

**The Uses of History in the Media Coverage of the European Union –
2004-2019**

by

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in Digital Humanities**

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I, Daniela Major confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Daniela Major". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looped initial 'D' and 'M'.

A week later, I sailed for a cure in South America, and began a long, wandering journey abroad. I did not return to Europe for many years. It was an enchanting old ruin...but I never managed to see it again.

Wes Anderson, Grand Budapest Hotel

Le bonheur est une idée neuve en Europe.

Louis Antoine de Saint Just

Abstract

This dissertation is found at the confluence of Digital Humanities, Media Studies and History. Digital Humanities because it makes use of digital methods and tools to gather and interpret information. Media studies because we are studying the media coverage of the European Union across a defined chronology and our primary sources are born-digital newspaper articles, and History because we contextualise our sources according to their historical moment (contemporary European History, Post-Maastricht European politics) and we examine several interpretations and appropriations that key 20th century historical events and actors undergo in the corpus. These historical interpretations are then correlated both to ideas of Europe and to views on the European Union and European Integration.

The thesis begins by examining the methodologies we used to explore a large corpus of text. Our corpus was made of 8 newspapers across 16 years in both Portuguese and English. Because we were working exclusively with born-digital sources – the online versions of the newspapers – we employed digital methods and tools, such as the Python Programming language, and corpus analysis tools, such as AntConc. We defined search terms related to the European Union and scraped the text of individual articles that contained the search terms. We then proceeded to clean the text by making sure it contained only the information we wanted (body of text, title, dates) and by deleting duplicates. Finally, we analysed the text by creating a pipeline focused on word-frequencies (both Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams), which culminated in the creation of visualisations using MS Excel.

This data was interpreted according to two different avenues of analysis. The first of these was the European Public Sphere, with its concepts of horizontal and vertical Europeanization. This theory serves to analyse the penetration of European-related issues, events and actors in the national public spheres, which necessarily include the media. By doing so, we were able to see how the different newspapers interpreted extra-national affairs and what these interpretations and ways of covering European and foreign affairs meant to the respective national public spheres (the Portuguese and the English). The second avenue of research opened to us by the exploration of the corpus was the uses of History. Several historical events and actors were frequently mentioned in both corpora in connection with current affairs. We examine the instances in which these mentions

occur and how they connect to the ways the media analyses the politics of the present time. In this connection between history and memