begins with a radio presenter followed by the programme host introducing the topic: “Is national identity in crisis?”. Both presenters contextualize the programme’s theme by referring to the recent commemorations of the Day of Portugal (10 June), the 20th anniversary of Portugal joining the European Economic Community (1986) and the Portuguese team’s winning streak during the football World Cup (June 2006). Additionally, they refer to the fact that people in general complain about the Portuguese people only “feeling national pride” on these (national) commemorative occasions. Therefore, the presenters argue, there is a case for debating the topic of national identity crisis. When the programme host delivers her initial turn she constructs her argument by quoting Portuguese canonical literature writers who have debated the issue of national identity and who have elected “language and culture as the main pillars of our identity”. The host ends her initial long turn with questions that, according to her, are “tormenting the country”, such as “is there a feeling of national identity?” and “How did the European Union affect the country’s national identity?” The debate then follows a regular pattern: the host immediately hands over to the caller after greeting him or her very briefly, listen to his or her turn, thanks the participant for his or her call and greets new participant.

Table 8.1 above lists the participants and their turn durations. Besides the radio presenter and host, fourteen people come on to the show, with different lengths of turn duration, ranging from 1 to 5-minute calls. However, there are the exceptions of Callers 3 and 11,⁸⁹ who are both presented as university research professors, therefore as ‘experts’ on the topic of Portuguese national identity. Significantly, during these two calls, the host intervenes six times, asking questions or for clarification, whereas with the remaining twelve participants the host’s turns are reduced to two or three. The fact that these experts are allotted significantly more broadcast time (c. 8 and 12 minutes respectively) impacts on the discourses produced on national identity, and on how the participants claim various ‘truths’ about the nation and its people, as we will see below. Chapter 4 (section 4.7) described the reasons for choosing this data set.

⁸⁹ Each participant was ascribed a number according to the call sequence.

8.3 What do the participants say? Major thematic areas linked to national identity

We can observe that national identity is discursively constructed along the topics presented in the diagrams below (Figures 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3). As the discourse topics are varied and unfold into various subtopics depending on type of participant (i.e. experts and laypeople) the diagrams show the topics mapped out according to the causal links (indicated by the arrows) established by the various participants. The circles encased in double lines indicate the initial premise or statement from which the participation draws. In Figure 8.2 the discontinued arrow indicates the final conclusion /recommendation that Expert 2 proposes.

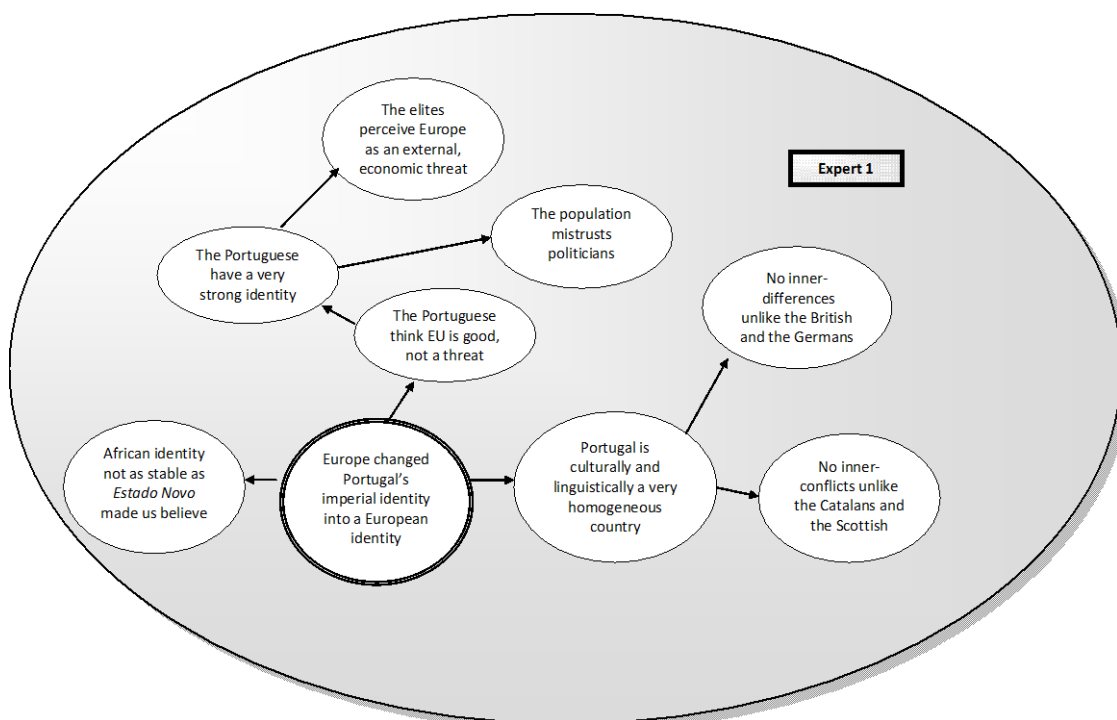


Figure 8.1 Discourse topics from participation of Expert 1

Whereas in the ‘experts’ case, they are the ones establishing the initial premise, in the case of the lay participants they limit their participation to answering the moderator’s questions: “Is Portugal’s identity in crisis?” and “Does the European Union membership impact on our national identity?”. Expert 1 (who is a political

scientist) constructs his argument from a top-down perspective, and his main concern is how the European Union did not affect the country's very "strong identity". He constructs a dichotomy between "the elites" and the "Portuguese population at large". He also builds comparisons between the Portuguese people and other nationalities such as British, Germans, Catalans and Scottish to claim that unlike these other populations, the Portuguese never had identity issues. See Figure 8.1, above.

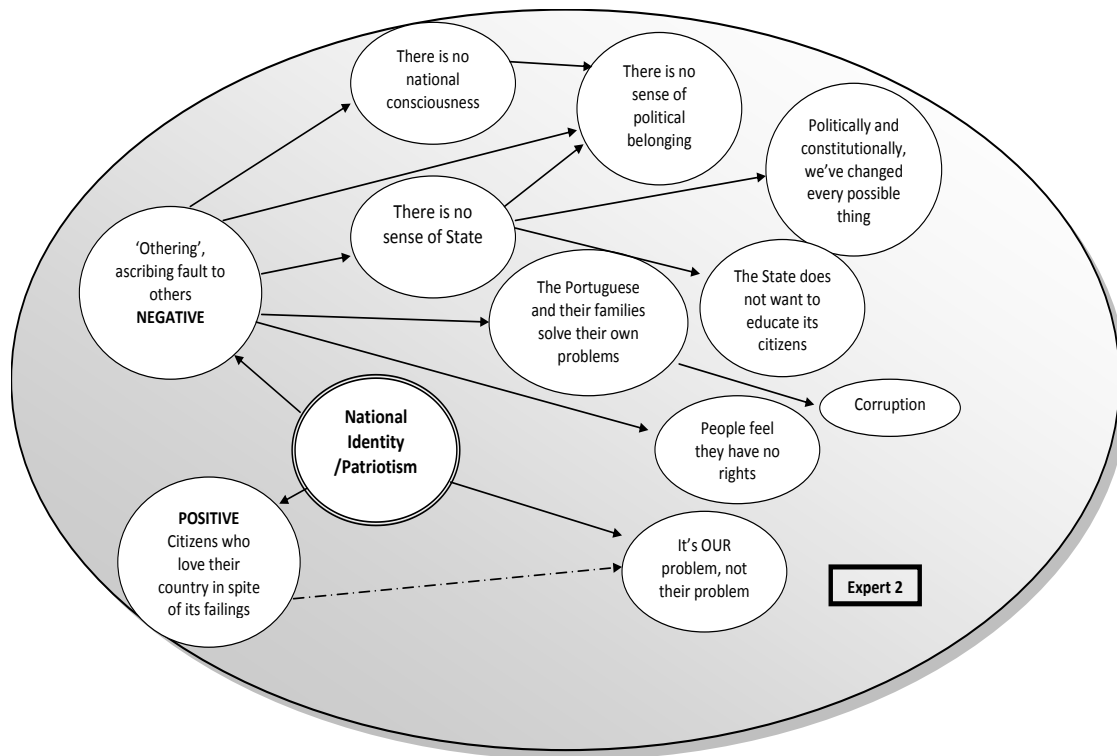


Figure 8.2 Discourse topics from participation of Expert 2

Expert 2 (who is a sociologist) presents a very different perspective. He is not positioning himself from a top-down perspective, and is mainly interested in describing what he perceives to be the population's discourses on self-presentation and 'othering', which makes his participation particularly rich for the present analysis. This participant describes the (weak) relationships between population and (political) state, claiming that family ties substitute the state's role. See Figure 8.2 above. The main point of interest is, however, the fact that he actually refers to the Portuguese not including themselves in the Portuguese national group (highlighted in bold below):

(1)⁹⁰

Caller 11 / this patriotism it is not it is not it doesn't work
 Expert 2 as a positive ingredient of social life that is in
 fact one of the issues that are not is not in our
 society and that is the fact that **we always speak of
 the Portuguese as if they were other people in which
 we do not include ourselves what evidently is from
 the start a breach of contract that in a way unites
 me I mean to all other Portuguese** (lines 914-22).⁹¹

Figure 8.3, below, maps out the various themes and topics reframed by the lay participants. I was able to identify two overarching themes connected to several topics framed by the participants. Theme 1 is linked to *past historical events*, with a positive valuation from the lay callers (“we don’t know our history and our historic heroes”); theme 2 is linked to *the economic and political situation*, to *governance* and to *the European Union* with a very negative valuation. The latter encompasses identity issues (either national or individual) by bringing in the economic dimension, which is often realized through nominalisations such as ‘globalization’ and metonymic referents such as ‘Brussels’, ‘the state’, ‘the elites’, ‘politicians’ or the ‘global economy’. Therefore, we can observe contradictions between collective national narratives on the past on the one hand and economic or institutional practices on the other. For instance, the data illustrate how one participant presents his schemata for the *homo nationalis* and how it has been affected by the European Union:

⁹⁰ (.) A dot enclosed in a bracket indicates short pause.
 sou:::nd Colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or word.
 [] Square brackets indicate where overlapping talk starts and ends.
 = The equals sign indicates contiguous utterances.
 ((in breath)) A description enclosed in a double bracket indicates a non-verbal activity.
 ? Question marks indicate a questioning intonation.
Underline Underlined fragments indicate speaker emphasis.

⁹¹ All extracts have been translated from the Portuguese transcription of the programme. The translations are meant to convey the gist of the original rather than the exact wording. Many of the participants are grammatically inaccurate, very hesitant and repetitive. The translation attempts to retain these oral traits. The line numbers refer to the transcript, Appendix D.

(2)

Caller 1 So Portugal if I'm not mistaken (.) has been pract-
practically for nine centuries with its identity
(.) umm that the identity of these people is at
risk it is indeed and globalization and Brussels
are enough reason. (lines 56-9)

A further example also makes this contradiction apparent when the participant clearly distinguishes between 'identity' and 'governance':

(3)

Caller 8 one thing is (.) the identity of our country and
another is the managing of our country now in
relation to managing our country unfortunately (.)
it has to be asked are our politicians man-
managing umm with a true umm sense of national
identity? (lines 536-40)

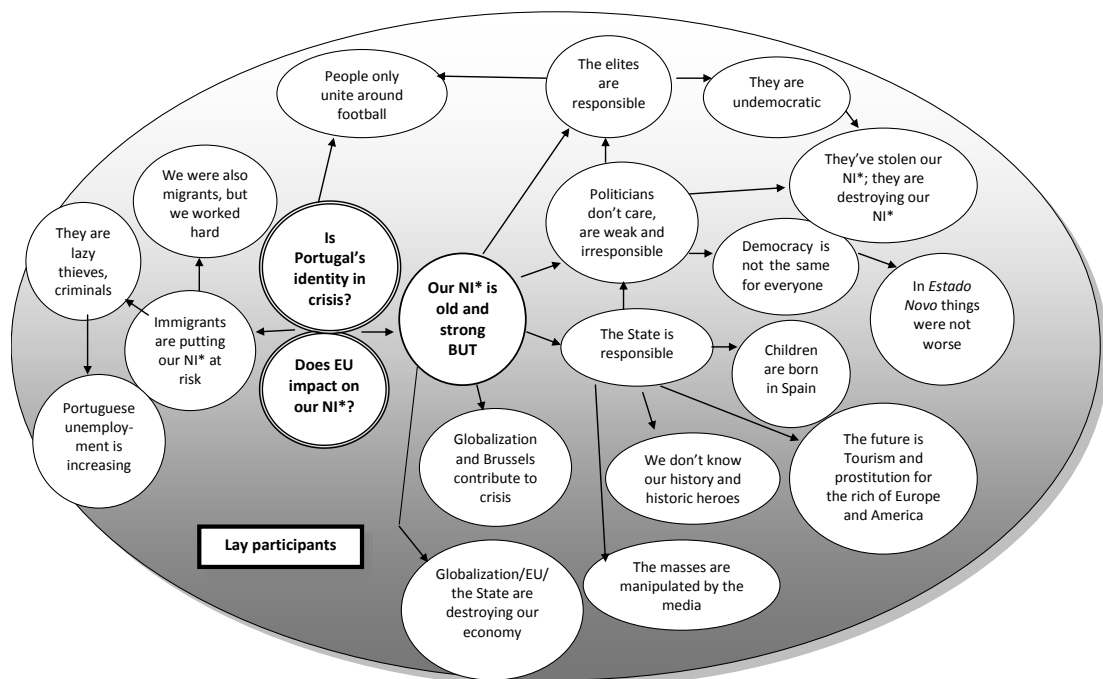


Figure 8.3 Discourse topics from lay participants

*NI = National Identity

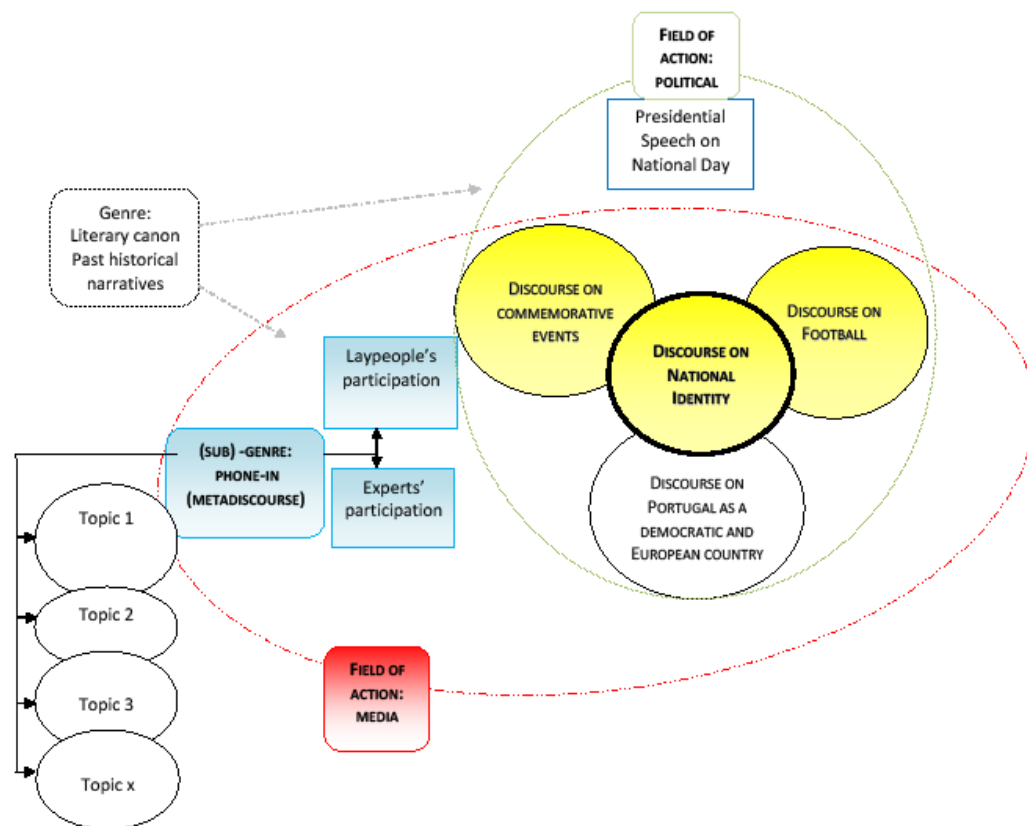


Figure 8.4 Interdiscursive and intertextual relationships in the radio phone-in broadcast (adapted from Reisigl and Wodak, 2009)

Figure 8.4 illustrates how interdiscursive and intertextual devices come into play in the radio dataset, by mapping the intersections.⁹² The filled-in coloured shapes indicate the discourses, genres and texts this study focuses on. The unfilled shapes – such as the literary canon – are intertextually and interdiscursively drawn into the discourse on national identity, although they are not of primary concern here. The two big dotted ellipses indicate interdiscursivity. These overlapping ellipses also

⁹² It is beyond the scope of this thesis to describe the various approaches to the concepts of intertextuality and genre, which were initially conceptualized by Mikhail Bakhtin's heteroglossia and dialogicality in the 1930s and carried on by authors such as Julia Kristeva and Michael Foucault in the 1960s. More recently, the concept has gained new contributions within studies on news. See Holquist, M. (1990). *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World*; Meinhold and Smith (ed) (2000). *Intertextuality and the Media*.

assign text to genre (media) and sub-genre (radio phone-in). The topics to which a text refers are indicated by the small overlapping ellipses – on the outside of the large dotted ellipses – which are quite numerous. During the event, the President of the Republic delivered a speech (=political genre) on June 10, national day (=discourse on national identity; =commemorative rhetoric), where he makes direct and indirect references to the literary canon and past historical episodes through intertextuality devices. Two weeks later, the radio programme broadcasts a live phone-in on the theme of ‘national identity’ (=discourse on national identity and discourse on Portugal as a democratic and European country; =media genre) where the host introduces the topic by making direct references both to the Presidential speech and to the literary canon (=intertextuality). Each participant coming onto the programme also makes explicit and implicit references to political speeches, to historical narratives, to literary authors, and finally to each other’s participation (=several intertextual and interdiscursive chains; recontextualization).

8.4 Host and callers: negotiating participant identities⁹³

8.4.1 Co-construction of meaning: interaction in spoken discourse

As I noted in the introduction to this chapter, the co-construction of meaning in talk-in-interaction impacts on the discourses produced on national identity as certain topics, agency and ‘othering’ strategies are framed, produced and recontextualized co-textually. I claim that there are three important causes affecting the usage of the ‘us and them’ deictics, and hence the discourses produced on national identity in this particular data set. First, there is the co-construction of arguments within the interaction; then, there are the asymmetric positions set up in the opening turn sequences between host and callers; and finally, the deep-seated hierarchical forms of address in the Portuguese language. The fact that negative predication is ascribed

⁹³ For the purposes of this document, the host (or moderator) of the show is sometimes singled out as in the phrase *host and participants*. However, within talk-in-interaction, the host is considered to belong to the category of participant.

to ‘them’, who have ‘stolen’ and ‘destroyed national identity’, and that ‘those’ social actors are active agents – ‘the elites’ and ‘the government’ - who act on ‘us’ the covert and overt passive victims is also pivotal to comprehending how these discourses are constructed. Indeed, Cameron points to the relevance of symbolic power amongst participants in a conversation (2001: 161):

It is by no means an irrelevant or insignificant fact that those conversations take place among persons who occupy certain places in the world and have certain kinds of social relationships with one another.

The opening sequences in a talk radio show are crucial to observing how participants establish their relevant institutional identities or ‘frame attunement’ (Hutchby, 1999: 42), and thus to help us understand the relationship between language use and social life. Hutchby (1999) following on from the initial research of Goffman (1961; 1974) advocates that the opening moments of newly-forming encounters allow us to observe people manoeuvring into position and adjusting their frames. Therefore, the data illustrate Hutchby’s (ibid.) observations that talk radio calls routinely open by means of a single two-turn sequence:

(4)

Host	Ilídio Santos an electrician from Braga good morning what is your [opinion?
Caller 2	[good morning I think tha::t Portuga::l (lines 80-2)

(5)

Host	I’m on my way to meet another participant Aureliano Burrica, he’s a baker, and is calling from Beja (.) good morning=
Caller 4	=good morning, Doutora Eduarda Maia (.)
Host	We’re listening [Augusto
Caller 4	[look I’m going to talk about (lines 253-7)

In fact, Hutchby’s data provide the same type of example (1999: 46) and Montgomery also points to the “fixed formulae of transitions between one phrase,

episode or footing and another, such as greetings” (2007: 31). Hutchby’s (1996) claim about the asymmetry of host-caller positions in arguments (what he calls the potential action-opposition sequence) seems to apply fully to the data at hand, since the organization of calls on talk radio requires callers to begin by stating their position, as the above extracts show.

Although the amount of interaction in terms of turn-taking is very limited for each of the twelve lay participants, I suggest there is, to some extent, co-construction of meaning. In fact, participants explicitly or implicitly refer back to what has been previously said: “it is to talk about that professor who was there just now” (Caller 4) or “our elites are to blame, contrary to what the gentleman said a while back” (Caller 5) or “I really enjoyed listening to this last lady” (Caller 15). This of course relates to *situated* language use, within the process of meaning being created in the interaction. Each of the participants uses referential strategies to refer to what has been previously said and to refer to the participants (such as ‘that professor’, ‘the gentleman’ or ‘this last lady’), and to constitute his or her own argument. Hence, the audience witnesses a simulated dialogue or interaction, where each participant responds with a rejoinder or rebuttal using what Hutchby (2001: 128) calls the “you say X but what about Y” device. Therefore, there is in fact a rhetorical contrast between what the prior speaker has said and what the current speaker suggests as an oppositional action. Hutchby (ibid.) further argues that the “you say X” device signals the type of utterance under production, and listeners will recognize the argumentation pattern. Nevertheless, these data’s originality lie in the explicitly non-interactive nature between participants, which becomes quite clear when reading the transcript, yet the participants use the “you say X” device, with modification of the addressee, so in this case the device should probably be modified to “s/he said X but what about Y”.

There is also a second type of asymmetric power relation evident in the forms of address in Portuguese, which links to the notion of conversationalizing institutional talk, discussed in the following section.

8.4.2 Authenticating and conversationalizing institutional talk

The way participants say things can be as important as what they say (Myers, 2005, 2007). Interaction may be constrained by conventions about who asks questions, how they are answered, who speaks next, and how topics and relevance to the topic are mutually defined by participants (2005: 81). These constraints appear to be determinant in the positioning of moderator and participants.

The opening turn sequences are crucial for callers and host to set their diverse positions, as I noted before. The diverse positioning of the participants' roles and social identities might be construed as hegemonic access to the media and therefore as unequal access to constructing a specific discourse on national identity. The host has the first opportunity for opposition within each call and this turns out to be a powerful argumentative resource. Bearing in mind this argumentative resource let us consider two further strategies which I claim also contribute to the asymmetric power relations, not only between the lay participants and host, but also between the lay participants and academics who intervene as 'experts'. To consider these, the concepts of *authenticating* and *conversationalizing* institutional talk will be taken on board.

Thornborrow (2001b) has investigated hosts' discourse strategies to authenticate 'the expert' and 'the lay member of the public' that come in on to radio programmes. A distinction between the two types of participants is drawn through the oppositional characteristics, which differentiate the discourse of professional speakers from that of lay participants in this type of broadcast shows. Thornborrow focuses on the talk of lay participants and the production of 'authentic talk' within the mediated discourse that will authenticate the public role that is situationally available to them. This authentication of roles is 'done' by participants by building relevant identities for themselves in the early moments of their talk.

In the Portuguese language, forms of address in any interaction are crucial in setting a person's social identity. Speakers addressing adult strangers usually "select a form based on the social, professional or administrative position of the hearer, all of which require the third-person singular form of the verb" (Oliveira, 2005: 308). In the show, however, the host is considerably more informal with lay participants than

with the two academics. She addresses lay callers by their first names exclusively and does not use any professional title, which implies a certain degree of familiarity in the relationship. On the other hand, all lay participants defer to the host by using the more formal ways of address that the Portuguese language allows for. As I have already stated above, forms of address in Portuguese take on a rather complex form; as such, although the host never uses the more informal 'you' (tu) when addressing the participants directly, addressing them by their first name implies a certain degree of familiarity and equality in the relationship on her part. "Hi, António, good morning". In one instance, she even states "It's been a long time since I've heard from you" (you = *você*, a way of addressing someone that is between formal and informal). Curiously enough, this in-between form of address is not reciprocated by any of the lay participants who instead use the very formal and deferent forms such as 'Dona Eduarda Maio' (Ms. Eduarda Maio) 'Doutora Eduarda Maio'⁹⁴ (Ms. Eduarda Maio), or 'Minha Senhora' (M'am).

This unequal relation is immediately enacted by each participant when coming on the show. This seems to indicate a perceived bottom-up class hierarchy from those who 'defer' to the host of the programme when phoning in. Traditionally, the Portuguese language has strategies that allow people to 'defer' linguistically to people who are formally better-educated (see footnote 85). However, in this particular setting, several participants are framed as being as 'educated' as the host (i.e. having a university degree), therefore the asymmetric relationship is more striking when the participant does not reciprocate to the "Hi, António, good morning" on a first name basis with a possible "Good morning, Eduarda". In sum, the data (though limited) reaffirm how asymmetric power relations are profoundly embedded in the Portuguese social network and in the linguistic enactment of asymmetric dominance in the construction of social identities (see Oliveira, 2005, for a detailed study on the Portuguese address-form system).

Montgomery (2007: 182ff) compared discourses of broadcast news in the 1980s to those of the present day to conclude amongst other things that "there is a

⁹⁴ 'Doutora' (and its abbreviated version 'Dr.' or 'Dr.ª') is a form of addressing people with a university degree, it is very common in formal settings, and is used for establishing hierarchical boundaries between interlocutors.

tendency to greater naturalism and informality in delivery” (ibid.: 196). Similarly, in open-line talk radio shows, there has been a move towards conversationalizing institutional talk by the show’s hosts, i.e. producing linguist markers such as the use of first names, a preference for informal styles and registers and positive politeness i.e. talking to participants as if they were friends (see Cameron, 2001; Thornborrow, 2001b). Therefore, institutional talk is borrowing features from ‘ordinary’ conversation.

However, and coming back to the spoken corpus, there is a marked difference between the host’s register when introducing or interacting with lay callers and when interacting with the ‘experts’. The latter are discursively framed within the role of experts by four different indicators: by the moderator’s longer introduction, by the more significantly more formal form of address ‘professor’; by the way the two ‘experts’ establish a more intimate or equal-term relationship with the host by being, out of the fourteen participants, the only two addressing her on a first-name basis; finally, another means of contrasting their role is their somewhat longer turns (Caller 3, 8 minutes; Caller 11, 11 minutes) compared to the other participants, whose longest participation is a 5-minute-long turn (see Table 8.1 above). Thus, to come back to what I have argued above, these diverse positionings of participants’ roles and social identities convey hegemonic access to the media and asymmetrical access to constructing discourses on national identity. On the other hand, and from the audience’s viewpoint these strategies authenticate the academics’ ‘expertise’.

8.5 The discursive construction of national identity

8.5.1 Voices of authority and voices of lay people⁹⁵

Several studies have analysed the role of participant deictics in the discourses of

⁹⁵ The concept of ‘voice’ in this particular context follows Bakhtin’s view that language users ‘rent’ meaning, as the words people use are taken and given back to the community (Wertsch, 2001: 222). In other words, Bakhtin advocates the ‘heteroglossic’ nature of all locutions. In the data at hand, heteroglossia or the recognition of dialogic alternatives should be acknowledged as the utterances make constant reference to other ‘voices’ or viewpoints (see Bakhtin 1981, 1986).

European identities (see for example Wodak et al., 1999; Krzyżanowski and Oberhuber, 2007; Wodak, 2006a). These authors suggest that looking at various personal-deictic forms such as ‘we’ (and all possible conjugations of ‘us’, ‘our’, etc) or ‘they’ (‘them’, ‘their’) and/or on the switching between individual (‘I’, ‘my’) and plural deixis (‘we’, ‘they’) allows the analyst, on the one hand, to discover the participant’s allegiance and non-allegiance to certain groups. On the other hand, personal-deictic forms also facilitate the observation of how a speaker constructs his/her own agency in the actions accounted for in the discourse (using ‘I’) or generalises those actions as an effect of collective endeavours (using ‘we’ or ‘us’).

PARTICIPANT	INSTANTIATION	SUBJECT POSITION	REFERENT
Caller 2	Portugal is a bit run down due to the politicians we have because because they only look at themselves, [they] don’t look at the things of the poor	We I + you sg.+ they	the Portuguese people; the poor; the blue-collar workers (addressee inclusive)
		They	politicians
Caller 3 (‘expert’)	this makes us think we verify that	We I + s/he	the scholar; the academics (addressee partially inclusive ?)
Caller 4	we go to France and we are welcome	We I + s/he	People who travel; I; one (addressee exclusive)
Caller 5	the elites have led us to rock bottom so that we lose our national identity	Us I + you sg.? + they	the Portuguese like myself (addressee inclusive?)
Caller 7	we are not guided we we mainly when I say we I mean the people	We I + you sg.+ they	the Portuguese people
Caller 11 (‘expert’)	one aspect of our society which is not healthy its that we always talk about the Portuguese as if [they] were other people in whom [we] do not include ourselves	We I + you pl + they	the Portuguese people (the whole inclusive we)
Caller 13	our problem is no longer to know who [we] are our problem is that we do not know who [we] were because at a certain point one erased our history	we/our you ?+ they	the Portuguese people (speaker exclusive)

Table 8.2 Personal deictic-forms: first person plural pronouns

Table 8.2 above provides examples of these usages by adapting the data to the list of potential meanings of first-person-plural pronouns used in the discursive construction of national identities proposed by Wodak et al. (1999: 46) and Wodak

(2006a: 112). See also Chapter 6, section 6.5, for a description of the reference system in the Portuguese language using pronouns.

As such, I am particularly interested in examining further the different roles the lay and professional participants play in the programme and how their discursive strategies differ when discussing the topic of national identity. As Wodak states (2006a: 111-2), the personal pronoun ‘we’ is considered to be the “most important and complex one”. Although the traditional distinction when using the first-person-plural pronoun is between addressee-inclusive or -exclusive and between speaker inclusive or -exclusive, as Wodak (*ibid.*) notes, ‘we’ might be referring to the second and third persons singular or plural. For instance, as Table 8.2 illustrates, Caller 5 demonstrates an ambiguous usage of ‘we’ that excludes many. The following extract is indicative of this ambivalent construction. The speaker’s footing signalled by the personal deictic ‘we’ (including conjugated verbs in the first-person-plural, possessive pronouns and determinants) is infrequent in the data, because it is, in most of the instances *speaker exclusive*. Indeed, ‘we=the Portuguese’ as active agents does not include ‘I=the speaker’, who actually ‘knows who we=they are’. However, the footing shifts between ‘we=they’ and ‘we=us’ and from the phrase “the result of all this is that we are not respected” onwards, ‘we’ becomes an all inclusive ‘I+you + they’:

(6)

Caller 13 our problem is no longer to know who [we] are ((in breath)) our problem is that we do not know who [we] were because at a certain point- point [one] erased our history our traditions our culture and the new slogan became [we] are citizens of the world(.) citizens of Europe(.) and to become citizens of Europe we need to know above all how to be:: Portuguese the result of all this is that [we] are not respected [we] do not have any prestige and [we] are perceived in Europe as some poor devils umm in the European Union [I] am convinced that [we] are seen as the five-star hotel waitress whom the boss pats on the head. (1072-83)

One of the most striking differences between the two types of participants relates to patterns that index participants' footing⁹⁶ and this is particularly revealing in the spoken data set as the participants' footing constantly shifts its referent (see Table 8.2 above). For instance, Callers 3 and 11, who come on to the programme in the role of experts on the topic of national identity, behave in a different way from each other, which in many ways corroborates their different discourses on national identity construction (see Figures 8.1 and 8.2 above). When Caller 3 uses 'we' he is distancing himself from the object of study – Portugal – and 'we' means 'we scholars' or an addressee-inclusive 'we'. Caller 11 makes abundant use of 'we' as a whole-inclusive, i.e. of all Portuguese people.

8.5.2 Dimensions of identity

The three diagrams above representing the discourse topics of the show have already provided an initial picture of the main themes. Additionally, and following de Cillia, Reisgl and Wodak's (1999) and Wodak et al.'s (2001) frameworks, this section begins by listing the semantic macro-areas related to the construction of Portuguese identity and nation identified in the spoken data. I will focus mainly on the specific content of the participants' utterances, as they illustrate each of the topics.

Contrary to the preceding chapters and because of space limitations, I chose not to analyse in detail the major semantic macro-areas related to national identity construction. Thus, I decided to concentrate on the following macro-areas:

- (1) The discursive construction of a common identity;
- (2) The discursive construction of a collective past history and historical uniqueness;
- (3) The discursive construction of a common political past, present, future.

⁹⁶ Footing refers to instances of talk where participants' alignment, set, stance, posture or projected self is somehow at issue (Goffman, 1981 cited by Wodak, 2006: 110).

8.5.3 “National identity is in very good health”: the discursive construction of a common identity

During the entire show, the idea of a ‘common identity’ is barely questioned, dismantled or discussed. Only Caller 11 describes the concepts of ‘national identity’, ‘patriotism’ and ‘nationalism’ (see Figure 8.2 above) in detail and then following in his footsteps and reframing what he said, Caller 12 also tries to define the concept. In fact, and perhaps not surprisingly precisely because “nationalism is an endemic condition” (Billig, 1995: 6), Portugal’s ‘common national identity’ might be perceived by the participants as being in crisis but its ‘essence’ is never questioned. Therefore, utterances such as the ones below are quite frequent in the data. Portuguese national identity is discursively constructed as a tangible thing that is possessed, owned, can be lost and, most importantly, can also be stolen, hence the use of possessive determinants ‘its’ and the verbs ‘to have’, ‘to lose’ and ‘to steal’ as the following extracts illustrate:

(7)

Caller 4 I think the Portuguese lose their national identity (.) and only see themselves in moments like these (lines 280-1)

(8)

Caller 5 the so-called between inverted commas elites have driven us to the bottom to- we have lost our national identity (lines 334-5)

(9)

Caller 13 and I apologise for being rude this herd of pseudo-intellectuals stole us (.) it is them who have run our destinies and in fact they stole from us that national identity (lines 1066-9)

Typically, national identity links to other “routine flagging of nationhood” phenomena (Billig, 1995: 50). In fact, the data show a clear distinctive discursive construction of national identity as an anthropomorphised entity which needs to be defended and protected from ‘them’. However, this ‘othering’ – contrary to what

various international studies on the discursive construction of national identity seem to indicate – is closer to home and means primarily the national government and/or the elites (who appear to be a rather diffuse entity), Europe and/or the European Union, Spain, the media and, finally, the labour migrants (who are only mentioned within the dichotomy ‘us and them’ by one of the participants).

According to the conceptual model proposed by DHA, one of the fundamental discursive *constructive strategies* of establishing a particular national identity is based on the national ‘we-group’ through particular acts of reference, for example using the pronoun ‘we’ in connection with the de-toponymical labelling ‘Portuguese’ i.e. ‘we, the Portuguese’, which serves as a basis of appealing directly or indirectly to national solidarity and union. “Components of constructive strategies” are all “persuasive linguistic devices which help invite identification and solidarity with the ‘we-group’, which, however, implies distancing from and marginalization of others” (de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999: 160). Conversely, strategies of *demontage and destruction* will negatively present the in-group, will demolish existing national identities or elements of them, or will emphasise intra-national differences, as is the case with the participants’ emphasis on differences among social and economic groups. As such, presupposing intra-national sameness or similarity occurs simultaneously with presupposing intra-national differences – the speaker presumes to speak for ‘the Portuguese’ as such, and takes for granted that there is a homogeneous we-group with a shared mentality or, in other words, an imagined community.

On the other hand, the presupposition of differences between nations is a very common discursive strategy, and often serves the debasing delimitation from an out-group considered a different national collective (de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999). However, apart from one or two passages by the ‘experts’, in which these participants emphasise differences, apparent and overall, the callers do not engage in the negative debasing delimitation of an out-group, and instead highlight the negative features of the in-group, i.e. the Portuguese. Again, this is a dismantling or destructive strategy. These negative attributes are not discursively constructed from the outside or imposed from the outside, but are the exclusive responsibility of ‘we, the Portuguese people’, whether regarded as a whole entity or as sections of the

Portuguese people, such as *'they, the elites'*, *'they, the government'*, *'they, the state'* or *'they, the politicians.'* These types of strategies are usually understood as serving to de-mythologize or demolish existing elements of national identity.

Finally, I would like to emphasise that even though Portugal has changed its demographics from a country of emigrants during the 1950s and 1960s to an immigrant-receiving country by the end of the twentieth century (see Chapter 3 for the historical background), I found strikingly few strategies of negative other-presentation in relation to working migrants, as only Caller 12 constructs his argument against immigration: "no one has yet spoken about this issue against immigration that has been incoming", making use of the typical fallacies in this type of national identity discourse. Figure 8.3 (above) also accounts for how discrimination of the migrant out-group unfolds in terms of topics. Out of the several negative traits for the construction and discrimination of outgroups in Austria that Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 55) list, a few match Caller 12's representation, such as "foreigners are to blame for high unemployment rates", "foreigners are lazy" and "foreigners are aggressive and criminal". Another surprising omission is that the subsequent callers do not respond to follow up the argument by using the 'you say X but what about Y' device. This might be explained by the fact that the following participant is Caller 11, the second academic, who begins his call by offering a brief conceptual framework for 'national identity' and 'patriotism' within what could be designated as the academic genre.⁹⁷

I believe it is possible to observe in the present data set recurrent topoi, which belong to the discourse on Portuguese national identity and, furthermore, that the topoi are recognizable by most Portuguese adults. I think it is fair to assume that there is a shared repertoire of issues that the Portuguese community (taken in a very broad sense) will talk about, if prompted, one of them being national identity.

In Chapter 5, and drawing from DHA and classical rhetoric, I explain that I use topoi for those argumentation schemes, based on persuasion, where deductive arguments or enthymemes are based on the description of things or commonplace arguments within a specific field of action and discourse. For instance, phrases

⁹⁷ Caller 11 comes on to the programme twice before and after Caller 12. See Table 8.1.

coined by the media such as ‘the crisis of national identity’ (topos of threat) and ‘we’re losing our identity’ (also topos of threat) or ‘Portugal is a wreck’ (topos of failure) are reframed by the participants who uncritically reproduce public opinion. Thus, the argumentation around the discursive representation of Portugal’s ‘economic and political future’ is based on topoi of threat (from the European Union and ‘globalization’) and failure (due to the political ‘elites’).

8.5.4 “Portugal is an old country whose main strength lies in its people’s soul”: the discursive construction of a collective past history and historical uniqueness

The topic of ‘pride in being Portuguese’ – due to its historical uniqueness – and the absence of this pride – due to the present historical moment – is brought in to the show during the introductory opening by both the generic radio presenter and the phone-in host. Both refer to ‘pride in being Portuguese’ equated with ‘pride in having been Portuguese’. The two presenters quote canonical writers and poets, who have discursively constructed representations of both the Portuguese people and the Portuguese ‘fatherland’ (pátria), which in turn have become hegemonic representations, due to their constant reiteration in the public sphere, e.g. in the media, history books, school, etc. Extracts 10 and 11 reproduce parts of their turns. Extract 10 illustrates the contrast between past and present “[we] give way to despair and fatalism”:

(10)

Presenter many Portuguese complain that [we] only live the **pride of being Portuguese** in these moments and the rest of the time [we] give way to **despair** and **fatalism** and **lack of interest** (lines 6-9).

Extract 10 illustrates the hegemonic discourses on collective history and the construction of historical uniqueness (highlighted in bold):

(11)

Host **Portugal is an old country** whose main strength lies in its people's soul(.) a people who **have never closed themselves within their borders and in a way umm have shown(.) the world (.) taught the world not to be afraid of the sea ((in breath)) a people who anticipated the European spirit pioneer** of the universal spirit that as Manuel Alegre says cannot lose confidence in themselves and in the future of their country ((in breath)) these were the words of Torga and Pessoa and also the ones Cavaco Silva chose when a few weeks back [we] commemorated the Day of Portugal the President urged then Pessoa's fatherland that is **the language and culture as the central pillars of our identity the heritage** that should nourish our pride and determination as Portuguese people are these just circumstantial words or is the feeling real? (lines 25-38)

As described previously at the beginning of this chapter, the phone-in host opens the debate by quoting Portuguese authors and naming them: "as Manuel Alegre says" and "the words of Torga and Pessoa". Her last citation is from the state's highest figure, the Portuguese President, Cavaco Silva. He, in turn, is also said to have cited various literary authors in his speech delivered on National Day "these were the words of Torga and Pessoa and also the ones Cavaco Silva chose when a few weeks back we commemorated the Day of Portugal". Therefore, the initial minutes of the programme are equating national identity and national pride with canonical writers, and with the state in an intertextual and interdiscursive fashion. Interdiscursivity can be observed in the predication devices of the 'Portuguese people' (povo): "a people who have never closed themselves within its borders", a people "who have taught the world not to be afraid of the sea", a people "whose main strength lies in their soul".

Clearly, this is discursive representation of the hegemonic discourse on national identity as it has been reproduced in institutionalized and official settings. The argument is fed by several rhetorical devices such as stereotypical positive attributions that implicitly construct positive difference and by visible dichotomies that enhance the country's positive identity. Thus, the built-in contrast between "old country" but "main strength", the reference to its "borders" which are open, and

finally, the reference to “a people who anticipated the European spirit, pioneer of the universal spirit” illustrate this idea. This is the official state discourse, subscribed to and reproduced by state figures in official state acts and ceremonies. It possesses a recognizable format and recognizable predication and metaphors of past grandeur, together with present tense verbs ‘is’ (é) and the modal verb ‘cannot’ (não pode) that looks out into the future.

This official discourse is counterbalanced by the discursive construction of a national identity that is being threatened by various internal and external forces in the present historical context. Therefore, each of the lay participants assumes his or her positive feelings for the ‘nation’, but they question everyone else’s. Linguistically, this is observable through changes in footing.

We have already covered shifts in footing in section 8.5.1 above. The change in footing is noticeable in most lay participants, constituting a revealing discursive feature of the construction of Portuguese national identity in this particular setting. In fact, and according to Caller 11 (the second academic), this shift in footing could be generalisable to most discourses on national identity uttered by the Portuguese in various kinds of settings:

(12)

Caller 11 one aspect of our society which is not healthy is that we always talk about the Portuguese as if they were other people in whom we do not include ourselves (lines 916-918).

8.5.5 The discursive construction of a common political past, present, future

As we have already seen in the preceding chapters, the discursive construction of a common political past, present and future is one of the analytical dimensions related to national identity construction. The temporal dimension is explicitly created with the constant reference to the past. These references can be vague as in Extract 11 above in which the past tense indicates the time dimension, or by explicit references. These explicit references can be further subdivided into three moments: “ten or

fifteen years ago” referring somewhat vaguely to changes of mentality; “we have been in the EU for twenty years”, referring to how the EU might have changed Portuguese identity; and “twenty or thirty years ago”, whose referent is the 25th April revolution.

Within the temporal dimension, there is also a deep preoccupation with the future and how the country’s national identity will develop: “in a hundred years time” or “in two hundred years time” and “I won’t be here in fifty years time”. As I have noted before (see Chapter 6, section 6.4.8), the conceptualization of the nation’s ‘future’ as a negative judgment of what it will entail is also present in the 25th April corpus, being a marked discursive construction of Portuguese national identity. We can also find a parallel dimension of the individual lifespan demonstrated by the participants’ own life stories (and therefore individual identity) “after two years of living in France [as an immigrant]” or “my experience of some years as a teacher”. Thus, there is an overlapping and criss-crossing of individual identity and national identity.

8.5.6 Tropes

Tropes such as synecdoches (as a type of metonymy representing part-to-whole or whole-to-part) and personification are fundamental in the analysis of the discursive construction of identities and more specifically national identities (de Cillia et al., 1999; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Wodak et al., 1999, 2009). Metonymies, which consist of “substitutions involving two semantically adjacent fields of reference” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 57) are used for their pragmatic function of persuasion (Chantrill and Mio, 1996: 172). As a rhetorical strategy, metonymy provides the (public) speaker an opportunity to ‘personalize’ complicated issues (ibid.) and at the same this trope “enables speakers to conjure away responsible, involved or affected actors [...] or to keep them in the semantic background” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 58). Thus, synecdoches such as ‘Brussels’ or ‘the government’ condense what they represent to its fundamentals or essence. ‘Portugal’, ‘the country’ and ‘our country’ are various synecdochical versions of metonymy that occur frequently in the data, most of the time used interchangeably.

Portugal becomes anthropomorphised and personified with both positive (when constructed with reference to the past) and negative human attributes (when reframed within the present). The first participant's utterances exemplify quite clearly how these tropes are produced in speech. 'Portugal' and its people become almost interchangeable: "Portugal has been [...] with its identity", "Portugal has a feeling of fear" and "Portugal is commemorating its entry in the EEC" are three examples of the many in the data.

As I described in Chapter 6, Portuguese is a null-subject language and a pro-drop language which means that its grammar permits and sometimes mandates the omission of an explicit subject. The grammatical subject is usually indicated by inflection of the verb. In fact, the explicit occurrence of pronominal subject in Portuguese may be looked at as redundant, if one considers that, with tense, person information or participant identity is grammatically encoded in the finite. Another trait linked to the elision of explicit subject is how the Portuguese reference system works. In Portuguese, the absence of a pro-form that might correspond to subject or complement is also a cohesive phenomenon at the level of reference (Barbara and Gouveia, 2004: 160). Therefore, most of the time, the social actor 'Portugal' is either referred to as such, or the pronoun reference is elided. Extract 13, below, illustrates this. I have also included the Portuguese original in order to make clear the absence of a pro-form that could correspond to subject or complement but whose elision does not interfere with text cohesion:

(13)

Caller 6

and let us hope **Portugal becomes world- world champion** (.) umm because Portugal (.) there is behind here also something which is this **Portugal has been huge** and now **[it] is small** but the fact that [it] is small (.) does not mea::n umm mean necessarily that [it] has to be less competitive(.)that there are difficulties in relation to employment it doesn't need to be like that since other small countries ((in breath)) umm it is not worth mentioning them in Europe that doesn't happen (.) so if we (.) are capable of- of- of doing a strategic reorientation for the economy and that is not that easy (lines 451-60)

Caller 6 e esperemos que Portugal seja campeão mundial umm porque Portugal (.) há por detrás aqui também uma coisa que é esta Portugal já foi grande e agora \emptyset é pequeno mas o facto de \emptyset ser pequeno (.) não quer umm dizer necessariamente que \emptyset tenha que ser pouco competitivo (.) que haja dificuldades em termos de emprego não tem que ser assim na medida em que outros países pequenos ((in breath)) umm e \emptyset não vale a pena citá-los na Europa isso não acontece(.) portanto se nós (.) formos capazes de- de- de- de- fazer uma reorientação estratégica para a economia e isso não é fácil

Therefore Portugal, through metonymy, becomes alive, a volatile entity replacing individuals' responsibilities. There are several instantiations of Portugal becoming a living entity by personification "Portugal is in a shambles", or, in another instance, "for Portugal to have more children in order to become a larger population (.) the love for Portugal I don't see that".⁹⁸

Contrary to expectations, both scholars who come on to the programme do not vary substantially where these tropes are concerned. The following extract illustrates how the first scholar uses metonymy and personification to refer to the country (in bold):

(14)

Caller 3 **Portugal has changed from having a conception of identity as an empire** right? for which [it] **fought** during 13 years in a colonial war ((in breath)) for a new integration in a new space that was the European space ((in breath)) which had consequences in identity terms because we can see that in the last twenty basically thirty years ((in breath)) **the Portuguese have adapted** well to the new European space and in a way leads us to think that even though its identity with the lusophone countries is also significant ((in breath)) leads us to think that the so-called imperial identity

⁹⁸ Another interesting feature in the analysis of self-presentation and reference to 'our' nation, country or Portugal based on personal pronouns is the fact that Portugal, although of grammatical masculine gender, only takes the masculine definite article 'o Portugal' on rare occasions – there is not one instance of this occurrence in the radio show – and it is never referred to by the pronoun 'ele'; whenever this pronoun is used the referent is 'the country' (masc.).

wasn't as strong let us say as many times the old regime (.) pro- proclaimed. (lines 131-42)

There are further examples of synecdoches such as in the following utterances: Caller 9 declares "Portugal is not viable", Caller 10 states that "Portugal is a wreck" and poses the rhetorical question "What kind of patriotism do they want from the Portuguese in a country which is treated like this?".

In fact 'Portugal' and 'our country' are not perceived by the participants as an abstract entity but, quite the opposite, as a breathing creature, as a social actor, evaluated positively and more often negatively.

On the other hand, even though there is a strong identification with Portugal as a concrete living being, visible in the personification, the plural noun 'the Portuguese' refers in most instances to 'them' and seldom to 'us', even though it is 'our country'. The following extract illustrates this double footing with the speaker (who happens to be the moderator) moving back and forth from "the Portuguese" and "their identity" to "we have a big sports event" back to "people complain" (highlighted in bold):

(15)

Host But umum one often umm he::ars- hears **the Portuguese** talking about- about being scared of losing **their identity**, in other words, in these times as it is happening now in which **we have a big sports event** ((in breath)) umum at- at the planetary scale as the World Cup ((in breath)) **people complain** that national pride only surfaces during these events umum it is not- not activated in other situations (.) umum don't you feel there is fear from **many Portuguese** that that national identity i::s umum crumbling? at least that fear? (lines 152-60)

8.6 Conclusion

The critical discourse analysis and conversation analysis frameworks seem to function jointly in linking the models of identity proposed by the (political) elites or the media (the system world) and everyday discourses (the life world). Whereas CDA, or more specifically DHA, focuses on various levels of contexts, CA (together with DHA) highlights the co-construction of meaning, a crucial feature in talk. The CA framework illustrates how macro-topics such as the marked class divide can also become evident through the analysis of initial turn taking, participants' footing, and forms of address and argumentation construction within interactions. Furthermore, the conversation-analysis method contributes to making salient how relevant institutional identities are established emphasizing the asymmetrical access to media, therefore contributing to the establishing of hegemonic discourses.

The radio phone-in revealed distinct features deriving from genre (media discourse, semi-public discourse) and meta-discursive features: audience participation, constraints of topic and time, conversational tone and local interactive processes of negotiating. Following triangulation procedures, and complementing the overall DHA framework, I selected CA for the initial approach to the data at the micro-analytical level. CA allowed me to focus on how normative frameworks underpin the sequential organisation of interaction within a constrained and highly conventional (institutional) setting and what kind of patterns emerged. My aim was to explain talk-in-interaction without contextual categories (power, gender, race, religion, social class etc.) postulated *a priori*, unless the participants themselves highlighted these. As such, the CA instruments illustrate how macro-topics such as the marked class divide could also become evident through the analysis of initial turn-taking, forms of address and argumentation construction within the interactions.

This study was guided by the elites' discursive representations of national identity vs the ordinary people's own representational dichotomy, addressing the question of what discourses semi-public lay participants draw on to construe and/or

represent Portugal's national identity. In addition, I addressed the question of how the *us* and the *other* are discursively represented.

First, the data revealed features such as the hegemonic or dominant discursive construction of national identity being very much embedded in the Portuguese collective past, collective history, collective memory and canonical writers – as the semantic macro-areas illustrate. In the light of these findings, it is appropriate to quote again Boaventura Sousa Santos (1993) who argues that the exaggerated mythic interpretation of Portuguese national identity by the elites could be a compensatory strategy for not acknowledging or understanding social reality. However, the lay participants share the social representations of this dominant discourse, for they do not question the discursive constructions or the dominant topoi that convey them.

Secondly, the data illustrate the social dichotomies between the dominant national identity narrative and the way many of the ordinary participants try to avoid that same narrative, even though they do not seem to have the resources to present alternative discourses. As such, they fall back upon 'othering' the social groups whom they perceive as being responsible for the dominant national identity narrative: the elites, the politicians, the political and economic power centres. As such, it is not a question of competing narratives of Portuguese identity, but rather of one dominant narrative which is superimposed. The findings also point to the regular dismantling of parts of national identity: national identity is discursively constructed as a tangible thing that 'others' can steal or destroy. Interestingly, this delimitation is targeted at the in-group, the Portuguese. In fact, the data suggest, and this is corroborated by a shifting of perspectivization and referential strategies for 'Portugal', that constructing national identity is mainly the site of social struggle between the social classes instead of, as research in other national contexts indicates, between 'us=the national group' and 'them=the labour migrants', or 'them=the ethnic minorities'.

Finally, the issues raised by the nature of this type of radio broadcast, where a given topic is presented for discussion, must also frame my findings and conclusions. This type of show raises questions on the real public opinion of what is being talked about. As Fairclough points out in relation to TV debates, the journalist "gathers

'views' from the audience but in a way which separates and fragments them leaving no possibility of dialogue between them" (Fairclough, 2003: 45). This foregrounds the need in this type of discursive event to reach a balance between consultation in the public sphere and the host's tight regulation of the interaction or, in other words, the contingent constraints, in the name of a 'good show'.

In fact, critical theories such as Jürgen Habermas' communication model of deliberative democracy (2006; see also Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2004) seek to implement a "self-regulating media system where anonymous audiences grant feedback between an informed elite discourse and a responsive civil society" (Habermas, 2006: 411-2). The public sphere, then, should grant people free access to a space for eventual consensus with the possibility of making a difference and leading to action. However, this is not present in this particular data genre, and it is questionable if it is ever present outside the realm of the ideal.

Indeed, the data transcript illustrates how fragmented the discourses are and the analysis proves how non-interactive the show is, the exact opposite of what the sub-genre claims to be – a (public) open line (Antena Aberta).

9 Conclusions

Portugal, through the National Museum of Antique Art, presents its role as both producer and product of good practices of global communication, [...] [which] was accomplished from Europe out into the World and from the World back to Europe, to which the Portuguese have always brought back, from the 15th century until now, the primordial richness that is immense human diversity.⁹⁹

This statement is taken from the introductory text to the international exhibition¹⁰⁰ *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th centuries* (16 July - 11 October 2009). In it, Portugal is anthropomorphized as the “absolute pioneer of the contemporary era of globalization of knowledge”, summarizing the prominence of a deep hegemonic cultural, historical and essentialist identity narrative that permeates most discourse on Portuguese national identity. This extract embodies some of the main topoi of national identity that I have drawn attention to in the analysis chapters: the nation as the mediator “by its pioneering navigation of the seas” between ‘us, the Europeans’ and ‘them, the rest of the world’; the nation as the guardian of “human diversity”, or in modern terms, of ‘multiculturalism and tolerance’; the nation as the mediator that “offered new worlds to the world”.¹⁰¹

This national identity narrative is constantly reframed and recontextualized in various areas of the public sphere – political, economic and cultural – in relation to Europe, to Africa, to Brazil, among other parts of the world. Additionally, the Portuguese literary canon has, for the most part, been built upon this discourse,

⁹⁹ <http://www.mnarteantiga-ipmuseus.pt/pt-PT/> (Accessed 12.05.2010).

¹⁰⁰ Held at the National Museum of Arte Antiga, Lisbon, which is the most visited museum in Portugal. IMC – Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação. Estatísticas, 2010 <http://www.ipmuseus.pt> (Accessed 9.06.2010).

¹⁰¹ All extracts are from the introductory text to the exhibition.

making it extremely hard to unmask in-built presupposed arguments. As I discussed in the Introduction, studies on Portuguese national identity conducted from a historical point of view have attempted to prove the existence of: (1) a very strong political entity, since the late Middle Ages; (2) an 'imagined community' since the fourteenth century; and (3) pivotal moments of self-identification against the 'other'.

The questions that guided my investigation were as follows:

(1) *How is Portugal's national identity represented and reframed through the media discourse on major national events, thirty years after the 1974 revolution?*

(2) *What kind of power relations and social relations are highlighted by the discursive strategies of the dominant national identity narrative(s)?*

(3) *How does this study of media discourse contribute to our knowledge about current discourses of national identity in Portugal?*

(4) *How are the 'Us' and the 'Other' discursively represented when constructing Portuguese national identity?*

(5) *What types of intertextual and interdiscursive relationships come into play in the discourses on national identity in the media?*

It is important to stress that although the critical paradigm usually sides with the 'voiceless', my intention was neither to solve a problem nor to contest power *per se*, but rather to analyse the effect of power perceived as being embedded in the discourses of those who have privileged access to the media when the discursive construction of national identity is in play. I consider the media analysed here to be very powerful because of, considering the high-circulation newspapers involved, their capacity to reach and influence vast numbers of people, and because of their authoritative status. Additionally, the media continuously emphasize the most conspicuous symbols of 'banal nationalism' which serve as continuous reminders of Portuguese nationhood, another key issue that was explored in this thesis.

In contrast to previous research on national identity based on the study of historical or literary sources (see Chapters 1 and 3), this study was designed to illustrate the 'imagined' character of the Portuguese nation as expressed in media discursive events. In order to understand a fairly large range of identity constructs,

through the media, their dialectical interrelations and the recontextualization of important concepts and arguments, I decided to examine three different discursive events within the epistemological site of the media and two different genres (text and talk, see also Figure 4.3):

1. The public discourse on the commemorations of the 25th April revolution produced by newspaper columnists (many of whom are politicians and have therefore privileged access to political power);
2. The public discourse on the European Football Championships, 2004, produced by newspaper commentators (regular and invited columnists);
3. The public discourse on 'national identity' produced by laypeople and 'experts' (academics) on a radio phone-in show.

All the datasets were explored along four analytical dimensions: (1) content, (2) discursive macro-strategies applied in the discursive construction of national identity, (3) strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation, and (4) forms of linguistic realization (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.1 for a summary of the dimensions).

Figure 9.1 (below) offers an overall diagram of the very complex intersections present in each text from the three datasets, even though it is impossible to account for every single relationship and link. All shaded shapes indicate texts, genres and discourses analysed in this study. Interdiscursivity is indicated by the big four overlapping dotted ellipses. The overlapping ellipses also assign texts to genre. Intertextual relationships are represented by simple black arrows linking texts to each other. The topics to which a text refers are indicated by the small black overlapping ellipses on the outside of the coloured ellipses; topic intersections of different texts are also indicated by these overlapping small ellipses.

Media discourse in particular offers ample ground to explore the weaving of complex ranges of voices, discourses and genres. Yet it is up to the analyst to untangle these 'voices' according to specific features and language of the text and according to his or her own critical viewpoint. Nevertheless, s/he needs to be aware of the range of meanings produced by other recipients which obviously vary according to setting and social context.

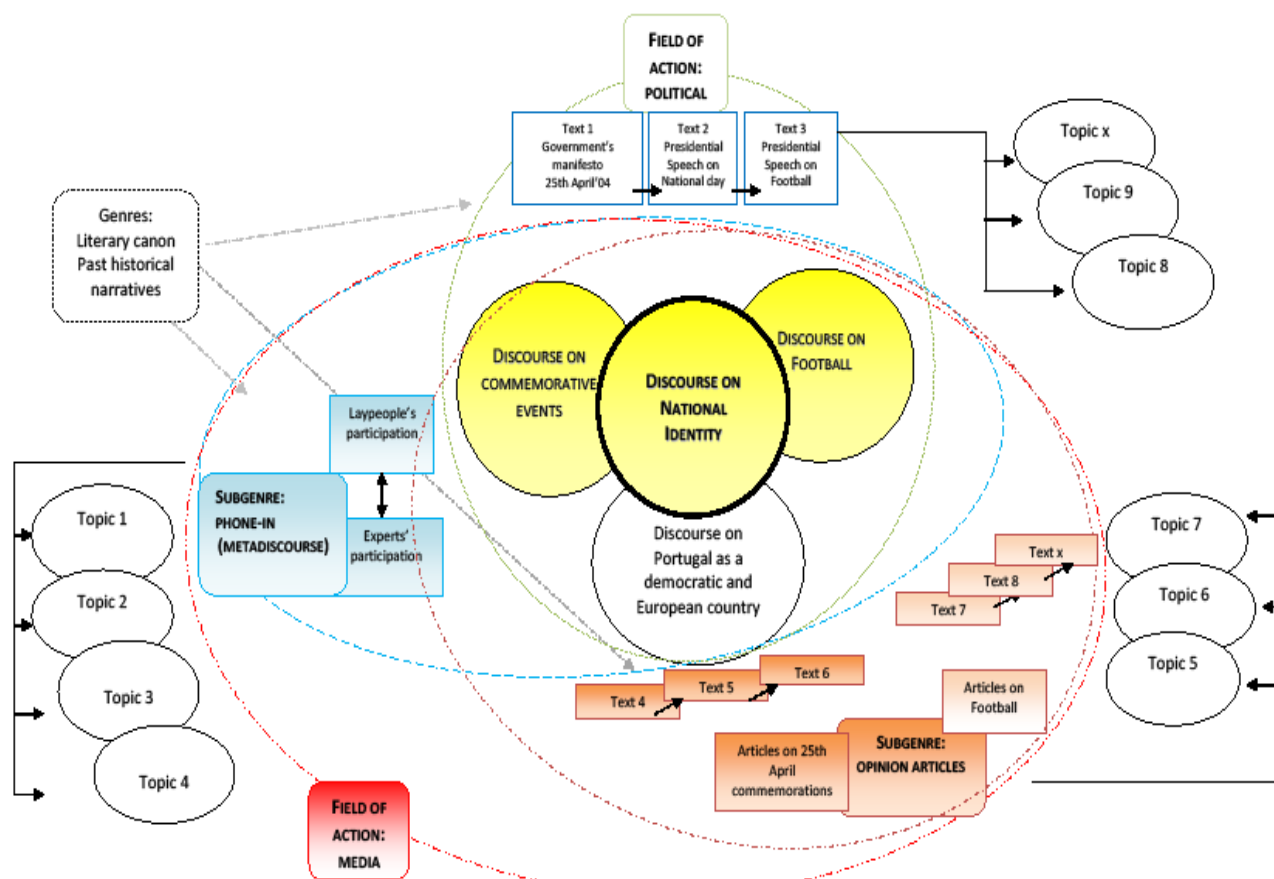


Figure 9.1 Interdiscursive and intertextual relationships between discourses, discourse topics, genres and texts (adapted from Reisigl and Wodak, 2009)

In short, my research has highlighted the complexities of the discourse-historical approach not at the language or co-text level, but rather at the intertextual and interdiscursive level (relationship between texts, genres and discourses), at the extra-linguistic social and institutional level, and finally in the broader socio-political and historical contexts.

The data collected belong to the generic genre of media. However, and because many genres are rather fluid in nature, it is not easy to pinpoint the particular genre of a text or discourse. This fluidity and genre mixing is illustrated by both the opinion articles and the spoken data. The latter include private, non-institutionalized attributes because of the lay participants. The talk of the two academics that come on to the programme also defy initial genre categorization, as their discourse,

although eminently public, is essentially academic, encompassing forms of linguistic realization distinct from the moderator's and other participants and characteristic of the academic genre. The various genres selected, including tabloid and broadsheet articles, also tried to cater for their distinct audiences (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.3 in which the various genres and audiences are represented).

I drew together both the micro- and macro-levels of analysis, following in the footsteps of Wodak and her collaborators' extensive studies using DHA, in order to overcome the failings of micro-studies to 'contextualize' actors, and the failings of macro-studies to explain how broader discourses affect micro-processes. Thus, I have tried to portray power and agency as tactical, localized and pervasive in specific contexts and settings (media, various text genres) within a socio-historical dimension. However, I would agree that, overall, this study was conducted on discourses based on formal positions of authority and "where expertise and power gradients are clear" (Wodak, 2009: 54), i.e. newspaper commentators, radio host and experts. Nonetheless, I chose these data precisely because the power relations, (e.g. democratic principles), should have been reshaped after the revolution, and also because mediated discourse after the revolution presupposed that newspaper opinion columns would be presented as giving 'voice to the citizens'.

Some of the key assumptions in this study have been that national identities are generated and reproduced through discourse, are fluid, and are context-dependent. A major point to highlight here is that the data analysis reiterates my initial hypothesis: identity constructs varied from setting to setting and were influenced by individuals' political affiliations (as was the case in the 25th April corpus), by each individual's symbolic status (e.g. the experts in the phone-in programme), and by the event(s) under discussion (in the football dataset, the construction of intra-national sameness and inter-national differences are of course very salient; in the commemorations' event, oppositional identity constructions are at the core of the discussion).

The overall differences in the discourses produced on Euro 2004 and on 25th April emphasize the 'fluctuating' nature of national identity discursive construction and how it is context dependent. If, during Euro 2004, the nation was rehearsing 'hot' nationalism, then during the 25th April commemorations the nation was

backgrounded and the political elites were pursuing sectional loyalties. My claim here is that the revolution's anniversary provided an opportunity to rewrite and re-conceptualize a chunk of very recent national history and collective memories, emphasising class and group loyalties. Euro 2004, on the other hand, was a moment of 'hot' nationalism wherein lay a *conscious choice in collective acts of imagination* to reproduce and maintain the nation. As I have stated in Chapter 2, it seemed as if the nationalist moment 'united' what the commemorations had 'disunited' two months earlier.

9.1 Revisiting some of the research questions

In order to answer primary research question (1), *How is Portugal's national identity represented and reframed through the media discourse on major national events thirty years after the 1974 revolution?*, I can safely claim that the several features common to western or westernized nations and national identities that DHA has identified are present in the data analysed: a macro-strategy to create discursively national sameness and difference; crucial references to the past; and finally tensions between 'homeland' and 'global entities'. These macro-strategies are presented in the table below (Table 9.1), where the main macro-themes related to national identity construction in the corpus are grouped in order to foreground intra- and inter-national sameness, and intra- and inter-national differences. It is evident that several dimensions for intra-national sameness are common to all three datasets (Portuguese way of being; collective political history; common political past, present and future; historical uniqueness; national body and national culture). By contrast, the macro-themes diverge in terms of inter-national sameness and differences: in the football corpus and in the experts' participation, there is a strong discursive construction of inter-national similarities with Europe, (even though the Football dataset also constructs strong inter-national differences of Portugal vs. Spain and 'us' vs. 'them') whereas the 25th April corpus builds inter-national differences with Europe. Table 9.1 also makes salient the differences between experts and lay

participants in relation to intra-national sameness, which is negatively constructed by the latter.

Datas ets	25th April	Football	Radio phone-in 'experts'
Intra-national sameness	The discursive construction of a 'Portuguese way' of being		
	The discursive construction of a collective political history		
	The discursive construction of a common political past, present and future		
	The discursive construction of historical uniqueness		
	The discursive construction of a 'national body' and of a 'national culture'		
Inter-national sameness	The discursive construction of the nation in EUrope ¹⁰² and the world		
Intra-national sameness			Radio phone-in lay participants
			The discursive construction of national defeat (present)
			The discursive construction of the absence of a common future
Intra-national differences	The discursive construction of 'us' vs. 'them' (political parties, political ideologies)		The discursive construction of an economic and class division: 'us' (the poor and workers) vs. 'them' (the rich, the elites, the politicians)
Inter-national differences	The discursive construction of 'us' vs. EUrope	The discursive construction of 'us' and 'them' The discursive construction of Portugal vs. Spain	The discursive construction of Portugal vs. Spain

Table 9.1 Semantic macro-areas related to national identity construction

I believe the constant reiteration of Portuguese national identity, among the arguments and rhetoric described in the introduction of this chapter, ultimately impacts on the discourses about those who do not fit the national identity 'canonical' features. I also believe that the opacity of these discourses does not leave much room for the Portuguese people to question them. As such, differences from this

¹⁰² It is well beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss a definition of 'Europe'; suffice it to say that I share Triandafyllidou et al.'s belief in the 'unique role' the national media play as the "key carriers of the ongoing negotiations of different ideas and different actors' standpoints" (2009: 5).

normative view of national identity are not even considered. The data analysis demonstrates various in-groups (in the 25th April corpus, political factions; in the radio phone-in programme, social groups) struggling to be who understands best what national identity is all about, i.e. who is the best guardian of 'true national identity'. It is not just a case of hardly giving voice to the testimonies from or reference to the 'other' (e.g. migrants, second generation migrants, etc.), it is my belief that the problem goes deeper, reflecting how closed-in Portuguese society appears to be and how weak and unengaged civic society is, as Chapters 3 and 4 have, in part, illustrated.

As for primary research question (2), *What kind of power relations and social relations are highlighted by the discursive strategies of the dominant national identity narrative(s)?*, the three datasets suggest that very similar ways of in-built hegemonic national identity are operated by the political and symbolic elites to fulfil their agenda(s). The historical perspective presented in Chapter 3 illustrated how Portuguese elites – which manage power over discourse – have superimposed their readings on the past and present national identity narratives. Their interpretation(s) of Portugal's symbolic role have permeated the majority of public discourse on national identity. On the other hand, the media have overtly reiterated 'banal nationalism', providing fertile ground on which the hegemonic discourse about Portuguese national identity and Europe has bloomed.

As the data only relate to three dimensions of the phenomenon, I cannot extrapolate the findings to discursive practices of the community outside the field of media action. However, I have clearly identified a problem: *euro-centrism* and *national-centrism*. The debate surrounding Euro 2004 (including printed media and radio) was openly about the construction and performance of national identity, which mostly aped the episodic manifestations of 'hot nationalism' already noted in many studies on national identity and mega-sports events; the 25th April corpus proved to be more challenging, as the construction of national identity was embedded in the texts, but was never overtly stated, since what was openly at stake were the different views on the country's 'new-born democracy' and how to portray the commemorations for the contemporary nation. At the same time, the data also demonstrated the need to domesticate what is perceived as European ethics and

values (e.g. social justice, democracy, equality among others), with a “view to legitimizing their ideas about the existing social, political and economic order” (Krzyżanowski et al., 2009: 6).

The meta-discursive function of the radio phone-in programme data, about which I hypothesized there would be diverse readings and different identity constructions from the hegemonic discourses on ‘belonging to Europe’ and ‘economics and politics’, proved again that the symbolic elites, due to their privileged access to the media, impose their national narratives and interpretations to which the anonymous citizen does not react significantly.

As such, the content topics do not differ greatly from the content topics in the Euro 2004 textual data, and the main DHA discursive strategies also function in very similar ways, as does the construction of in-groups and out-groups, based mainly on social group distinctions and (economic) comparisons with a few of the other European nations, particularly Spain.

As we have seen, most narratives insist on an image of Portugal as a very homogeneous country, with a strong in-group discursive construction. According to these accounts, noticeable differences are based on social class and socioeconomic inequality, and not on regional or ethnic differences. Whilst other (national) contexts have witnessed the impact of “ex-colonials, immigrants and asylum seekers” in re-defining and eroding images of a homogenous national identity (Smith, 1998: 203), these types of influx have not yet had an impact on Portuguese discourses on national identity (in neither academic output nor media or state official discourses). Finally, because of the public / private sphere dichotomy, and the limited access to the former, it is difficult to access non-hegemonic individual memories or narratives unless these are filtered or shaped by the media; different studies, for instance using focus groups or interviews, would have been needed and this was not a methodological option for my particular data.

9.2 Discursive strategies of self and other presentation

An important part of my analysis was based on identifying the main strategies which play a significant part in the discourse of national identity: constructive strategies, transformative strategies, perpetuation or justificatory strategies, and dismantling strategies. The following section summarizes some of their more salient occurrences.

9.2.1 The discourse on commemorations

The significant traits of the government's *Programme of Action* for the commemorations are the salience of both *dismantling* and *transformative* discursive strategies by rejecting past commemoration events, and underlining present and future moments. The dismantling strategies constructed a static past, where 'we' did not know how to celebrate, in contrast with a dynamic positive future. Along with dismantling the concept of 'revolution', the programme transforms it into 'evolution'. The transformative strategy based on the topos of evolution is the answer to the state's symbolic construction of Portugal as a European country.

My claim is that 'revolution' metamorphosed into 'evolution', because there seems to be a need to reshape social memory in terms of orientation to the future. The articles, in order to legitimate what a revolution is/ was or should be/ should have been, assess the revolution's (lack of) success in terms of social and economic progress (evolution), and in terms of freedom and democratic practices; and this is accomplished through modes of (de-)legitimizing social practices and social actors. In order to sustain arguments and claims, various topoi are employed – topos of history; topos of freedom; topos of democracy; topos of progress. To evaluate the revolution's success, the articles rely on comparing: temporally, the past with the present; and geographically, Portugal with other western-European countries. The event is mostly portrayed as a foundational moment of change, of rebirth, and attached to strong emotional feelings, such as national pride or intense happiness.

Apart from one reference to the future construed in a definite time frame, the other instances of future construction are coupled with negative judgments (or absence) of what it will entail, will provide, etc. This is particularly revealing because the lay participants in the phone-in radio programme construe the future similarly. Both corpora ascribe responsibility to 'them': in the case of the commemorations, to political actors, in the case of the phone-in radio show, to the governing elites and politicians.

The lack of a discursive in-group belonging to Europe ('we Europeans' or 'we Europe') in terms of constructive or transformative strategies was quite surprising. Even though becoming an EU member is represented as a crucial landmark, there is a clear dividing line between 'us the Portuguese' and 'them in Europe', as the European goals of welfare, justice (i.e. lack of corruption) and democracy are perceived as far-reaching.

National in-group constructions are quite rare. In fact, we find abundant use of the third person 'the Portuguese' and impersonal passive constructions or subject elision which is a rhetorical strategy for distancing both the authorial voice and the 'we' group from the actions, activities and events being narrated. The more negatively events are assessed, the more frequent this structure becomes.

9.2.2 The football corpus

As Euro 2004 became an instrumental discourse for a nation which aspires to a post-Iberian, post-peripheral interpretation, most of the strategies displayed a marked sense of intra-national unity-building and inter-national sameness construction with Europe (see Table 9.1 above).

However, there was a rare counter-discourse analysed in the sample. The dismantling strategies of this text are based upon the explicit de-mythologizing of 'patriotic' feelings, and of the national in-group boundary by turning 'upside down' the out-group construction (e.g. reference to Spanish and English friends and phrases written in Spanish and English), with specific references to increasing hatred and openly xenophobic feelings, precisely the opposite of the open 'hot nationalism' portrayed by the corpus in general.

The analysis of headlines was important as a means of summarizing macro-topics at a higher level of abstraction, involving generalization, (re)construction of information and information deletion. As I have claimed, the macro-proposition of a headline guides the reader to a specific thematic macro-structure, which in this case contributed to positive self-presentation. And as I have highlighted repeatedly, national identity is highly context sensitive thus, during the football event, the topos of the 'foreign other' was represented both positively and negatively, namely Portugal's close neighbour Spain which indicates, as well, how fluctuating, volatile and non-essentialist national identity construction really is, even when it mostly surfaces as reiteration of political and media discourse.

Headline analysis indicates three main patterns: (1) positive self-presentation based on the collective historical imagery of Portugal-the-nation, whilst (2) stereotyping the foreign team and (3) constructing an in-group belonging to Europe. Therefore, construction and perpetuation discursive strategies are instrumental in building an all-inclusive sense of belonging. Nonetheless, counter-discourse(s), based on dismantling strategies present in the broadsheet articles sampled, clearly show that (Portuguese) national identity is indeed a dynamic and unsettled issue, always 'in the making'.

9.2.3 The radio show

The phone-in data are particularly interesting because they draw together two types of participants. For the analysis of the phone-in data, I focused on how the co-construction of meaning in talk-in interaction impacts on the discourses produced on national identity. I was able to ascertain how certain topoi, topics and 'othering' strategies are framed, produced and recontextualized co-textually. Again, I explored: how self- and other-presentation strategies were constructed; 'us and them' deictics and how these were affected by various layers of context: the co-construction of arguments within the interaction (context-dependent in the text-internal co-text); the asymmetric positions set up in the opening turn sequences between host and callers (the institutional frame or 'context of a situation'); and finally, the strong and deep seated hierarchical forms of address in the Portuguese language (the broader

social context). Furthermore, the lay participants drew on essentialist and static notions of national identity and, significantly, the only explicit discursive exclusion and ostracism of non-Portuguese living in Portugal came from their participation. Even though the debate is about Portuguese national identity being “in crisis” (the phrase used to introduce the radio programme topic), as a ‘true’ proposition, the very idea of national identity is neither questioned nor dismantled.

The data show that destructive strategies aiming at dismantling parts of national identity are regularly used: national identity is discursively constructed as “a tangible thing” that other in-groups can steal or destroy. I believe this interesting feature lies in the recent historical past and political context. Theoretically, according to the DHA framework, this destructive strategy usually links to a constructive strategy focused on presupposing and highlighting in-group national sameness. Moreover, in-group national sameness is constructed by contrasting with out-groups, namely ethnic, national or cultural minorities. However, and surprisingly (if we take into consideration the official statistics for legal and illegal labour migrants in Portugal), this is not the case in these spoken data. In fact, this study suggests that we should recognize that constructing national identity is also a site of social struggle between social classes and the haves and have-nots instead of, as the literature indicates, between us=the Portuguese and them=the labour migrants, or them=the ethnic minorities. The constant shifting of perspectivization, together with the various referential strategies for ‘Portugal’, corroborates these findings.

9.3 Reflections on the findings

In Chapter 6, my analysis illustrates that the various participants interpret the past and present national political contexts in different ways, siding with their own political ideologies. The outcome is the objectification and dehumanization of the social actor, ‘the Portuguese’. The hegemonic narrative flags evolution, progress, democracy, liberty and social justice within the discourse of what I called a *state of transitional national identity* that is represented as being aligned with (western)

European ideals. My conclusion is that the discursive re-framing of these (European) values within the commemoration event is a means of building national unity and cohesion, and of pre-empting the democratic debate over what Portugal and/ or the Portuguese might want to become, or might have been, as what 'we' want is decided for 'us'. The broader context of the 2004 European Union enlargement, from 15 to 25 countries, in many ways impacted on the discourses on Portugal's national identity and its new, possibly diminished, role on the 'map of nations'. This enlargement was perceived as a threat to Portugal's already frail economy, due to its high rates of illiteracy, poorly-educated population and weak economic structure. This broader context, mapped out in Chapter 3, had to be taken on board in order to explain the insistent reiteration of the aforementioned abstract values.

If, in the 25th April corpus, identity formation centres on building 'sub-national in-groups', the Euro 2004 corpus illustrates that identity formation is built mainly upon the discursive construction of a collective political, a 'Portuguese way' of being held up against the 'other' nations and Europe (see Table 9.1, above).

Euro 2004 was conceived as a mode of celebration, if not of historical events, then of national identity, national character and patriotism. This political appropriation, for nationalist purposes, was aimed at both internal and international consumption, presenting the tension between 'globalization rhetoric' and 'homeland rhetoric' typical of westernized national identity discourses.

Billig's (1995: 6) claim that nationalism, far from being an intermittent mood in established nations, is an 'endemic condition' is fully supported by the analysis. 'Banal nationalism' is present in topoi and validity claims, in linguistic devices such as personal deixis, in the ways the nation is nominalised and predicated. A crucial point here is that without 'banal nationalism,' there would not be a frame of discursive reference upon which headlines and articles proposing strong patriotism made sense to the discursive community. Since the sports tournament became a means of publicly displaying positive historical consciousness (which was supported by the political field), the similarities between newspapers' discourses are hardly surprising, even though the broadsheets present a broader construction of the in-group 'Europeans' in comparison to the tabloid's narrower in-group/ out-group boundaries.

Another important point is that pervasiveness of flag branding demonstrated a new form of nationalism in Portugal, as most commentators from the three newspapers and from various political backgrounds assumed their 'patriotic pride', siding with the official narrative and choosing to enact the role of 'public voices'.

Similar to Euro 2004, analysis of the radio phone-in programme transcript in Chapter 8 revealed the hegemonic discursive construction of national identity to be embedded in the Portuguese collective past, collective history, collective memory, and canonical writers. As Stråth and Wodak (2009: 16) perceptively point out, "the crisis concept and contentious value mobilization (right/ wrong, good/ bad society, friend/ enemy)" are "reflected and reinforced in the public sphere through appeals to specific values". Accordingly, politicians use 'the identity crisis' argument whenever it serves their agenda, and in this case the media (the radio) reiterated it.

The true significance of using this data lies in the broadcast's potential for *reflexivity*, which is enabled by the media as a public sphere interface, but which, as I described, falls considerably short of its promise. Semi-public lay participants (besides the in-group/ out-group boundaries built along social groups) draw on the same collective historically-charged representations and narratives to construe and/ or represent Portugal's national identity. Finally, I also brought in the post-Habermasian approach to the concept of public sphere(s), by which the media are responsible for the mediation and interrelations between the various institutions, which includes all relations when power is exercised over others (Wright, 2008: 31) (as well as for entertaining audiences), and open up the potential for reflexivity (see Chapter 2, section 2.7.1 for criticism and elaboration of the concept)¹⁰³ to evaluate people's free access to an open line (Antena Aberta) where, according to the concept, eventual consensus could be reached in order to lead to action.¹⁰⁴ Even though recognizing that, in a democracy, this type of open radio forum might serve at a basic level of interactive practice for (political) discussion and action, I concluded that these qualities were not present in this particular data genre, as the analysis of the data transcript illustrates discourse fragmentation and significant lack of

¹⁰³ See also Wright (2008) for a summary of the main critiques of Habermas' concept of public sphere.

¹⁰⁴ However, analysts such as Mouffe (1999, cited in Wright, 2008: 32) have argued that deliberative democracy cannot cope with deep differences of opinion, and these should not be denied by the force of consensus but be encouraged.

interaction, which suggests that the show has become increasingly normalized. However, Wright (2008: 35) rightly denounces “our normative position on what the public sphere should be like” and calls attention to the controversy surrounding how weak or strong (namely, through internet forums) it has become.

Furthermore, and in line with this, the other datasets in this study, consisting of *signed* articles, should also present the potential for *reflexivity*. However, they are also part of the institutional structure while, on the other hand, as *social agents*, they reflect and contest the social institutions they are embedded in. As such, the analyst has to uncover both the discursive construction of national identity by the nation-state through the media and, simultaneously, by the commentators’ and participants’ meta-discourse on national identity. At the same time, the media incorporate a third dimension of entertainment.

These overall conclusions confirm what Cunha (1997: 29) argued in her study on national identity and opinion articles in the press, where she applies a content analysis methodology to 99 opinion articles published between 1993 and 1995 in the main Portuguese newspapers:

The lack of debate, the emptiness generated by the omission of the Other, the silence and the silencing of his or her voice (rarely heard) emphasize the way the Portuguese have of talking of the Other as a continuation of themselves, in a narcissistic and autistic movement, avoiding either public or private confrontation, between the symbolic universe and the daily practices or the debate about future perspectives of building relationships and living together. [capitals in original]

Cunha also states that, in her corpus, opinion makers talk about the “Other through themselves (the attitudes and beliefs of the news articles’ authors). They refer to the Other, describing themselves. There are hardly any descriptions of the object (Other) however, the description of the Subject (being Portuguese) is augmented, as well as its identity” (1997: 28). As such, the deliberate and overt omission of the ‘other’ is a constant in the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity, in spite of the recent reconfiguration of the historical and social context. At the same time, in 2002, Portugal was the European country in which respondents to a sociological survey revealed more distrust and ‘opposition’ to immigrants (Vala et al., 2006: 249).

The analysis of the commemoration corpus also revealed that the elites consistently omitted these groups, when we would have thought that the commemorations themselves were the appropriate arena to refer to them. Evidently, this is a form of exclusionary practice. First, the groups of immigrants who have lived in Portugal since the late seventies remained unmentioned. Second, this absence from the ‘discourse on 25th April’ was even more striking because the revolution ended a 13-year old war against the Portuguese former African colonies whose citizens migrated in large numbers to Portugal during the following years (see Chapter 3 for the historical background).

In sum, the data (even though limited) reaffirm (based on the CA and DHA analysis) how asymmetric power relations are profoundly embedded in the Portuguese social network, and in the linguistic enactment of asymmetric dominance in the construction of social identities. As I said above, dismantling strategies are very evident in the presupposition of intra-national differences that emphasise the negative features of the in-group, i.e. the Portuguese. Thus, in-groups are built along class divisions and based on who has access to (symbolic) power, in patent contradiction to the strong constructive strategies to build national unity in football data and the transformative strategies by various groups present in the commemoration corpus claiming that *their* ‘imagined’ community and *their* idea for Portugal was the true one.

9.4 Limitations

The size of the corpus collected, and the richness of its textual content (due to the opinion articles genre) for analysis, constitute one of the main limitations of this PhD project as, at times, I felt unable to explore the data to their fullest; however, the total dataset size is also tied to its advantages, insofar as using different datasets allowed me to show how Portuguese national identity is constructed along similar discourses within various settings and genres, as proposed by DHA. As discourse is a set of social practices, my discursive analysis has had to ignore an important block of

signifying meaning and leave other semiotic resources behind. Hence, I deliberately chose not to include any analysis of non-linguistic semiotic systems, such as the visuals which accompanied the newspaper texts: images, cartoons and photographs. The radio programme discourse was also characterized by a number of dialogic features such as hesitation markers, sentence fragments and syntactical deviations, reformulations, corrections, modifications, etc., which I did not explore as to do so would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis. I also wish to highlight that I am aware that analysing discourse often involves making inferences about inferences, and that all aspects of meaning making are acts of construction. As I made clear before, discourse needs to be mediated through language which is subjectively and ideologically vested by its users. Furthermore, it is important to distinguish between the meanings (including goals and intentions) inferred by analysts (including myself), and the meanings (including goals and intentions) implied by participants.

Another important limitation is that the analysis mostly considers public texts, even though the analysis of the radio programme attempts to overcome this limitation by drawing also on semi-public talk. Therefore, how anonymous individuals discursively represent national identity was not examined here; nor was attention given to the minorities which I claim to be omitted from the various discourses analysed. The main implication is that, as an analyst, I did not evaluate the impact of the hegemonic narratives on the receivers' end in this thesis – that is left for future research.

9.5 Contributions of this thesis

Drawing on an integrated interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological framework, I have followed a multi-methodological approach which combined three distinct sets of data. To these, I added a thorough review of the literature – including historical, sociological and broad cultural-literary perspectives – of the main national identity narratives since the country's foundation in the thirteenth century. Under the major umbrella of DHA, the datasets were investigated by using distinct

analytical tools which were carefully chosen as the most adequate for each genre: corpus linguistics, conversation analysis, and various tools drawn from various CDA approaches. One of the innovative contributions of my study lies in the intersection of datasets (i.e. the triangulation of newspaper data and the radio phone-in programme), methods and discourses (from the public sphere and lay citizens) with distinct meta-discursive functions, and genres (text and talk, tabloid and broadsheets) in order to understand, in depth, the phenomenon of national identity construction in Portugal within a specific time frame. Hence, I examined current discourses of national identity within the field of action of the media – the public sphere – applying both systematic linguistic and contextual analysis, from a non-essentialist, dynamic and contextually embedded approach. From a discursive perspective, I have aimed to provide novel insights into a debate that has, until now, centred on what I consider to be the elites' literary and cultural representations of national identity. In the light of the results, I can state that another central contribution of this research lies in its complementing and questioning of major claims and presuppositions related to Portuguese national identity, such as the ones cited in the extract opening this chapter. Taking into account how the meanings of national identities are constructed in media discourses, and the key role of the latter in building national identities, this study makes the nation both the context and an analytical unit for the study of national identities. This situates this study in both social theory and within the framework of language and communication.

The third of the primary research questions guiding this study was: *How has this study of media discourse contributed to our knowledge about current discourses of national identity in Portugal?* Given the broad scope of datasets and analysis – also a major contribution of this study – which was guided by a well-designed methodological apparatus – my study goes far beyond traditional content analysis, foregrounding certain discursive patterns relating to hegemonic national identity construction. More importantly, it provides evidence of the discursive strategies and consistent linguistic evidence of the delegitimation of social actors,, such as 'the Portuguese' which leads to a major 'contradiction' in politicians' discourses between 'what they say' and 'how they say it'. This last statement is true for the commemoration texts, the football texts, and the experts' broadcast participation. In

the three datasets I was able to find inherent contradictions between ‘Portugal, the friendly host, on equal terms’ and the overtly nationalist discourse. The triangulation of data and methods under the major umbrella of the discourse-historical approach proved to be consistently operational, and to allow me to reveal deviations or exceptions to the norm in relation to what, according to our internalized cognitive schemas, was to be expected from newspaper *opinion* articles, versatile and manifold as they were, and, in many ways, the amount of ‘deviation’ from the schemas encountered (e.g. first person personal narratives, ‘auto-biographical’ accounts, insider and outsider perspectives, family accounts of the revolution, intertextual links to various canonical writers) greatly challenged the analysis. Yet another analytical contribution is the way in which I explored the dialogical nature or intertextuality of texts by foregrounding how text producers persuade their audience, respond to and persuade each other, and re-write and reframe each other’s arguments. Drawing on both classic Aristotelian and modern argumentation theory, I also make use of *topoi* as specific ‘structures of arguments’ which are ‘linguistically’ realized through argumentative strategies; for instance, I present a detailed analysis of how the *topoi* in the government’s manifesto for the commemorations (Chapter 6, section 6.3) mutate ‘revolution’ into ‘evolution’. In sum, I believe the triangulation of methods, adequate to each specific dataset, allowed me to shed new light on the issue of Portuguese national identity construction and introduce a useful and fairly integrated methodological approach, as well as genre adequate methodologies.

9.6 Opportunities for future research

I believe that this application of triangulation of methods and data to other macro-themes within the context of Portugal’s relationship with other nations, and possibly with migrants, could be fruitful for future research. The macro-theme could be investigated by different modes of analysis within the public sphere, including political speeches, legislation and multimodal analysis of printed media, and by

considering various genres – newspapers, news broadcast etc. Another fruitful line of investigation could be conducted by focusing on the semi-private and private spheres – by using focus groups and interviews with various groups of citizens. This line of research would allow the mapping out of non-hegemonic discourses on Portuguese national identity across the various social groups, and would also capture the dynamic aspect of identity construction in spoken interaction. Other possibilities for future study include exploring, in depth, the discursive construction of various themes which I detected during the analysis but which I was unable to explore fully, namely the media's discursive construction of the so-called former 'Portuguese empire', and how Portugal's current relations with the *lusophone* world (Portuguese speaking countries) are discursively represented in the Portuguese media and in political speeches. At the same time, I believe it would be very enlightening and productive to work with parallel corpora to compare Portuguese media with other lusophone media.

Finally, another important line of research would be to explore the construction of European identity via the Portuguese data, as this identity was salient in the corpus and the findings have demonstrated that national identity is often juxtaposed to European identity (see Table 9.1, above).

9.7 Final thoughts

As I have reiterated on several occasions in this thesis, national identity is based on selective remembering and selective forgetting. It is true that the forced absence of important historical facts in identity narratives to serve specific (state or elite) purposes has long been acknowledged, but this fact only enhances the need to critique these practices as they might involve various forms of opacity.

Nonetheless, and making Billig's words my own, "if nationalism is a wider ideology, whose familiar commonplaces catch us unawares [...] it is naive to think that a text of exposure can escape from the times and place of its formulation"

(1995: 12), which means that this study is unavoidably embedded in its own layers of context.

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Appendix A. List of articles

Football Corpus

PÚBLICO

- 1 6.06.2004 Uma grande manifestação de tolerância e desportivismo
- 2 12.06.2004 Futebol e utopia
- 3 13.06.2004 “Desporto (leia-se futebol)”
- 4 13.06.2004 Mais Europeu
- 5 16.06.2004 O sexto império
- 6 19.06.2004 Uma boa notícia
- 7 20.06.2004 A excessiva importância social e política que damos ao futebol é ditatorial e asfixiante
- 8 20.06.2004 Nem que jogue a padeira!
- 9 20.06.2004 O caminho trôpego de Scolari
- 10 20.06.2004 Parvoíce ou talvez não
- 11 21.06.2004 Euforia verde e vermelha varreu Portugal
- 12 21.06.2004 Obrigada Felipão!
- 13 22.06.2004 A Noite dos Gatos
- 14 24.06.2004 A eficácia e a estética
- 15 24.06.2004 Sexo, o rigoroso Scolari e o liberal Eriksson
- 16 24.06.2004 A Tribo que vence
- 17 26.06.2004 A Universidade de Ranholas
- 18 26.06.2004 As Riquezas da Nação
- 19 27.06.2004 Jornalistas nacionais
- 20 27.06.2004 Nós e a Europa, outras razões
- 21 28.06.2004 Nas janelas
- 22 30.06.2004 Se isto é um dia mais feliz

EXPRESSO

- 23 10.06.2004 Do editor
- 24 19.06.2004 Euronotas
- 25 19.06.2004 NS –NR
- 26 19.06.2004 Portugal está a ganhar
- 27 19.06.2004 Toque de caixa
- 28 23.06.2004 Comprei umas bandeiras
- 29 23.06.2004 A moda das bandeiras
- 30 26.06.2004 É sempre a mesma canção
- 31 26.06.2004 Euro, euros, culturas
- 32 26.06.2004 O espírito do futebol
- 33 03.07.2004 A repetição do impossível
- 34 03.07.2004 O Euro e a “mundialização”
- 35 10.07.2004 A ponderação
- 36 10.07.2004 Do editor
- 37 10.07.2004 Scolari: errar é humano
- 38 10.07.2004 Sonhos de grandeza

CORREIO DA MANHÃ

39	8.06.2004	País a verde e vermelho
40	9.06.2004	Bandeira
41	10.06.2004	Prognóstico
42	11.06.2004	Ah, a glória!
43	12.06.2004	A raça de Scolari e a amiga UEFA
44	12.06.2004	Na hora da verdade
45	12.06.2004	O Open de Portugal
46	12.06.2004	Com e sem bola
47	12.06.2004	Festa já
48	12.06.2004	Heróis do mar
49	12.06.2004	Um <i>CM</i> melhor
50	13.06.2004	Bastidores do Euro
51	13.06.2004	Patriotismo à varanda
52	13.06.2004	As nossas bandeiras
53	13.06.2004	Uma sande e uma gasosa
54	13.06.2004	Karago(unis)!
55	13.06.2004	Santo Beckam
56	14.06.2004	Será que ainda temos alguma coisa a provar?
57	14.06.2004	As desculpas de Scolari
58	14.06.2004	Negro
59	15.06.2004	13 de Junho
60	15.06.2004	Temos tempo?
61	15.06.2004	As europeias e o euro 2004
62	15.06.2004	A resposta já!
63	16.06.2004	Uma história de Eusébio e o que se pede à selecção
64	16.06.2004	Nossos caros e respeitados jogadores
65	16.06.2004	Merecer a fé
66	16.06.2004	Sargentinhos e sargentões
67	16.06.2004	Alta alcunha
68	17.06.2004	Scolari - vencer a perder
69	17.06.2004	Ousar corrigir
70	18.06.2004	Nunca mais é domingo
71	18.06.2004	Mais alterações?
72	18.06.2004	Portugal a sorrir
73	18.06.2004	O magistério de Figo
74	18.06.2004	Há um trabalho a fazer para potenciar Pauleta
75	18.06.2004	Se Deco não é Português quero ser decoês
76	18.06.2004	Mais do mesmo...
77	19.06.2004	Alto nível e muita igualdade
78	19.06.2004	A pressão de Camacho (não) mete impressão
79	19.06.2004	Non hablo com españoles
80	20.06.2004	Hoje é na TVI!
81	20.06.2004	A segurança do Euro
82	20.06.2004	Um jogo que exige paciência, inteligência e rigor tático
83	20.06.2004	Chicotada Psicológica
84	20.06.2004	Com quem dorme o sargentão?
85	20.06.2004	Festa ou fiesta, marquês ou cibelles
86	21.06.2004	O país em festa

87	21.06.2004	A selecção do povo
88	21.06.2004	Puro leite
89	21.06.2004	Figo, fama e futebol
90	21.06.2004	Havendo uma equipa agora, sim, é possível
91	22.06.2004	O brilharete
92	23.06.2004	Ser português para além do euro
93	23.06.2004	Venham os insultos
94	24.06.2004	Já ganhámos!
95	24.06.2004	Sobretudo uma questão de carácter e atitude
96	24.06.2004	As pequenas vantagens portuguesas
97	24.06.2004	Venham os bifos!
98	24.06.2004	Pelo Ro ou pelo Roo?
99	25.06.2004	Uma lágrima por Portugal
100	26.06.2004	Nossa senhora, Felipão!
101	26.06.2004	Scolari, o mata-mata
102	26.06.2004	A vitória dos países exportadores de futebolistas
103	27.06.2004	Portugal em alta
104	27.06.2004	Portugal, Portugal
105	27.06.2004	Aprender com as lições do Futebol
106	27.06.2004	Desgovernos para além do futebol
107	27.06.2004	A vitória é nossa!
108	27.06.2004	O que se passa neste euro?
109	27.06.2004	Laranja gota a gota
110	27.06.2004	Delírio
111	28.06.2004	O homem já ganhou
112	28.06.2004	Checos muito unidos
113	28.06.2004	O céu é o limite
114	28.06.2004	O limão mecânico
115	29.06.2004	A bola de tróia
116	30.06.2004	Até à final
117	30.06.2004	A boa pressão de poder ganhar
118	30.06.2004	Uma Holanda feita para o meio-a-zero
119	1.07.2004	Saber ganhar é saber evoluir
120	1.07.2004	Enfim
121	2.07.2007	Da renovação de Scolari à final com a Grécia
122	2.07.2004	A final histórica e o novo futebol
123	2.07.2004	Heróis do amor
124	2.07.2004	Saiu-nos a terminação
125	3.07.2004	Cumpra-se o destino
126	3.07.2004	Não deixar o futebol andar para trás
127	3.07.2004	Audácia e coração
128	4.07.2004	O 'clube' med
129	4.07.2004	Ter Sampaio e ter selecção
130	4.07.2004	Um desafio empolgante e um momento irrepetível
131	4.07.2004	É preciso aprender a dura lição grega
132	4.07.2004	O país a seus pés
133	5.07.2004	Derrota e mais nada
134	5.07.2004	O troféu
135	5.07.2004	Voltar à vidinha
136	5.07.2004	Espreitar a glória
137	6.07.2004	O dream team de Scolari e a emoção de Sampaio
138	6.07.2004	A selecção para próximo mundial

139	4.07.2004	O fim da língua de pau no futebol português
140	6.07.2004	Mr. Hyde e o canto da sereia grega
141	6.07.2004	Elogio da selecção

25th of April Commemorations Corpus

PÚBLICO

142	14.04.2004	Abril é revolução
143	20.04.2004	Três questões sobre o 25 de Abril
144	23.04.2004	Abril uniu
145	24.04.2004	Os dias em que as comportas se abriram
146	24.04.2004	Quando o telefone toca
147	25.04.2004	A Igreja e o 25 de Abril
148	25.04.2004	Rasura
149	25.04.2004	O tempo de exigência
150	25.04.2004	Abril e evolução
151	25.04.2004	Maioria dos portugueses insatisfeitos com o estado da democracia
152	25.04.2004	A memória do passado 30 anos depois de Abril
153	25.04.2004	Três dimensões do 25 de Abril
154	25.04.2004	Teorias da democracia
155	25.04.2004	Suspeitas e acusações sob suspeita
156	25.04.2004	Revolução e evolução
157	25.04.2004	Retrato da Semana
158	26.04.2004	Abril entre amnésia e a mentira
159	26.04.2004	De 74 a 2034. estamos a caminho de Portugal
160	26.04.2004	30 anos de democracia
161	30.04.2004	Griffith e as censuras correctas
162	30.04.2004	Repensar a democracia

EXPRESSO

163	13.03.2004	Domingo de paz
164	17.04.2004	Espalhar os «erres»
165	24.04.2004	Do editor
166	24.04.2004	Fugir das comemorações
167	24.04.2004	25 de Abril de 2004
168	24.04.2004	O 25 de Abril (versão oficial)
169	24.04.2004	A desconfiança da filosofia
170	24.04.2004	Ensaio sobre o 25 de Abril
171	24.04.2004	O beco
172	24.04.2004	Onde foi parar o «R»?
173	24.04.2004	O «r» de liberdade
174	1.05.2004	Revolução ou evolução
175	1.05.2004	As revoluções têm de falhar?

CORREIO DA MANHÃ

176	18.04.2004	TV na antevisão de Abril
177	21.04.2004	Corrupção
178	25.04.2004	A evolução em curso
179	25.04.2004	É preciso um novo PREC
180	25.04.2004	Fartos de tanta mentira
181	26.04.2004	Acertar com o tempo

Appendix B. Strategic concept (in Portuguese)

30 anos do 25 de Abril

Março de 2004

Conceito Estratégico

25 de Abril faz 30 anos. E 30 anos é a idade da maturidade. Queremos, por isso, destacar este ano aquilo que representa a maturidade, a evolução em Portugal. Todas as culturas, sociedades, países têm na sua história pequenos e grandes acontecimentos que marcam e constituem a sua identidade. Desses acontecimentos fica uma memória colectiva que, tal como os seus significados, é viva, dinâmica e evolutiva. Também o 25 de Abril é um elemento da nossa história, da nossa memória colectiva. As palavras de ordem, o cravo. O sinónimo de liberdade, o início de uma vida em democracia. Símbolos que jamais esqueceremos. Mas não queremos viver do passado. Não queremos que o 25 de Abril seja só uma memória. O 25 de Abril renova-se sempre que se celebra. O 25 de Abril de 1974 marcou o início de uma viragem histórica em Portugal. Mas com a conquista da Liberdade, os Portugueses voltaram-se para outra conquista, a do Desenvolvimento. Em 30 anos, o 25 de Abril cresceu, como o país cresceu. Em 30 anos, Portugal passou de um país triste, pobre, fechado e à procura de um destino... para um país aberto, social e economicamente, democrático, dinâmico. Um país onde vale a pena viver. Portugal tem hoje um lugar de destaque no Mundo. É membro das mais prestigiadas Organizações Internacionais. É um país tecnologicamente desenvolvido, com modernas infra-estruturas de transportes, onde a qualidade de vida média da população cresceu de uma forma marcante em apenas 30 anos. É esta a herança de Abril. Abril é, sobretudo, evolução. E decorridos 30 anos, seria estranho que a forma de comemoração não sofresse alterações. A data que marcou o início de uma era de desenvolvimento em Portugal, não deve, por isso, ser uma festa saudosista ou meramente ideológica. Deve sim ser uma Festa Nacional. Uma festa que através da noção de Presente nos dê uma visão de Futuro. Ao comemormos a noção de desenvolvimento, que marca o viver diário de toda a população, estamos a transmitir que a sociedade portuguesa cumpriu um desígnio. Que se orgulha do Presente acreditando no Futuro. As comemorações deste ano vão, assim, ser enquadradas num espírito da afirmação da auto-estima nacional. 2004 é um ano de mudança positiva do ciclo económico. Coincide com a organização do maior evento desportivo jamais organizado em Portugal, o Euro 2004. Vamos comemorar juntos os 30 anos de evolução do 25 de Abril.

Appendix C. Tables: keyword and keyness

Table 1. The twenty most frequent lexical words in the 25th April corpus

RANK	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>			<i>Expresso</i>			<i>Público</i>		
	WORD	FREQ	%	WORD	FREQ	%	WORD	FREQ	%
1	Abril	18	0.6	Abril	60	0.7	Abril	205	0.88
2	Anos	16	0.53	revolução	60	0.7	democracia	112	0.48
3	RTP	12	0.4	aos	35	0.41	anos	91	0.39
4	TV	11	0.37	liberdade	23	0.27	revolução	69	0.3
5	tempo	11	0.33	país	22	0.26	política	48	0.21
6	estado	10	0.3	democracia	21	0.24	hoje	47	0.2
7	hoje	9	0.3	Portugal	21	0.24	evolução	45	0.19
8	país	8	0.27	poder	18	0.21	regime	45	0.19
9	liberdade	7	0.23	comemorações	17	0.2	social	39	0.17
10	nova	7	0.23	hoje	17	0.2	estado	38	0.16
11	peessoas	7	0.23	revoluções	15	0.17	Portugal	36	0.16
12	social	7	0.23	constituição	14	0.16	portugueses	36	0.16
13	sociedade	7	0.23	regime	14	0.16	liberdade	33	0.14
14	evolução	6	0.2	governo	13	0.15	trinta	29	0.12
15	revolução	6	0.2	peessoas	13	0.15	país	28	0.12
16	trinta	6	0.2	política	13	0.15	sociais	27	0.12
17	vida	6	0.2	vida	13	0.15	esquerda	26	0.11
18	adesão	5	0.17	tempo	11	0.13	portuguesa	26	0.11
19	força	5	0.17	dia	10	0.12	tempo	26	0.11
20	Jorge	5	0.17	estado	10	0.12	dia	25	0.11

Table 2. Keynes Expresso vs Público 25th April corpus

25th April Expresso vs. Publico			loglikelihood: $p < 0.0001$				
N	WORD	FREQ.	EXPRESSO	FREQ.	PÚBLICO	KEYNESS	P
1	REVOLUÇÃO	60	0,7	69	0,3	22,3	0,000002
2	REVOLUÇÕES	15	0,17	4	0,02	22,2	0,000002
3	TAMANHO	8	0,09	0	20,9	0,000005	
4	DR	9	0,1	1	17,7	0,000026	
5	ALEGRE	6	0,07	0	15,7	0,000075	
6	FALHAR	8	0,09	1	15,3	0,000093	
7	ALTERAR	8	0,09	1	15,3	0,000093	

Table 3. Keynes Público vs Expresso 25th April corpus

25th April Público vs Expresso			loglikelihood: $p < 0.0001$				
N	WORD	FREQ.	PÚBLICO	FREQ.	EXPRESSO	KEYNESS	P
1	SOCIAIS	27	0,12	0		17	0,000037
2	REVOLUÇÕES	4	0,02	15	0,17	22,2	0,000002
3	REVOLUÇÃO	69	0,3	60	0,7	22,3	0,000002
4	R	2		13	0,15	23,5	0,000001

Table 4. Keynes Correio da Manhã vs Expresso 25th April corpus

25th April Correio da Manhã vs. Expresso			loglikelihood: $p < 0.0001$				
N	WORD	FREQ.	CM	FREQ.	EXPRESSO	KEYNESS	P
1	RTP	12	0,4	0		32,5	0
2	TV	11	0,37	0		29,8	0
3	SERVIR	4	0,13	0		10,8	0,000995
4	MOVIMENTO	4	0,13	0		10,8	0,000995
5	COMUNICAÇÃO	4	0,13	0		10,8	0,000995
6	CORRUPÇÃO	4	0,13	0		10,8	0,000995
7	NÃO	15	0,5	101	1,17	11,7	0,000621
8	REVOLUÇÃO	6	0,2	60	0,7	11,9	0,000553

Table 5. Keynes Correio da Manhã vs Público 25th April corpus

25th April Correio da Manhã vs. Público				loglikelihood: p<0.0001			
N	WORD	FREQ.	CM	FREQ.	PÚBLICO	KEYNESS	P
1	TV	11	0,37	0		47,8	0
2	RTP	12	0,4	4	0,02	35,1	0
3	ANEDOTA	3	0,1	0		13	0,000309
4	MERO	3	0,1	0		13	0,000309
5	SERVIR	4	0,13	1		12,6	0,000387
6	MUITA	4	0,13	1		12,6	0,000387
7	JORGE	5	0,17	3	0,01	11,8	0,00058
8	PESSOAS	7	0,23	8	0,03	11,6	0,000663
9	NÃO	15	0,5	285	1,23	15,3	0,000092

Table 6. Keynes Tabloid vs Broadsheets 25th April corpus

Tabloid vs. Broadsheets				loglikelihood: p<0.0001			
N	WORD	FREQ.	TABLOID	FREQ.	BROADSHEETS	KEYNESS	P
1	TV	11	0,37	0		54	0
2	RTP	12	0,4	4	0,01	41,6	0
3	SERVIR	4	0,13	1		14,8	0,000119
4	MERO	3	0,1	0		14,7	0,000125
5	ANEDOTA	3	0,1	0		14,7	0,000125
6	JORGE	5	0,17	4	0,01	12,9	0,00033
7	MUITA	4	0,13	2		12,3	0,000441
8	NÃO	15	0,5	386	1,21	15,2	0,000098

Table 7. Statistics for the three newspapers (Football corpus)

Text File	OVERALL	Público	Expresso	Correio da Manhã
Bytes	445.913	135.675	62.835	247.403
Tokens	74.450	21.933	10.646	41.871
Types	10.977	5.324	3.269	6.979
Type/Token Ratio	14,74	24,27	30,71	16,67
Standardised Type/Token	49,25	49,86	50,02	48,75
Ave. Word Length	4,71	4,88	4,7	4,7
Sentences	3.004	935	367	1.702
Sent.length	23,63	23,04	27,4	23,15

Table 8. Some of the most frequent lexical words in the Football corpus, 3 newspapers. Numbers in brackets show relative frequency per 100 words

<i>Expresso</i>		<i>CM</i>		<i>Público</i>	
WORDS	FREQ.	WORDS	FREQ.	WORDS	FREQ.
país	44 (.41)	Portugal	237 (.57)	futebol	136 (.68)
futebol	42 (.39)	futebol	157 (.37)	Portugal	66 (.33)
jogo	28 (.26)	Scolari	152 (.36)	jogo	48 (.24)
Portugal	26 (.24)	selecção	145 (.35)	selecção	40 (.20)
bandeira	24 (.22)	jogo	144 (.34)	portugueses	36 (.18)
Euro	23 (.22)	equipa	134 (.32)	país	35 (.18)
bandeiras	22 (.21)	euro	133 (.32)	euro	34 (.17)
selecção	20 (.19)	jogadores	108 (.26)	Europa	33 (.17)
eu	18 (.17)	país	106 (.25)	jogadores	33 (.17)
alterar	16 (.15)	Figo	87 (.21)	Scolari	33 (.17)
anos	16 (.15)	final	84 (.20)	nacional	30 (.15)
dia	16 (.15)	portugueses	79 (.19)	português	28 (.14)
tamanho	16 (.15)	sempre	78 (.19)	portuguesa	28 (.14)
agora	15 (.14)	melhor	71 (.17)	desporto	24 (.12)
tempo	15 (.14)	nacional	71 (.17)	me	24 (.12)
governo	14 (.13)	agora	69 (.16)	festa	23 (.12)
melhor	14 (.13)	Rui	66 (.16)	parte	23 (.12)
português	14 (.13)	hoje	60 (.14)	tempo	23 (.12)
Scolari	14 (.13)	Europa	59 (.14)	mundo	22 (.11)
equipa	13 (.12)	Grécia	58 (.14)	vida	22 (.11)
grande	13 (.12)	uropeu	56 (.13)	grande	21 (.11)
exemplo	12 (.11)	me	56 (.13)	nós	21 (.11)
minha	12 (.11)	vitória	54 (.13)	equipa	20 (.10)
primeiro	12 (.11)	Costa	53 (.13)	hoje	20 (.10)
vida	12 (.11)	Deco	53 (.13)	nossa	20 (.10)
casa	11 (.10)	Espanha	53 (.13)	agora	19 (.10)
dizer	11 (.10)	Inglaterra	53 (.13)	anos	19 (.10)
uropeu	11 (.10)	anos	47 (.11)	parece	19 (.10)
jogadores	11 (.10)	português	47 (.11)	política	19 (.10)
nacional	11 (.10)	bandeira	33 (.08)	Espanha	17 (.09)
política	11 (.10)			uropeu	17 (.09)
portugueses	11 (.10)			final	17 (.09)

Table 9. Keywords in *Expresso* and *Público*, Football corpus

Key word	Raw frequency in broadsheet papers	Frequency per 100 words	Raw frequency in tabloid paper	Frequency per 100 words	Level of keyness	p value
IMPÉRIO	14	0,04	0		23,1	0,000002
FUTEBOL	202	0,62	157	0,37	22,6	0,000002
BANDEIRAS	42	0,13	14	0,03	22,5	0,000002
NACIONALISMO	24	0,07	4		21,3	0,000004
DAS	143	0,44	105	0,25	19,3	0,000011
DESPORTO	26	0,08	6	0,01	19	0,000013
PÁGINAS	13	0,04	1		15,4	0,000086
DO	559	1,71	570	1,36	15,2	0,000098
TELEVISÃO	26	0,08	8	0,02	15,1	0,000104
JORNALISMO	12	0,04	1		13,9	0,000190
TANTAS	16	0,05	3		13,3	0,000264
SEXO	8	0,02	0		13,2	0,000278
COMUNIDADE	8	0,02	0		13,2	0,000278
PARVÓICE	8	0,02	0		13,2	0,000278
SOCIEDADE	15	0,05	3		12	0,000528
PROJECTO	7	0,02	0		11,6	0,000673
SÉCULO	7	0,02	0		11,6	0,000673
TORNADO	7	0,02	0		11,6	0,000673
DISCO	7	0,02	0		11,6	0,000673
ÉTICA	7	0,02	0		11,6	0,000673
CORPOS	7	0,02	0		11,6	0,000673
TECNOLOGIA	7	0,02	0		11,6	0,000673
JARDIM	7	0,02	0		11,6	0,000673

Table 10. Keywords in tabloid vs. broadsheets, Football corpus

KEY WORD	RAW FREQ. IN TABLOID PAPER	FREQ. PER 100 WORDS	RAW FREQ. IN BROADSHEET PAPERS	FREQ. PER 100 WORDS	LEVEL OF KEYNESS	p value
FIGO	87	0,21	15	0,05	39,9	0,000000
EQUIPA	134	0,32	36	0,11	38,4	0,000000
SCOLARI	152	0,36	47	0,14	35,3	0,000000
PORTUGAL	237	0,57	94	0,29	33,4	0,000000
RUI	66	0,16	10	0,03	33,4	0,000000
DECO	53	0,13	6	0,02	32,2	0,000000
VAI	89	0,21	21	0,06	30,0	0,000000
HOLANDA	40	0,10	4	0,01	25,9	0,000000
GRÉCIA	58	0,14	12	0,04	22,5	0,000002
GRUPO	24	0,06	1		20,9	0,000005
FINAL	84	0,20	25	0,08	20,7	0,000005
INGLATERRA	53	0,13	11	0,03	20,5	0,000006
COSTA	53	0,13	11	0,03	20,5	0,000006
COM	461	1,10	258	0,79	18,7	0,000015
FEZ	43	0,10	8	0,02	18,4	0,000017
ONTEM	41	0,10	8	0,02	16,8	0,000041
SELECÇÃO	145	0,35	63	0,19	16,0	0,000063
ONZE	23	0,05	2		15,9	0,000068
TVI	29	0,07	4	0,01	15,6	0,000076
FERREIRA	29	0,07	4	0,01	15,6	0,000076
PAULETA	26	0,06	3		15,6	0,000077
QUEIROZ	13	0,03	0		15,0	0,000109
HÁ	132	0,32	57	0,17	14,8	0,000117
PRIMEIRA	36	0,09	7	0,02	14,8	0,000117
GANHO	21	0,05	2		13,9	0,000192
POVO	44	0,11	11	0,03	13,8	0,000201
EURO	133	0,32	59	0,18	13,8	0,000203
RICARDO	37	0,09	8	0,02	13,7	0,000212
COUTO	20	0,05	2		12,9	0,000321
MANICHE	23	0,05	3		12,9	0,000336
MARCELINO	11	0,03	0		12,7	0,000371
CAMPEÃ	11	0,03	0		12,7	0,000371
JOGADORES	108	0,26	46	0,14	12,6	0,000383
CARVALHO	25	0,06	4	0,01	12,1	0,000493
FINAIS	19	0,05	2		12,0	0,000536
MELHOR	71	0,17	26	0,08	12,0	0,000538
SEMPRE	78	0,19	30	0,09	11,8	0,000592
TREINADOR	32	0,08	7	0,02	11,7	0,000617
QUEREM	15	0,04	1		11,5	0,000714
CERTOS	15	0,04	1		11,5	0,000714
GOLOS	18	0,04	2		11,0	0,000892

Table 11. Keywords in the Football corpus vs. reference corpus (CETEMPúblico)

KEYWORD	RAW FREQ. IN EURO CORPUS	FREQ. PER 100 WORDS	RAW FREQ. IN REFERENCE CORPUS	FREQ. PER 100 WORDS	LEVEL OF KEYNESS	<i>p value</i>
FUTEBOL	359	0,48	83	0,03	713,3	0,000000
SCOLARI	199	0,27	1		597,3	0,000000
EURO	192	0,26	8		524,7	0,000000
SELECÇÃO	208	0,28	22		502,6	0,000000
PORTUGAL	331	0,44	288	0,11	299	0,000000
JOGO	225	0,3	124	0,05	295,3	0,000000
JOGADORES	154	0,21	51	0,02	266,4	0,000000
FIGO	102	0,14	7		263,7	0,000000
É	903	1,21	1.803	0,67	198,8	0,000000
EQUIPA	170	0,23	125	0,05	179,4	0,000000
GRÉCIA	70	0,09	6		175,2	0,000000
NÃO	972	1,3	2.119	0,79	161,1	0,000000
BANDEIRAS	56	0,08	2		155	0,000000
DECO	59	0,08	8		135,5	0,000000
BANDEIRA	68	0,09	17		131,4	0,000000
PORTUGUESES	128	0,17	103	0,04	124,6	0,000000
PAÍS	188	0,25	220	0,08	119,8	0,000000
QUE	2.485	3,34	7.047	2,61	108	0,000000
INGLATERRA	64	0,09	25		102,4	0,000000
RONALDO	39	0,05	4		94,7	0,000000
RUI	76	0,1	47	0,02	91,9	0,000000
CRISTIANO	30	0,04	0		91,8	0,000000
EUROPEU	85	0,11	61	0,02	91,5	0,000000
RICARDO	45	0,06	10		90,5	0,000000
PAULETA	29	0,04	0		88,8	0,000000
VITÓRIA	83	0,11	61	0,02	87,6	0,000000
BOM	83	0,11	62	0,02	86,3	0,000000
EUROPA	102	0,14	97	0,04	83,8	0,000000
MANICHE	26	0,03	0		79,6	0,000000
ESPANHA	76	0,1	57	0,02	78,8	0,000000
GANHAR	62	0,08	36	0,01	78,5	0,000000
ME	115	0,15	130	0,05	76,7	0,000000
POVO	55	0,07	31	0,01	71	0,000000
BOLA	54	0,07	30	0,01	70,4	0,000000
E	2.210	2,97	6.523	2,42	68	0,000000
DURÃO	32	0,04	6		67,7	0,000000
INGLESES	32	0,04	6		67,7	0,000000
NOS	286	0,38	559	0,21	66,6	0,000000
FESTA	51	0,07	29	0,01	65,5	0,000000
JANELAS	27	0,04	3		64,6	0,000000
NACIONALISMO	28	0,04	4		63,5	0,000000

TALENTO	28	0,04	4		63,5	0,000000
TEM	240	0,32	450	0,17	62,6	0,000000
CHECA	24	0,03	2		60,3	0,000000
HOLANDA	44	0,06	23		59,7	0,000000
NÓS	68	0,09	61	0,02	59,4	0,000000
JOGAR	46	0,06	27	0,01	57,8	0,000000
GREGOS	23	0,03	2		57,4	0,000000
TODOS	141	0,19	221	0,08	55,4	0,000000
PATRIOTISMO	18	0,02	0		55,1	0,000000

Table 12. Statistics for the three newspapers (April corpus)

Text File	OVERALL	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	<i>Expresso</i>	<i>Público</i>
Bytes	208.879	19.117	51.855	141.615
Tokens	34.450	2.614	8.612	23.224
Types	6.667	998	2.599	5.085
Type/Token Ratio	19,35	37,49	30,18	21,90
Standardised Type/Token	47,73	46,05	49,16	47,37
Ave. Word Length	4,81	4,66	4,79	4,92
Sentences	1.234	79	280	875
Sent.length	26,94	32,87	27,75	26,15

Appendix D. Transcription

Radio: Antena 1

Programme: Antena Aberta "A Identidade Nacional Está em Crise?"

Date of programme: 27 June 2006

Number of participants: 16

Duration: 1:06:30

TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

SYMBOL	FUNCTION
Presenter, Host, C1, C2, etc	Speakers
Ex.1, Ex.2	Experts
(.)	A dot enclosed in a bracket indicates short pause
Sou:::nd	Colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or word
(inaudible)	Uncomprehensible elements of speech
[Square brackets indicate where overlapping speech
=	The equals sign indicates contiguous utterances
ummm	Paraverbal elements
((laughs)), ((inbreath))	A description enclosed in a double bracket indicates a non-verbal activity
I would not say so	Normal speech
<u>velho país</u> (<u>old country</u>)	Underlined fragments indicate speaker emphasis.
?	Question marks indicate a questioning intonation.

Please note that the following transcript in the original Portuguese does not follow accurately the transcription conventions above. All the extracts analysed in Chapter 8 were translated and follow the transcription conventions listed.

1 Presenter Comemoramos este mês o dia de Portugal o país está a
2 cumprir vinte anos sobre a entrada na comunidade económica
3 europeia há pensadores que se questionam sobre a
4 viabilidade de Portugal e que falam de uma crise de
5 identidade nacional com o mundial de futebol ao rubro e a
6 selecção nacional a caminho dos quartos de final muitos
7 portugueses queixam-se de que só nestes momentos deixamos
8 viver o orgulho de ser português o resto do tempo damos
9 largas ao desalento ao fatalismo e ao desinteresse ora o
10 debate com os ouvintes está aí está aberto a identidade
11 nacional está ou não em crise? esta é a pergunta 8220101
12 8220101 podem inscrever-se através deste número e
13 participar na Antena aberta que começa agora com a edição
14 de Eduarda Maio bom dia

15 Host bom dia precisamente ontem ao discutir com os ouvintes a
16 vitória de Portugal sobre a Holanda na antena aberta retive
17 o lamento de algumas declarações que aqui foram feitas uma
18 espécie de mágoa envergonhada pelo facto de só nestes dias
19 só nestas alturas de competição desportiva à escala
20 planetária sermos capazes de recuperar a nossa coesão
21 ((inbreath)) de tomarmos consciência deste palmo de terra
22 defendido como Miguel Torga definiu um dia a pátria
23 ((inbreath)) lembrei-me do texto de Manuel Alegre no site
24 de candidatura a Presidente da República ele dizia que
25 Portugal é um velho país cuja força principal sempre
26 residiu na alma do seu povo um povo que não se fechou nas
27 suas fronteiras e de certo modo ahh mostrou ao mundo
28 ensinou ao mundo a não ter medo do mar ((in breath)) um povo
29 que foi precursor do renascimento europeu e que pioneiro do
30 espírito universalista um povo assim não pode dizia Manuel
31 Alegre perder a confiança em si mesmo e no futuro do seu
32 país ((inbreath)) foram as palavras de Torga e de Pessoa
33 também que Cavaco Silva escolheu quando há poucas semanas
34 comemorámos o dia de Portugal o presidente exortou então a
35 pátria de Pessoa ou seja a língua e a cultura como pilares
36 centrais da nossa identidade o património que nos deve
37 alimentar o orgulho e a determinação como portugueses serão
38 palavras de mera circunstância ou o sentimento existe? e se
39 existe porque se manifesta tão poucas vezes? São perguntas
40 que parecem atormentar o país ((in breath)) António Costa
41 Pinto investigador no Instituto Português de Relações
42 Internacionais da Universidade Nova de Lisboa esteve ontem
43 em Óbidos para falar dos 20 anos de integração na
44 Comunidade Económica Europeia que Portugal está a comemorar
45 e para analisar até que ponto esta integração afectou a
46 nossa identidade nacional para o investigador a identidade
47 nacional está de boa saúde mas há pensadores mais
48 pessimistas que duvidam da existência dela e se questionam
49 até sobre a viabilidade de Portugal a identidade nacional
50 está em crise? é a pergunta que fazemos aos ouvintes hoje
51 da antena aberta e é a discussão que queremos ter com eles
52 vou ao encontro dos primeiros ouvintes que estão já
53 inscritos Armando Santos muito bom dia é trabalhador por
54 conta própria está a ligar-nos da Guarda

55 C 1 Bom dia Dr.^a Eduarda Maio bom dia caros ouvintes da antena
56 1. Ora Portugal se não me enganar muito está praticamente
57 há 9 séculos com a sua identidade (.) ahh que a identidade

58 deste povo está em risco ai ela está e para isso basta a
59 globalização e Bruxelas [...] os detentores de cargos
60 públicos são neste momento pessoas que contribuem pouco
61 para para p'ra que isso não aconteça bem até pelo contrário
62 que é a defesa do país e do seu povo (inbreath] ahh
63 Portugal (.) tem (.) neste momento u::m bocadinho um
64 sentimento de medo até quase tipo de partido único que é
65 melhor para se dizer que as pessoas neste momento são pouco
66 participativas (.) e e este país para isso não se defende
67 com a sua identidade nacional (inbreath) ahh temos os
68 detentores de cargos públicos e é preciso lembrar-lhes que
69 são pessoas que quando ocupam esses cargos estão expostas
70 quando fazem o bem devem ser elogiadas quando fazem o mal
71 devem ser repudiadas e isso parece que não cabe na cabeça
72 deles temos neste momento (.) muita gente (.) que não se
73 atreve a dizer algo que não participa e e uma democracia
74 (.) que não seja participativa (.) que o povo não tenha
75 também a sua:: a a a sua digo a sua opinião perante aquilo
76 que se faz num país não é democracia sólida era tudo quanto
77 eu queria dizer muito bom dia e obrigado.
78 Host Bom dia Armando Santos e obrigada também pela sua
79 participação.

80 Host Elídio Santos bom dia electricista está em Braga qual é a
81 sua opinião?
82 C 2 Bom dia eu acho que::: Portuga:::l está assim um
83 bocado em baixo é derivado aos políticos que nós temos
84 porque eles só olham para barriga deles, não olham para a
85 coisa dos pobres porque têm reformas chorudas é não se
86 interessam pelo bem-estar do país é o caso agora das
87 maternidades fecham as maternidades eu por exemplo se tenho
88 muitos clientes é lógico que eu vou atender mais mal os
89 clientes, se eu tiver poucos clientes tenho mais tempo para
90 estar com os clientes, falar com os clientes e atendê-los
91 de uma outra maneira. È o caso das maternidades as grávidas
92 vão todas cair a um sítio de certeza vão ser muito mais mal
93 atendidas do que num sítio onde tivessem poucas grávidas.
94 Host Então acha que vivemos numa crise política e não de
95 identidade nacional é isso?
96 C 2 Política eu acho pronto se fosse muita gente está hoje
97 democracia é só para os políticos porque o povo é que paga
98 tudo, é que se esforça é que é o escravo dos políticos e
99 pronto ah ah eu acho que a democracia era igual para
100 todos mas não nós unicamente trabalhamos para os políticos
101 isto parece uma escravatura quer dizer os escravos a
102 trabalhar para a nobreza e há muita gente que fala do
103 antigo regime mas o antigo regime não sei se nós
104 estivéssemos ainda no antigo regime se estaríamos pior
105 porque não tínhamos já três presidentes a ganharem uns
106 salários e a terem várias mordomias que não deviam ter, não
107 sei se tínhamos deputados que têm também várias mordomias
108 que não deviam ter e se isto fosse uma monarquia era
109 equivalente e agora cada um a puxar para o seu lado eu não
110 vejo isto a ir para a frente Portugal está cada vez a bater
111 mais no fundo porquê? Porque há poucos a trabalhar e muitos
112 a receber e isso daqui a pouco não há nada para ninguém vai
113 acontecer como aconteceu na Argentina aqui há tempos meu
114 deus era uma desgraça, não é?
115 Host Obrigada Elídio Santos pela sua participação

116 Host Temos em linha o investigador António Costa Pinto do
117 Instituto Português de Relações Internacionais da UNL.
118 Professor António Costa Pinto, muito bom dia obrigada pela
119 sua participação. Ainda há pouco citei-o a propósito do
120 curso, do curso de verão que o Instituto Português de
121 Relações Internacionais está a promover em Óbidos. Fala-se
122 dos 20 anos que Portugal está a comemorar de entrada na CEE
123 e eu gostava repetindo com certeza alguma das coisas que
124 disse em Óbidos para os ouvintes da Antena 1 perceber até
125 que ponto esta nossa entrada e este nosso percurso na EU
126 abanou, alterou a nossa identidade nacional

127 C 3/ Ex. 1 olhe alterou num ponto fundamental e eu estava
128 justamente a ouvir a intervenção deste ouvinte sobre o
129 antigo regime, neste caso sobre Estado Novo dou pelo menos
130 um ponto fundamental que aliás teve um impacto económico
131 que foi Portugal passou de ter uma concepção de identidade
132 enquanto império não é verdade que aliás lutou por ele
133 durante 13 anos numa guerra colonial para uma nova
134 integração num novo espaço que era esse espaço europeu o
135 que teve não só consequências em termos identitários porque
136 nós verificamos que nos últimos 20 anos ou 30 anos os
137 portugueses se inseriram bem no novo espaço europeu e de
138 algum modo isto leva-nos a pensar que muito embora a sua
139 identidade com os países lusófonos também seja
140 significativa leva-nos a pensar que a tal identidade
141 imperial não era tão forte digamos como muitas vezes o
142 antigo regime o dizia acerca de 30 e picos anos não é
143 verdade. Por outro lado, os portugueses também, tanto
144 quanto nós notámos, associaram a entrada na EU a uma coisa
145 boa e a algo que não colide com a sua própria identidade
146 nacional, e isso é que é um ponto importante. Muitos outros
147 países europeus tiveram grandes divisões quando entraram na
148 EU não é verdade, entre o pró e o contra. No caso português
149 nós verificamos que os portugueses não sentiram como uma
150 ameaça à sua identidade nacional a sua integração no novo
151 espaço europeu, antes pelo contrário.

152 Host Mas, muitas vezes ouve ouve-se os portugueses falar como de
153 terem medo de perder a sua identidade, ou seja, e por
154 exemplo nestas alturas como acontece agora em que temos um
155 grande acontecimento desportivo à escala do planeta como o
156 Mundial, as pessoas queixam-se de que o orgulho nacional só
157 vem ao de cima nestas alturas, não é expresso noutras
158 situações. Não sente que há um receio por parte de muitos
159 portugueses de que essa identidade nacional se esteja a
160 esboroar, pelo menos esse receio?

161 C 3 /Ex. 1 Efectivamente nós não verificamos isso pelo facto de os
162 portugueses terem uma identidade nacional muito forte muito
163 embora falem muito dela. Evidentemente que as elites muitas
164 vezes têm e percebem perigos, não é? O perigo por
165 exemplo do alargamento a leste para a indústria portuguesa,
166 o perigo da deslocalização para a Ásia ou para outros
167 países em termos de certos sectores económicos nos quais
168 Portugal é relativamente forte. Portanto é verdade que as
169 elites têm muitas vezes a sensação de perigo identitário
170 mas isso não se passa em relação ao fundamental da
171 população. O que o fundamental da população tem em termos
172 identitários é muitas vezes uma desconfiança em relação à
173 qualidade dos seus dirigentes políticos, uma desconfiança,
174 em relação por exemplo às assimetrias sociais que cada vez
175 sobem mais em Portugal...Portugal tem hoje uma taxa de

176 assimetria social entre pobres e ricos muito forte em
177 termos salariais temos uma das taxas mais elevadas da EU
178 mas isso não se reflecte na dimensão identitária
179 Host Isso aconteceu noutros países, dizia há pouco, não sei se
180 nos pode dar exemplos...
181 C 3 / Ex. 1 Aconteceu nos outros países fortíssimos, por
182 exemplo os Ingleses que são hoje membros da EU muito embora
183 por exemplo não sejam membros do euro, sentem que viria a
184 EU por em causa a sua identidade nacional e há
185 aproximadamente 40 - 50% da população que perante um
186 referendo por exemplo sobre o euro votaria contra; a libra,
187 por exemplo a moeda. Os portugueses nunca tiveram por
188 exemplo um grande sentimento de pertença em relação à sua
189 moeda. Está a ver este exemplo, por exemplo em relação
190 escudo, perdemos a nossa identidade. Ao contrário dos
191 alemães que associavam por exemplo a identidade à sua moeda
192 - ao marco. É nestas dimensões que nós verificamos que
193 alguns países têm clivagens, digamos, exclusivas..
194 Host Não é possível pôr a questão ao contrário, ou seja, que os
195 ingleses têm esse problema porque têm uma identidade
196 nacional mais forte e nós não?
197 C 3/Ex. 1 É difícil, é verdade. Pode-se colocar apenas
198 num ponto é nos países que têm no seu interior, como é o
199 caso dos ingleses, no seu interior identidades diversas
200 porque muitas vezes por detrás desse aparente exclusivismo
201 estão clivagens fortes no seu interior, por exemplo, dos
202 escoceses, que falamos menos, são mais pró europeus, e mais
203 anti-ingleses, não no sentido RU mas no sentido Inglaterra.
204 Ora, sob este ponto de vista Portugal é um país bastante
205 homogéneo; os espanhóis, para lhe dar um exemplo, e mais
206 interessante talvez sejam os catalães são mais europeístas
207 porque querem ser menos espanhóis no sentido de Madrid, não
208 é verdade, da hegemonia de Madrid. Portugal não tem esse
209 problema porque é um país sob o ponto de vista cultural
210 extremamente homogéneo.
211 Host ou seja, o sistema político português integrou-se bem no
212 sistema europeu e os portugueses não foram muito afectados
213 por isso.
214 C 3 /Ex. 1 Não, mas por exemplo os portugueses continuam a declarar-se
215 sempre em 1º lugar portugueses, e só muito poucos é que
216 dizem que são 1º europeus e depois portugueses ou seja,
217 justamente porque são um país extremamente homogéneo não
218 têm problemas centrais de identidade nacional, eles não
219 precisam de utilizar o escudo europeu porque têm por
220 exemplo menos orgulho nacional. Há segmentos das elites que
221 percebem os perigos para a existência de Portugal mas
222 esse é um movimento secular, desde finais do século XIX que
223 as elites políticas, não é verdade, têm uma percepção muito
224 grande das ameaças..
225 Host Mas porquê? São muito pessimistas, é?
226 C 3 / Ex. 1 Não. É em grande parte por uma razão histórica muito
227 simples: Portugal é um país muito pequeno, é um país muito
228 homogéneo, não e verdade, tem fronteiras desde a idade
229 média, é um país que não tem clivagens linguísticas, todos
230 falam a mesma língua, não tem clivagens culturais muito
231 fortes; mas tem a ideia clara que depende da estratégia de
232 alianças das suas elites para a sua sobrevivência enquanto
233 país, e é exactamente por isso que creio que as elites se
234 preocupam mais com essa dimensão.
235 Host Portanto, na sua observação, a identidade nacional está de
236 boa saúde?

237 C 3 /Ex. 1 A identidade nacional não só está de boa saúde,
238 como repare, pela 1º vez quando alguns ouvintes diziam,
239 falavam na bandeira nacional, mas repare que esse movimento
240 e muito recente, nós agora temos aquilo que se poderia
241 chamar uma apropriação da sociedade civil da sua própria
242 bandeira que até agora sempre foi um símbolo do estado e
243 não um símbolo da sociedade, nós nunca tivemos portugueses
244 há 10 anos ou 15 anos de bandeirinha nacional.

245 Host Professor ACP, muito obrigada pela sua participação, por
246 ter deixado também aqui a sua visão sobre este problema aos
247 ouvintes da Antena 1. APC, investigador do Instituto
248 português de Relações Internacionais da UNL, este instituto
249 está precisamente em Óbidos, a promover um Curso de Verão
250 que fala sobre estas matérias e sobre o impacto da adesão
251 de Portugal à CEE, estamos a cumprir 20 anos sobre essa
252 adesão.

253 Host Vou ao encontro de mais um ouvinte: Aureliano Burrica, é
254 padeiro, está-nos a ligar de Beja. Muito bom dia.

255 C 4 Bom dia, Dr.ª Eduarda Maia.

256 Host Estamos a ouvi-lo, Aureliano.

257 C 4 Olhe é para falar sobre esse senhor doutor que estava aí e
258 só queria também perguntar em primeiro lugar o que é que se
259 passará com aquelas crianças que são pais portugueses e os
260 filhos nasceram em Espanha, em Badajós? Outro problema
261 também com a identidade nacional [...] várias vezes vi
262 Portugal [...]

263 Host Aureliano Burrica, eu vou interrompê-lo só pelo seguinte é
264 que estamos com muita dificuldade em perceber aquilo que
265 nos está a dizer a chamada está muito má vamos desligar a
266 sua chamada e recuperá-la depois das 10. Fazemos aqui uma
267 pausa para a síntese das notícias e já voltamos então para
268 ouvir espero eu com mais qualidade a opinião deste ouvinte
269 que nos liga de Beja. Até já.

270 Presenter Até já então. Edição de Eduarda Maio desta antena aberta de
271 27 de Junho desta 4ª feira. A pergunta que fica no ar é
272 esta: A identidade nacional está ou não em crise?

273 Host Vamos até Beja. Estávamos a ouvir Aureliano Burrica antes
274 das 10 da manhã. Aureliano?

275 C 4 Bom dia [...]

276 Host Ah, agora estou a ouvi-lo muito melhor. Vou pedir-lhe para
277 começar do princípio, está bem?
278 [...]

279 Porque há pouco estávamos a ouvi-lo muito mal.

280 C 4 Como ia dizendo, srª drª, ah eu acho que os portugueses
281 perdem a iten a identidade nacional e só se vêem momentos
282 destes praticamente que é o futebol que leva tudo como eu
283 disse em primeiro lugar muita gente não ouviu o que dirão
284 aquelas aquelas crianças que nascem em Espanha quando terão
285 a a idade de maioritária que é aos 18 anos eles podem
286 escolher a nacionalidade portuguesa ou espanhola porque
287 nascem em território espanhol pois aí o nosso governo já
288 está a fazer com que o povo perca a identidade nacional e
289 que perca o interesse por Portugal. Eu tenho a dupla
290 nacionalidade francesa e portuguesa eu ao fim de dois anos
291 de estar em França adquirir a nacionalidade francesa e os

292 franceses muito contentes que eu fosse adquirir a
 293 nacionalidade francesa
 294 Host Mas pelos vistos não deixou de de gostar do seu país e
 295 C 4 [Não
 296 Host [E até vive cá
 297 [não
 298 Host [agora
 299 C 4 [Vivo
 300 cá agora mas penso regressar
 301 novamente a França porque Portugal está de rastos e ainda
 302 há bem pouco tempo uma senhora indiana que bastante se
 303 falou que não lhe deram nacionalidade portuguesa porque não
 304 sabia cantar o hino português. Onde é que está a procura de
 305 mais portugueses em Portugal? Onde é que está a ajuda para
 306 as pessoas para Portugal ter mais ah crianças para sermos
 307 uma população maior... o amor a Portugal eu não vejo isso eu
 308 bastantes vezes vim de de Paris a Lisboa eu era mal
 309 recebido e aconteceu comigo eu ter que ficar para trás numa
 310 viagem de Paris para Lisboa por causa de um secretário de
 311 estado do Brasil e sua comitiva eu não tinha lugar no avião
 312 tive de dar o meu lugar ah a um dirigente que vinha com o
 313 senhor sec secretário secretário de estado do Brasil ah se
 314 eu tinha o bilhete adquirido eu tinha o bilhete adquirido
 315 não ia dar o lugar aos outros. Eu nós vamos para a França
 316 [à arenetr] ou para a França anter para outras companhias
 317 francesas nós somos mais bem recebidos em França do que
 318 somos recebidos aqui nas repartições públicas em Portugal.
 319 Eu só queria dizer isto que os portugueses só são unidos
 320 quando no futebol u outra parte qualquer. Vemos o futebol
 321 vemos o atletismo só se fala em futebol em Portugal e é
 322 como no Brasil o futebol leva tudo à frente e as crises a
 323 miséria fica toda por aí atrás. E é tudo dona dout doutora
 324 Eduarda Maio
 325 Host [Muito obrigada Aureliano Burrica pela sua
 326 participação. Vamos ouvir Pedro Carvalho que é técnico
 327 comercial está em Felgueiras bom dia
 328 C 5 Bom dia bom dia ao fórum ah isto é um tema que penso que é
 329 bastante interessante e que penso que todos os portugueses
 330 têm andado um pouco adormecidos nestes últimos tempos penso
 331 também a culpa deste tema estar um pouco adormecido é das
 332 nossas elites ao contrário do que o senhor disse há bocado
 333 que eram as elites que tinham um certo receio eu penso que
 334 não eu penso que ou então as designadas ah entre aspas as
 335 elites é que nos têm conduzido no fundo para a para nós
 336 perdermos a identidade nacional se não vejamos desde as
 337 nossas escolas do 1º ciclo é-nos incutido que somos
 338 cidadãos europeus portanto o... a... não nos é incutido ou não
 339 nos ensinam a cantar hino nacional ah estudamos por
 340 manuais espanhóis que é que é extremamente a mim desagrada-
 341 me desagrada-me imenso ver por exemplo os meus filhos com
 342 manuais tipo constância e santilhana e etc quando por
 343 exemplo as nossas empresas se forem a Portugal vender ou a
 344 Espanha vender eles arranjam sempre entraves e arranjam
 345 maneiras burocráticas ou então outras formas de nós não
 346 conseguirmos progredir portanto o que eu penso é que
 347 português é tipo ah ah ah tudo o que é de fora é bom eu
 348 ainda há tempos estive no aeroporto de Madrid Barachas e
 349 fiquei surpreendido quando estando ah ah 15m do do do hotel
 350 do do aeroporto do hotel do aeroporto tive que estar duas
 351 horas mais cedo porque o aeroporto é tão grande tão grande

352 tão grande que a maior parte das pessoas perdem os voos
353 portanto têm que estar 2 h mais cedo portanto dizem que os
354 espanhóis são tão bons são tão perfeitos são tão isto e tão
355 aquilo e no fundo têm grandes dificuldades também têm
356 grandes carências só que aqui em Portugal outra coisa que
357 me desagrada é ver por exemplo jovens ah muitas vezes
358 dizerem que mais valia o Afonso Henriques não ter feito
359 que fez que isto devia ser Espanha que isto era uma
360 continuação de Espanha que estávamos melhor portanto todo
361 este discurso que ao longo que ao longo dos tempos tem sido
362 emanado pelos nossos políticos estão no fundo a destruir a
363 ident a identidade nacional salva um bocadinho esta parte
364 do futebol às vezes as conquistas a nível desportivo que
365 vêm exaltar um bocadinho o nacionalismo mas a mim mete-me
366 muita confusão muito medo que ao fim de de tantos anos não
367 só nós Portugal como outros países da Europa e é um rum é
368 um rumo que os nossos dirigentes europeus nos estão a dar
369 eu penso que isto não querendo ser muito pessimista daqui a
370 100 ou 200 anos nos vai dar guerras porque é assim há
371 países que têm a identidade muito arreigada que é o caso do
372 nosso com 900 anos de história outros outros como tal e no
373 fundo agora há uma forma eh leve encapotada de nos estarem
374 a dominar por exemplo vejamos os espanhóis economicamente
375 aos poucos estão a dominar a nossa economia ah quando nós
376 nos apercebermos vamos estar com o país completamente
377 dominado pelos espanhóis pelos franceses pelos alemães e
378 portanto as multinacionais ah começam a fugir daqui porque
379 os salários estão a ficar elevados depois vamos ser o país
380 de turismo turismo e prostituição para os grandes para os
381 senhores ricos da Europa e da América portanto a mim faz-me
382 muita confusão talvez não seja no no meu tempo mas penso
383 penso que se a política não for invertida se não olharmos
384 aos cidadãos não olharmos verdadeiramente porque é assim os
385 portugueses são cidadãos de da Europa mas recebem à
386 português e pagam à europeu tanto a nível de impostos como
387 a outros níveis não é? portanto o a mim faz-me muita
388 confusão o caminho que a Europa está a levar porque no
389 fundo não está a haver uma uma verdadeira solidariedade
390 está a haver antes pelo contrário, ah o grande capital não
391 é que eu tenha alguma coisa contra porque não sou de
392 esquerda ah mas o grande capital e os grandes senhores da
393 Europa estão a levar o país a asfixiar o país entre aspas
394 que o país também é um país pequeno e os nossos as nossas
395 elites principalmente os pseudo elites que são os políticos
396 como estão a ter benesses á conta da deste marasmo
397 todo não não lhes interessa levantar muita poeira aos
398 portugueses e quando nós abrimos os olhos o país está
399 completamente enredado nesta teia depois vão surgir s casos
400 de desemprego hão vão depois associado a isso a
401 criminalidade associado a isso o país não tem condições
402 económicas para se bater com os outros países vai ser no
403 fundo entre aspas uma antiga Cuba ou seja um país onde o os
404 estrangeiros vêm aqui usar as nossas casinhas as nossas
405 paisagens lindas que ainda temos e muitas vezes prostituir
406 as nossas mulheres portanto a mim a mim desagrada-me
407 extremamente isso e penso que como há bocado uma senhora
408 falou na no na no caso da monarquia penso que é um caso que
409 os portugueses em breve têm que por há ah a monarquia dá ah
410 transmite uma identidade eu olho para o duque de Bragança e
411 lembro-me de Portugal estes políticos agora sinceramente
412 não me transmitem isso portanto o presidente da república

413 não muitas vezes ele é eleito e eu não consigo vê-lo nos
414 primeiros tempos como presidente da república porque está
415 muito associado ao partido A ou ao partido B etc etc e
416 muitas vezes são ex-primeiros ministros que tiveram
417 políticas que me desagradaram portanto eu acho que nós
418 temos que ah passando agora esta fase do futebol meditar e
419 penso que as verdadeiras elites ou os verdadeiros
420 pensadores que estão nas universidades que muitos deles
421 também estão arreigados aos partidos de esquerda por isso é
422 que não querem muito que se fale em que se cante o hino
423 porque faz mal porque é o verdadeiro nacionalismo etc etc
424 penso que devem reflectir no futuro porque não é pensar
425 daqui a dez ou vinte anos pensar o que será de Portugal
426 daqui a 100 anos daqui a 200 anos pronto é isto que eu
427 tenho a dizer muito obrigado

428 Host [Obrigada Pedro Carvalho pela sua
429 participação.Vamos até Carnaxide ouvir António Mendes,
430 economista. Bom dia, António Mendes.

431 C 6 [Bom dia
432 Host [Há muito tempo que não
433 ouvia
434 C 6 [...] Bom dia
435 Host [bom dia
436 C 6 olhe eu acho que nós não podemos confundir de modo nenhum
437 ah uma falta de orientação estratégica com consequências ao
438 nível do bem estar, isto é económicas com a identidade
439 nacional. A identidade nacional no caso de Portugal está
440 devidamente salvaguardada o que não acontece por exemplo
441 com outros países muito mais recentes. A identidade
442 nacional portuguesa essa é absolutamente marcante e
443 indiscutível e podemos vê-la na língua, na nossa cultura,
444 nas histórias, no nosso património, no fado e no futebol,
445 porque não? O futebol é uma uma claríssima afirmação de
446 identidade nacional (.) o que falta é como eu referi
447 a::antes e tem como consequências depois a::ao nível de um
448 certo pessimismo os portugueses têm aquela característica
449 de... são de uma grande inconstância, isto é passam de um
450 estado de optimismo a um estado de depressão com grande
451 rapidez iremos ver isso a seguir ao Euro e esperemos que
452 Portugal seja campeão mundial umm porque Portugal há por
453 detrás aqui também uma coisa que é esta Portugal já foi
454 grande e agora é pequeno mas o facto de ser pequeno não
455 quer a...dizer necessariamente que tenha que ser pouco
456 competitivo que haja dificuldades em termos de emprego não
457 tem que ser assim na medida em que outros países pequenos
458 umm e não vale a pena citá-los na Europa isso não acontece.
459 Portanto, se nós formos capazes de de de de fazer uma
460 reorientação estratégica para a economia e isso não é
461 fácil, tenhamos a clara noção disso porque nós temos por
462 exemplo de dois exemplos nós precisávamos de baixar os
463 impostos a carga fiscal teria que baixar precisaríamos de
464 uma maior flexibilidade laboral para isto dois exemplos
465 entre muitos outros para daqui partimos para a inovação,
466 para a investigação e desenvolvimento para criação de
467 emprego para projectar Portugal e no dia em que nós
468 tivermos crescimento económico acima da média europeia,
469 vamos ver se alguém fala em identidade nacional recorde-me
470 por exemplo no tempo de Aníbal Cavaco Silva no governo
471 Portugal era o [bom aluno] da Europa, em Portugal havia
472 optimismo e o investimento directo estrangeiro investiu em
473 Portugal em massa como nunca portanto o que falta é é

474 realmente é isto que eu acabei de dizer termos uma
475 economia competitiva para evitar uma coisa que Vasco Pulido
476 valente diz e ele melhor que ninguém conhece o século XIX e
477 o sec XX em Portugal que é nós temos que criar uma classe
478 média não dependente do estado nós o que temos e temos
479 tido praticamente sempre é uma classe média mas toda ela
480 dependente do estado isto tira qualquer margem de manobra e
481 e dá ideia que o país está manietado é um país que parece
482 que está atrás de um biombo que tem medo de existir é
483 preciso que seja uma classe média das empresas da economia
484 global, isto é da qualidade, da inovação, da investigação
485 científica mas é evidente que temos que ter a noção nós
486 temos aí o plano tecnológico ah a sua implementação é
487 importante e é muito positiva mas tem extremas dificuldades
488 por porque os outros também têm planos tecnológicos e têm
489 uma uma qualificação, digamos humana superior à nossa nós
490 temos que apostar muito na qualificação e agora já estou um
491 pouco a sair do tema não vale a pena e haverá ouvintes para
492 entrarem e a a de momento que tivermos crescimento
493 económico e isso passa pela qualificação e essa
494 qualificação para podermos ultrapassar os outros é muito
495 difícil ninguém falará em nunca mais ninguém falará em
496 termos de identidade nacional porque esse é um ponto
497 fortíssimo de Portugal que não haja nenhum erro aqui o que
498 falta é orientação estratégica e o que tem havido é de
499 facto uma falta de qualidade nos sucessivos governos e da
500 classe política em geral e queiramos ou não gostem eles ou
501 não de ouvir eles são os responsáveis, não sou eu nem a
502 Eduarda Maio nem os ouvintes da antena 1, são a classe
503 política sistemática nos últimos 30 anos conduziu Portugal
504 a um sistema educativo absolutamente sem sentido central
505 muito centralizado burocrático e que produz estudantes que
506 nada sabem assim não vamos lá agora a identidade nacional
507 isso é outra coisa. Bom dia.
508 Host Bom dia António Mendes obrigada pela sua participação.

509 Host Vou ouvir agora António Pereira, é motorista está em Vila
510 nova da Baronia. Olá António Bom dia.
511 C 7 Bom dia. O último ouvinte pegou mesmo no último ponto que
512 eu ia começar no sistema de ensino onde nos levaram nos
513 últimos 30 anos
514 Host António Pereira está muito má a sua chamada ah se não se
515 importar eu vou avançar e já regresso a si e vamos tentar
516 melhorar esse contacto porque não conseguimos perceber
517 aquilo que nos diz.

518 Host Vou ao encontro de José Augusto técnico de vendas, no Porto
519 caiu a chamada deste ouvinte tenho em linha também Joaquim
520 Alves vendedor em Estremoz.
521 C 8 Bom dia
522 Host [bom dia
523
524 C 8 [...] efectivamente o que eu queria de facto dizer
525 relativamente acrescentar à intervenção dele apenas queria
526 acrescentar que ah portanto a nossa identidade nacional ah
527 poderá estar facilitada porque nós só tivemos origem num
528 reino o reino de ah portu portugalense agora e
529 relativamente àquilo que falou o o portanto o historiador
530 ah portanto a identidade d império nós nunca tivemos uma

531 grande ah portanto um grande sentimento de identidade pelo
532 império porque ah o império foi vamos lá foi uma imposição
533 e foi defendido por imposição ao passo que ah Portugal não
534 e a prova está é que vamos lá em 1640 nós tivemos [...]com
535 os espanhóis agora efectivamente aquilo que ah é vamos lá
536 nós é que uma coisa é a identidade do nosso país e outra
537 coisa é a gestão do nosso país agora em termos de gestão do
538 nosso país é que infelizmente isso tem que ser equacionado
539 será que os nossos políticos estão a a gerir ah com um
540 verdadeiro sentido de identidade nacional? Essa é que é a
541 grande pergunta. Muito obrigado.

542 Host Obrigada Joaquim Alves

543

544 Host Vamos ouvir José Augusto, técnico de vendas no Porto
545 C 9 Sim, bom dia Eduarda Maio

546 Host [bom dia
547 C 9 [Ah eu acho que para já dou-lhe os
548 parabéns porque acho excelente terem escolhido este tema
549 numa altura do mundial e depois do debate de ontem acho que
550 é muito importante e acho que foi muito bem pensado e em
551 relação à a identidade nacional ela estar em crise eu penso
552 que sim e penso que não. Penso que sim e passo a explicar
553 penso que esta crise de identidade nacional foi fomentada
554 foi fomentada em que sentido. Há há pouco senhor que falou
555 do instituto falou de que as elites são capazes de
556 perceberem os perigos ah.. à.. em relação á identidade
557 nacional desde o século XIX ... inclusive hoje em dia
558 conseguem perceberem os perigos de possíveis do
559 alargamento da união Europeia e porque é que essas elites
560 são capazes de perceberem? Eu penso que elas são capazes
561 de perceberem porque desde há 20... 25 anos para cá que
562 essas elites juntamente com quem nos governa sucessivamente
563 eu vou chamar eh as coisas pelos nomes o PS e o PSD
564 juntamente com as elites a...a..mani manipulam eh a
565 informação e fomentam uma série de coisas que que fazem com
566 que os portugueses percam a identidade nacional ora
567 fomentam o abstencionismo portanto a.. a .. as pessoas
568 pensarem que os políticos são todos iguais que isto não vai
569 a lado nenhum toda a gente neste programa tem conseguido
570 identificar que este país está mal gerido e que isso tem
571 interferência na identidade nacional e as pessoas se for
572 preciso eu nem vou votar! Portanto ess... esse abstencionismo
573 é é é é propositado é propositada a não participação das
574 pessoas em actos cívicos e é proporcionado criar um povo
575 amorfo que só acorda quando há um mundial ou um
576 europeu de futebol e agora não me venham dizer que isto
577 isto é por acaso portanto um povo que não tenha
578 participação cívica é um povo que só acorda para a sua
579 identidade nacional quando há há este tipo de eventos
580 desportivos e porque é que mas os portugueses estão
581 totalmente indiferentes ao estado geral do país porque os
582 portugueses começam a ficar fartos de serem
583 responsabilizados principalmente os portugueses da classe
584 mais baixa da classe trabalhadora ah pelo facto de serem
585 responsabilizados pela falta de produtividade, por serem
586 preguiçosos, por não se adaptarem às novas realidades
587 portanto os portugueses começam a acordar lentamente mas
588 começam porque é impossível com tantas oportunidades que o
589 nosso país tem com tantos governos, com tantos fundos
590 europeus com tantos sacrifícios o país não andar para a
591 frente e eu penso que aí a iden..tidade nacional está está

592 ferida de morte a identidade nacional não consegue resistir
593 aos números desastrosos que identificam o nosso país por
594 todo o lado quer na Europa quer no mundo, quer no
595 desemprego quer na taxa de analfabetismo quer no fosso
596 entre os ricos e os pobres e nos piores cuidados de saúde
597 na maior taxa de mortalidade infantil ah eh a identidade
598 nacional não se fomenta no fundo com o fecho de
599 maternidades como já foi aqui dito e muito bem não se
600 fomenta com o fecho de escolas no interior não se fomenta
601 com o fosso que está é o tal tal país do risco ao meio como
602 eu já ouvi falar o fosso entre o litoral e o interior
603 portanto esta incapacidade de gerar riqueza de por o país a
604 produzir qualquer coisa que não seja turismo não é, não não
605 nos reforça de certeza orgulho e a identidade de ser
606 português nós não temos orgulho no fundo porque não
607 produzimos uhmm que que é que orgulho é que nós temos que
608 identidade nacional é que nós temos um exemplo tão prático
609 irmos a um supermercado e vemos milhares de produtos
610 estrangeiros e nenhum português Portugal não é viável,
611 pergunta-se não é? Não é viável porque somos mal geridos
612 por governos sucessivos que que que geram e forçam a
613 identidade nacional em volta de uma elite que se for
614 preciso paga 800 euros para ir um dia à Alemanha ver um
615 jogo de futebol e ainda é pela televisão e ainda se riem na
616 nossa cara claro que havia muitos Portugueses que queriam
617 ir mas não podem, quem pode é uma elite que beneficia desta
618 identidade nacional é é é gerida eu penso que qu' é muito
619 importante esta discussão e e os port no fundo queria dizer
620 também que acho que a identidade nacional não está em crise
621 em momentos que não o futebol e eu dou o exemplo por
622 exemplo quando foi o caso quando as coisas se agudizaram em
623 Timor portanto as pessoas saíram à rua, mexeram-se e
624 sentiu-se identidade nacional e as pessoas movimentaram-se
625 por uma causa que não o futebol eu não tenho nada contra o
626 futebol eu vivo com o futebol agora eu acho que s
627 portugueses têm que começar na sua rua no seu bairro no
628 seu emprego a defenderem as suas coisas e a defenderem a
629 sua bandeira no sentido deste país ser um país desenvolvido
630 e não um país que está acorrentado a elites que pertencem a
631 dois partidos políticos o PS e o PSD obrigado.
632 Host Bom dia José Augusto

633 Host António Pereira vamos lá ver se agora conseguimos ouvi-lo
634 com a com mais qualidade está a ligar-nos de Vila Nova da
635 Baronia
636 C 7 eu estou no mesmo local, não sei o que é que se passava
637 Host [Muito melhor, muito melhor
638 C 7 Pronto, agora ainda já ouvi mais este ouvinte ainda fico
639 mais mais vamos lá mais sem campo mas eu ia tentar dizer
640 seguinte quando há bocado comecei o povo que não tem
641 cultura não pode ter identidade não pode haver patriotismo
642 e quando houver é doente com certeza quando por exemplo na
643 altura dos exames escolares há universidades que orientam
644 as datas e os dias de exame conforme os dias de
645 determinados jogos de futebol quando na altura dos exames
646 os jornais as televisões as rádios também a maior parte
647 orientam os números também em quantos milhares tiveram na
648 noite não sei qual do Rock in Rio e quantos milhares
649 tiveram no superbock esta palavra ainda é pior do que a
650 outra no superrock ó minha senhora um país onde se vive com

651 estes números com estas conversas não estamos orientados
652 nós nós principalmente quando digo nós digo o povo mas
653 principalmente a classe jovem que é que está mais indefesa
654 somos orientados como de um rebanho se tratasse e como se
655 fosse um pastor a atirar-nos para aqui ou para ali com um
656 grito ou com um assobio como se vira um rebanho e isto ó
657 minha senhora não podemos esperar outra coisa nós estamos
658 quer dizer os estudantes estão mobilizados não para estudar
659 para dia do exame p'ra ver se evitavam os 70% de chumbo a
660 matemática e outros que têm [...] a português somos
661 orientados para o festival que vai haver no próximo fim de
662 semana e pró jogo de futebol que vai haver ó minha senhora
663 um país que só tem futebol para dar ao povo vive neste
664 atraso cultural nesta miséria de ideias nós não podemos
665 esperar outra coisa pró ano vamos estar pior quando houver
666 outro mundial vamos estar pior e não é preciso quando
667 houver outro mundial quando este mundial acabar
668 independentemente donde a equipa portuguesa chegue as
669 bandeiras vão cair, vão ficar sujas aí nos encostos dos
670 carros no encosto do banco ninguém as lava o vento vai
671 esfrangalhá-las todas as que estão penduradas por aí e
672 depois vamos vamos discutir um dia destes neste programa o
673 patriotismo outra vez para ver se só porque é que só existe
674 dentro destes dias do futebol. Bom dia e obrigado.

675 Host Bom dia e obrigado pela sua participação também António
676 Pereira. José Nunes muito bom dia.
677 C 10 [bom di
678 Host [Já está reformado este ouvinte
679 está a ligar-nos da Amadora. Muito bom dia.
680 C 10 Ah...eu peço desculpa e tinha muita coisa para dizer mas não
681 reparei que estava realmente na altura a tratar de uns
682 assuntos e não me preparei de qualquer modo alguns
683 intervenientes neste debate e uma coisa que eu pedia é que
684 estes países é de portugueses não sei se as elites que nos
685 governam estão a ouvir este programa porque justamente
686 penso que são portugueses ainda ou já não são? Gostava que
687 eles me dissessem isso (.) porque a forma como eles têm
688 dirigido o país desde o dia 25 de Abril para cá e eu sou um
689 apoiante férreo do 25 de Abril da liberdade e da democracia
690 não como ela tem sido conduzida por estes indivíduos que
691 não são democratas os nossos dirigentes não são democratas
692 eles dizem que são mas não são, aliás houve o senhor que
693 foi interveniente há pouco que é um analista um penso que é
694 um sociólogo fez umas análises e tal mas que eu discordo
695 fundamentalmente da maior parte delas porque são são
696 análises feitas no gabinete ele não conhece a realidade do
697 povo. A realidade de um povo vê-se vivendo com ele nas
698 aldeias nos montes e isso está a ser destruído pelos nossos
699 políticos que deviam pagar por isso devia haver uma
700 associação de cidadãos que começasse a julgar os actos dos
701 políticos porque nós Espanha é tão grande e com tantas
702 divisões atravessamos a fronteira e vemos vida nas aldeias
703 que estão na fronteira as nossas estão mortas porque em vez
704 de fazer verem a política da casa de 3 assoalhadas para os
705 portugueses e para outras pessoas que fazem de 6 e de 7 não
706 sou racista nem quero ser acusado disso mas é uma realidade
707 com o dinheiro dos portugueses porque é que não aplicam
708 esse dinheiro nas pessoas que trabalharam a vida inteira no
709 Portugal para manterem as escolas nas aldeias para manter

710 as maternidades nos locais do interior esses senhores
711 políticos têm uma visão de estado errada não são estadistas
712 e por isso Portugal está na miséria a que infelizmente
713 somos confrontados ah é uma miséria uma tristeza e eles não
714 largam não largam de maneira nenhuma porque de facto sabe-
715 lhes muito bem terem uma reforma antes de tempo essas leis
716 que deram as reformas se o Sr. Mário Soares me estiver a
717 ouvir e o sr. Cavaco Silva e que ambos porque é que
718 deixaram fazer essas leis não são eles os responsáveis?
719 quando há pessoas no activo a receber reformas vitalícias
720 de 4, 5 mil euros e depois os miseráveis que trabalharam a
721 vida inteira a receberem 60 contos por favor ah aonde é que
722 estão esses senhores? Que patriotismo é que querem dos
723 portugueses num país que é tratado assim? Há pouco tempo
724 ouvi um cidadão espanhol numa repartição pública portuguesa
725 ao telefone e fiquei e corei de vergonha porque ele estava
726 a dizer provavelmente pra um espanhol "sabes, estamos em
727 Portugal é daqui a 15 dias que está pronta a certidão" é
728 uma vergonha nacional estes políticos que constantemente se
729 substituem nos cargos e tal o que é que eles andam a fazer?
730 Que responsabilidades é que o país lhes pede? Pedem
731 responsabilidades às pessoas por não cumprirem por pagarem
732 o imposto atrasado porque às vezes não há dinheiro porque o
733 país está muito mal mas ninguém pede responsabilidades por
734 isto continuar tudo na mesma ou pior ainda isto é uma
735 tristeza o patriotismo dos portugueses está no coração de
736 cada um agora o desgosto de serem portugueses é outra coisa
737 que estes analistas não sabem porque não têm não vivem no
738 meio das pessoas pra verem o que é que a alma das pessoas
739 realmente sente eh faço questão de dizer que me sinto muito
740 português mas não me identifico com estes indivíduos que
741 governam Portugal porque vejo que de democratas pouco têm
742 esse senhor que fez a análise e falou muito na democracia e
743 e que na inclusão da Europa e tal e nos referendos lá fora
744 mas porque é que em Portugal não se fazem referendos?
745 Porque é que se temem os referendos em Portugal? Perguntem
746 a esses senhores porque dão umas explicações muito
747 estereotipadas ahah que não deve haver referendos por isto
748 e por aquilo mas afinal o referendo não é a opinião da
749 pessoa que tem o direito da pessoa que paga os impostos que
750 vota que pode dar a sua opinião quando eles retiram esta
751 possibilidade ou discutem da maneira como o fazem ah está
752 tudo dito gostava que o senhor José Sócrates e companhia
753 lda. ouvissem o debate destas pessoas que são a autentica
754 voz do povo. Muito obrigado não tenho mais nada para dizer

755 Host [bom dia e
756 obrigada também pela sua participação. Tenho em linha o
757 sociólogo Manuel Villaverde Cabral. Prof. MVC muito bom dia
758 e obrigada pela sua participação está a ouvir-me mal
759 C 11/Ex. 2 [estou ah
760 há aqui uma interferência bom
761 Host [vamos lá ver se a gente
762 consegue ouvir se não retomamos essa chamada voltamos ah ah
763 a fazê-la que é capaz de ser mais simples consegue perceber
764 que eu lhe digo
765 C 11/Ex. 2 [sim eu percebo diga diga
766 Host Ah coordenou ah um o trabalho de uma equipa portuguesa ah
767 penso que há cerca de há 4 anos atrás estudou as atitudes
768 dos portugueses face à identidade nacional e à cidadania.

769 Quer contar-nos um pouco como é que foi esse projecto e a
770 que conclusões chegou nesta matéria?
771 C 11/Ex.2 A ligação está muito má

772 Host Vamos voltar então ah ah a contactar consigo e a recuperar
773 esta chamada a ver se nos consegue ouvir melhor. Vou ao
774 encontro então de outros ouvintes que estão também à espera
775 de poder participar Mário Carneiro é impressor de artes
776 gráficas está em Lisboa muito bom dia.
777 C 12 Bom dia, minha senhora. Ah desde mais e antes de tudo eu
778 queria dar os parabéns realmente à Antena 1 porque este é
779 um tema interessantíssimo principalmente no:: na altura que
780 decorre porque as pessoas realmente começam a pensar os
781 intervenientes e os ouvintes começam a pensar que:: que
782 este portuguesismo só existe nesta altura na altura dos
783 futebóis eu não concordo com isso ah acho até que a
784 identidade nacional está bem cimentada nos portugueses e
785 não não corre:: riscos de maior embora a nível de de de
786 quem nos governa acho que devia de haver algum cuidado eu
787 não quero com isto parecer que estou. estou contra e tenho
788 e tenho que bater na mesma tecla é inevitável que ainda
789 ninguém falou no assunto contra a:: esta imigração que tem
790 vindo que tem sido nós somos realmente um país de
791 emigrantes mas ah mas ah nós somos imigrantes diferentes
792 nó:: e o que tem de diferente da grande parte não vou por
793 todos passe a expressão no mesmo saco mas mas grande parte
794 da imigração que nós temos cá ((inaudível))
795 Host [Mário Carneiro desculpe
796 interrompê-lo deve ter o seu rádio ligado e se puder
797 desligá-lo agradecia-lhe porque estamos a ouvi-lo com alg
798 com algum eco=
799 C 12 =sim senhora acho
800 Host [obrigado
801 C 12 Que está desligado o que é que eu queria dizer o que eu
802 queria dizer era que isto em relação à ida para não tem
803 nada a ver mas eu penso que sim a identidade nacional
804 corre-se um certo risco de se perder uma fatia dessa
805 identidade nacional porquê porque:: ah:: porque a imigração
806 que vem grande parte da imigração da zona onde eu moro eu
807 estou a trabalhar em Lisboa mas moro na Amadora nós temos
808 ali uma imigração enorme de de de centenas se não forem
809 milhares já de pessoas que são oriundos da Roménia ah::
810 como deve calcular estas pessoas que estão cá em Portugal
811 são das poucas elites da imigração das poucas fatias da
812 imigração que nós temos cá que não são pessoas que não
813 trabalham comem bebem vivem e tal mas não trabalham são
814 milhares depois temos ah:: ah:: não trabalham e a senhora
815 sabe com certeza e as pessoas que me estão a ouvir sabem
816 com certeza de que é que essas pessoas vivem são dos roubos
817 da mendicidade andam com as criancinhas enroladas de volta
818 do do criancinhas já com quatro cinco anos enrolam-nas
819 desde muito pequeninas as nossas polícias e as nossas
820 autoridades nada fazem pronto preocupam-se com outras
821 coisas ah:: ah: depois temos a realmente uma faixa de
822 desemprego enorme porque não está a ser controlado todos os
823 dias chegam ao aeroporto aviões carregados de pessoas não
824 queria utilizar esta palavra mas é quase revoltante estar a
825 falar em carregado de pessoas que vêm das Africas dos
826 Brasis e:: e:: que se viessem ao menos tentar melhorar a
827 nossa condição de vida mas não vêm do Leste por exemplo vêm

828 isto num avião que traga 200 250 pessoas de Leste 30 ou 40
 829 destas pessoas não são pessoas que vêm trabalhar são
 830 pessoas que vêm controlar aquelas pessoas que vêm trabalhar
 831 são as tais máfias de Leste que estão cá implantadas depois
 832 custa-me um bocadinho nós em termos mesmo de futebóis nós
 833 vemos mesmo ah:: Portugal com todo este excesso e ver-se
 834 aqui uma grande fatia de imigração ah:: ah:: a apupar-nos
 835 que foi isso precisamente que eu presenciei eu e outras
 836 pessoas desde gente de outros lados do mundo ora os
 837 portugueses também emigraram minha senhora emigraram e
 838 somos ainda um país de emigrantes só que:: por exemplo como
 839 exemplo os portugueses nos anos 40, 50 saíam daqui decidiam
 840 emigrar para a Alemanha para a França iam trabalhar uma
 841 excepção ou outra que isto há em todo o lado iam trabalhar
 842 iam desenvolver e são pessoas ainda muito vem vistas aqui
 843 não minha senhora ah:: é de lamentar mas as pessoas que vêm
 844 para cá vêm sem formação profissional nós íamos pedreiros
 845 íamos serventes toda essa gente as pessoas vêm sem formação
 846 profissional vamos à Av. da Liberdade há uns anos atrás nós
 847 passeávamos perfeitamente hoje é só prostituição e:: e::
 848 travestis temos aqui tudo gente que vem de Leste e do
 849 Brasil e t tudo mais temos este norte do país onde há
 850 aquelas senhoras já a fazer aquelas associações p'ra p'ra
 851 acabar com com esses barzinhos carregados de prostituição
 852 bom esta não é a imigração que que nos faz falta ah=

853 Host =Mário
 854 Carneiro muito obrigada pela sua participação vamos ver
 855 agora se o professor Manuel Villaverde Cabral já nos
 856 consegue ouvir sociólogo
 857 C 11/Ex.2 (inaudível)
 858 Host [muito bom dia
 859 C 11/Ex.2 [o mesmo problema do seu lado=
 860 Host =está com o
 861 mesmo problema?
 862 C 11/Ex.2 Tem o mesmo problema tem um feedback aqui enorme
 863 Host Uhhh vamos ver se me consegue escutar ah:: eu estava a
 864 dizer há pouco e estava a explicar aos ouvintes que o
 865 Prof.º coordenou ah: um: um trabalho ah:um há cerca de
 866 quatro anos feito em Portugal que tinha como objectivo
 867 estudar as atitudes dos portugueses face à identidade
 868 nacional aliada à cidadania a que conclusões é que este
 869 trabalho chegou?
 870 C 11/Ex.2 Sim mas eu só coordenei a parte da cid=
 871 Host =da cidadania=
 872 C 11/Ex.2 =na verdade quem
 873 coordenou o:: módulo identidade nacional foram dois colegas
 874 meus até já tentei falar com eles hoje de manhã mas
 875 infelizmente ainda não consegui encontrá-los de modo que
 876 concretamente em relação aos resultados em termos de
 877 identidade nacional não lhe posso responder posso responder
 878 do lado da cidadania que tem evidentemente muitos pontos
 879 em comum porque no fundo a identidade nacional se não for
 880 exercida isto é se for apenas um sentimento que vem ao de
 881 cima: por exemplo quando há um campeonato de futebol e a
 882 equipa portuguesa tem bons resultados essa esse tipo de
 883 identidade nacional permita-me a expressão não serve para
 884 nada quer dizer é uma forma porventura de consolo ou de
 885 ilusão ou de evasão (clareia a voz) mas não tem um valor
 886 efectivo a identidade nacional melhor até dizer o

887 patriotismo distinguindo se possível do nacionalismo e há
888 maneiras de o distinguir ((inbreath)) o patriotismo que é
889 uma força quando funciona no quotidiano quando no fundo eu
890 me revejo não numa entidade abstracta chamada Portugal onde
891 por acaso eh nasci mas onde faço do meu país Portugal ou
892 outro qualquer onde eu me encontre a viver e a trabalhar
893 faça dele um objectivo quer dizer do me comportamento quer
894 dizer e da minha própria actuação e nesse sentido eu não
895 gosto de viver num país sujo e portanto eu não deito papel
896 no chão eu faço o possível para que as outras pessoas
897 também não deitem papéis para o chão para dar um exemplo
898 mais banal do patriotismo o patriotismo não digamos quando
899 o patriotismo é investido exclusivamente em grandes
900 sentimentos abstractos como eu digo normalmente não nos
901 leva muito longe e vale a pena distinguir dizia eu entre
902 patriotismo e nacionalismo ah:: já:: este debate tem mais
903 de cem anos e Portugal tem tem tem o atravessado tem sido
904 atravessado por este debate:: recorrentemente o o: eu diria
905 o seguinte o nacionalismo é aquele que ama a sua pátria
906 quer dizer a sua nação para além de todas as coisas
907 omitindo esquecendo inclusivamente passando por cima dos
908 seus ah defeitos e ah dos seus problemas o patriota é
909 aquele que ama a sua pátria e que justamente faz dos
910 problemas e das dificuldades do seu país o objecto da sua
911 crítica e do seu esforço reparador se é evidentemente
912 também simplesmente o dizer mal fazendo de conta quer dizer
913 que os portugueses são sempre os outros e nunca somos nós
914 obviamente que este patriotismo também não é não é não é
915 não funciona como ingrediente positivo da vida social esse
916 é aliás um um dos aspectos de facto que não é são na nossa
917 sociedade e que é de nós falarmos sempre dos portugueses
918 como se fossem outras pessoas que não nas quais não nos
919 incluímos o que evidentemente constitui à partida uma
920 ruptura digamos do contrato que de alguma maneira me une
921 quer dizer a todos os outros portugueses quanto mais não
922 [seja
923 Host [porque é que acha professor que isso acontece nós pormo-
924 nos de fora em relação a:: a nós próprios no fundo ah::
925 ah:: somos nós e os portugueses
926 C 11/Ex.2 porque Portugal nunca
927 teve um estado e hoje talvez menos do que no passado nunca
928 teve um estado que fosse um efectivo representante do
929 interesse público e colectivo foi sempre um estado
930 oligárquico dominado por pequenas elites normalmente
931 predatórias e exploratórias fazendo com que cada português
932 e daí o êxito da nossa emigração fazendo de cada português
933 alguém que com a sua família procura resolver e muitas
934 vezes resolve bem os seus problemas pessoais os seus
935 problemas da família nomeadamente no plano económico não há
936 consciência nacional, não há pertença política o grande
937 problema em Portugal é o da mediação política nunca existiu
938 tem de vez em quando alguns momentos uns surtos no
939 liberalismo na república no 25 de Abril houve esse espaço
940 público chegou a ser aberto e praticado quer dizer por
941 pessoas comuns como como como deve ser não é verdade nós
942 desde desde o 25 de Abril para cá acabámos por reduzir a
943 democracia quer dizer a voto de quatro em quatro anos
944 Host [uhum
945 C 11/Ex.2 [e isso é insuficiente é um problema de relação
946 uma das variáveis mais óbvias quer dizer é a questão da
947 instrução o estado português nunca esteve interessado quer

948 dizer em instruir as pessoas e ainda hoje quer dizer vem
 949 quando tem problemas quer dizer ao nível da educação
 950 nacional acha que tem professores a mais e responsabiliza
 951 os professores mostra bem como o estado o estado os
 952 professores são o estado junto das famílias e dos e dos
 953 alunos se a: a elite política que se encontra
 954 o::casionalmente no poder é a primeira quer dizer a
 955 desmoralizar e a desautorizar os representantes do estado
 956 é evidente quer dizer o que é que está a fazer está a
 957 promover uma relação espúria quer dizer entre os indivíduos
 958 atomizados e o e a liderança política Salazar fazia [isso
 959 Host [e é
 960 essa relação entre estado e a e o e o povo e os portugueses
 961 que leva à falta de participação cívica?
 962 C 11 /Ex. 2 absolutamente mas absolutamente é um esquema de dissuasão
 963 quando não mesmo de repressão as pessoas são
 964 sistematicamente desencorajadas pela própria máquina
 965 política e e por maioria de razão pela máquina burocrática
 966 dos seus direitos as pessoas não têm a sensação a percepção
 967 de facto de possuírem direitos por isso os exercem tão
 968 pouco e às vezes até mal em contrapartida em contrapartida
 969 o o cidadão português sobretudo na sua unidade familiar é
 970 perdoe-se a expressão alguém que se desenrasca muito bem e
 971 sempre o fez não só cá recorrendo a uma espécie de aquilo a
 972 que a literatura chama um amoralismo familiar não é
 973 i(.)moralismo mas é a(.)moralismo tudo por mim e pela minha
 974 família nada contra ela e:: o que é a base do caciquismo da
 975 corrupção etc porque é que há essas correlações que no
 976 outro dia se se viam ((chuckle)) entre desempenho económico
 977 e corrupção mas é evidente a corrupção é uma relação social
 978 espúria uma relação social dolosa e deletéria que se
 979 estabelece justamente quando os mecanismos supostamente
 980 estabelecidos para que as reivindicações os protestos mas
 981 também as recompensas fluam digamos de cima para baixo e de
 982 baixo para cima enfim como está escrito nos livros que a
 983 democracia devia funcionar quando isso não acontece temos
 984 quer dizer estas fugas digamos assim do sistema para o lado
 985 a maior das quais foi a emigração
 986 Host Professor se o estado
 987 não muda porque é que os cidadãos não mudam ou seja se não
 988 é possível uma transformação de cima para baixo n:: não
 989 será possível uma transformação de baixo para cima? Dos
 990 cidadãos para não [estar
 991 C 11/Ex. 2 [de vez em quando há algumas
 992 intervenções de baixo para cima normalmente essas
 993 intervenções acabam por cristalizar um determinado tipo de:
 994 relação política que normalmente enfim é o que eu observo
 995 hoje tende digamos assim a voltar eu julgo que isso é
 996 imanente quer dizer o o nosso sistema político os nossos
 997 agentes políticos ah ahum se têm um defeito é que são
 998 portugueses portanto também não são nem melhores nem piores
 999 do que nós ah:: e isso acontece em todos os países no não
 1000 há dúvida nenhuma concordo consigo quer dizer o problema é
 1001 nosso não é dos das lideranças as lideranças lideram
 1002 conforme nós deixamos que elas liderem é o o o neste
 1003 momento a em Portugal tem havido protestos ao longo da
 1004 história e as coisas têm evoluído embora tenham realmente
 1005 uma certa tendência para voltarem à estaca zero mas o que
 1006 acontece neste momento quer dizer é que eu acho que nós
 1007 estamos a viver há 5 10 anos para cá umm umm uma situação
 1008 que às vezes na literatura chamamos de anomia isto é não

1009 nós já demos a volta a sistema político já fizemos quer
1010 dizer as mudanças todas pensáveis dentro do quadro
1011 institucional e de facto quer dizer há uma descrença há uma
1012 desmoralização há um:: e até uhm tenho a certeza um aumento
1013 da emigração etc alguém falava há ouço no problema da
1014 i::migração e a i::migração dá-se justamente quando ah::
1015 nós precisamos de pessoas que venham trabalhar porque nós
1016 não fazemos filhos fazemos menos filhos do que fazíamos no
1017 passado e os nossos portugueses emigram e nós temos neste
1018 momento um êxito um verdadeiro êxodo de licenciados o que
1019 mostra bem quer dizer estado em que nós nos encontramos
1020 quer dizer que nós estamos piores realmente do que
1021 estávamos há 15-20 anos e sobretudo do ponto de vista
1022 ah::moral ou do ponto de vista das saídas e do ponto de
1023 vista da esperança e nesses casos quer dizer protesto se
1024 perde por assim dizer explode um pouco para o lado em vez
1025 de facto se exercer de uma forma construtiva de baixo para
1026 cima e obrigando aqueles que estão em cima quer dizer a
1027 olharem mais para baixo que é no fundo enfim como os
1028 sistemas democráticos funcionam quer dizer não há também
1029 não há sistemas ideias [não é?
1030 Host [uhumm professor Manuel Villaverde
1031 Cabral agradeço-lhe ter vindo
1032 C 11/Ex. 2 [obrigado
1033 Host conversar connosco deixou-nos
1034 uma série de ah:: ah: de situações aqui para reflectirmos
1035 e de questões importantes para reflectirmos sobre a forma
1036 como funcionamos como funciona o nosso estado obrigada pela
1037 sua participação o sociólogo Manuel Villaverde Cabral

1038 Host Maria Marques muito bom dia peço-lhe desculpa pela demora
1039 está há muito tempo já à espera dona de casa liga-nos de
1040 Coimbra bom dia
1041

1042 C 13 Muito obrigada não tem que pedir desculpa é um prazer
1043 participar no programa não queria estar aqui a trocar
1044 galhardetes mas na verdade é preciso coragem e dou os
1045 parabéns à antena 1 e em especial à senhora por terem esta
1046 coragem de discutir este este problema já tudo foi dito de
1047 qualquer modo eu gostaria de ah dirigir uma palavra ao
1048 senhor doutor ao senhor professor sociólogo António Costa
1049 Pinto e deixar-lhe uma um pequeno parágrafo de um artigo
1050 que saiu no Observer um jornal inglês e há uns tempos esse
1051 jornal dizia textualmente o seguinte e isto numa tradução
1052 perfeitamente penso que está correcta ah:: "Portugal é um
1053 país tão esquecível que nem se preocupa em arranjar uma
1054 alcunha para ele" e desenvolvia o artigo por aí fora e a
1055 certa altura diz mesmo o jornalista do jornal que segundo
1056 ele há uma teoria que diz que Portugal só obteve um império
1057 porque estava desesperado para ter sexo isto são dois dois
1058 extractos de um artigo do Observer como já disse que não me
1059 parece que tenha provocado qualquer reacção este insulto
1060 não provocou que eu tenha ouvido por parte do das
1061 autoridades portuguesas e penso que se justificava porque
1062 isto vem mostrar até que ponto nos temos prestígio e somos
1063 respeitados ah na União Europeia e ah: enfim pelas pelos
1064 outros países a identidade nacional o que é a identidade
1065 nacional quanto a mim (61:13)É o que nos distingue enquanto
1066 povo enquanto nação e é tudo aquilo que sob uma falsa noção
1067 de liberdade a partir de certa altura e vai desculpar-me a
1068 minha grosseria uma cáfila de pseudo-intelectuais nos

1069 roubaram são eles que têm dirigido os nossos destinos e
1070 realmente roubaram-nos essa identidade nacional e mais e o
1071 nosso drama neste momento e eu tive a experiência de alguns
1072 anos como professora no ensino secundário e: e: verifiquei
1073 isto o nosso drama já não é sequer sabermos quem somos o
1074 nosso drama é que nós não sabemos quem fomos porque a certa
1075 altura passou-se uma borracha na nossa história nas nossas
1076 tradições na nossa cultura e a palavra de ordem passou a
1077 ser somos cidadãos do mundo cidadãos da Europa e para
1078 sermos cidadãos do mundo cidadãos da Europa nós temos que
1079 saber acima de tudo ser portugueses o resultado disto tudo
1080 não somos respeitados não temos prestígio e somos vistos na
1081 Europa como uns pobre diabos ahah na União Europeia estou
1082 convencida que somos vistos como a empregada do hotel de
1083 cinco estrelas a quem o patrão faz uma festinha na cabeça
1084 ah:: e portanto o nosso patriot mas o nosso patriotismo
1085 está lá ele é como a segunda pele de um povo e agora no
1086 mundial verificou-se isso ele apareceu como um tsunami na
1087 bandeira no hino na lágrima como eu dizia ontem na lágrima
1088 que corre pela bochecha eu faço aqui um apelo aos
1089 portugueses cultivem-se e não deitem para fo não deitem
1090 fora o nosso patriotismo não o varram agora para baixo do
1091 tapete aproveitem-no como uma força catalizadora de mudança
1092 para que os pseudo-libertadores da pátria os pseudo-
1093 intelectuais de esquerda aqueles a quem eu chamo apátridas
1094 não não se aproveitem desta nossa passividade desta nossa
1095 comisseração não vamos lutar para que as coisas mudem e
1096 realmente e sobretudo desenvolver não um orgulho de ser
1097 português um orgulho bacoco um orgulho saloio mas um
1098 orgulho consciente um orgulho responsável e se aprendermos
1099 a pedir contas a quem realmente nos governa esses sim
1100 apátridas completamente e mais uma vez eu peço ao Sr. Dr.º
1101 António Costa Pinto que nas suas aulas nos seus cursos de
1102 verão comente com as pessoas que estão receptivas e o estão
1103 a ouvir o artigo do Observer um país tão esquecível que
1104 ninguém se preocupa em arranjar uma alcunha para ele muito
1105 bom dia
1106 Host bom dia Maria Marques

1107 Host Maria Luísa Aguiar está a ligar-nos de Gondomar muito bom
1108 dia
1109 C 14 Muito bom dia Dr.ª Eduarda Maio muito obrigada por me
1110 deixarem participar este tema realmente tem tanto pano para
1111 mangas há muita coisa a dizer o tempo é escasso para
1112 entrarem no programa e eu quero sobretudo dizer que na
1113 realidade nós estamos a perder a identi a identidade de
1114 sermos portugueses a olhos vistos eu já cá não estarei
1115 daqui por 50 anos isto será sei lá nem sei o que é que isto
1116 será deve ser um bocadinho de terra à beira mar plantado e
1117 se não vejamos antigamente pr'aí há 30 anos depois do 25 de
1118 Abril isto tem perdido a identidade mas a olhos vistos ah e
1119 não é preciso ouvir aliás tenho que dizer que gostei muito
1120 de ouvir esta senhora última a falar falou muito bem e
1121 disse as verdades todas e eu ia dizer até que onde estão
1122 agora como é que eu me hei-de explicar nós perdemos
1123 identidade porque repare nunca mais se estudou história
1124 como se estudava antigamente onde estão os feitos
1125 históricos que nos ensinaram nos bancos da escola os
1126 meninos agora nem sabem quem descobriu o caminho marítimo
1127 para a Índia nem sabem quem descobriu Brasil nem sabem quem

1128 fez a primeira travessia aérea os meninos que andam na
1129 escola não sabem nada não sabem nada de nada não sabem até
1130 fazer uma conta têm que fazer uma conta por uma máquina de
1131 calcular bom eu acho isto é um tema extra que eu estou a
1132 dizer no entanto eu entendo que os políticos é que estão a
1133 fazer com que a nossa identidade vá descendo e cada vez
1134 pior e se não houver alguém que do outro lado que faça
1135 modificar este sistema então Dr.^a Eduarda Maio eu não sei
1136 para onde iremos caminhar se calhar iremos caminhar para um
1137 abismo que ninguém nos conhece porque antigamente
1138 conheciam-nos pelos nossos feitos heróicos e agora não não
1139 há ninguém depois do 25 de Abril o que é que se fez nada só
1140 os políticos só olham para eles mais nada não olham para os
1141 pequeninos e eu como como fui da outra geração do outro
1142 tempo mas que trabalhei muitos anos mesmo na função pública
1143 posso dizê-lo e que vi muita coisa ai Dr.^a Eduarda Maio
1144 isto vai de mal a pior se não pegarem na na na novamente
1145 nas páginas da nossa história e se não ensinarem nos bancos
1146 dde escola o que fom o que fomos e o que podíamos ser então
1147 Dr.^a Eduarda Maio isto vai de mal a pior.
1148 Host Maria Luísa muito obrigada pela sua participação.

Appendix E. CD-Rom

Newspaper opinion articles

25th April Commemoration Corpus

01 *Público*

02 *Expresso*

03 *Correio da Manhã*

Football Corpus

04 *Público*

05 *Expresso*

06 *Correio da Manhã*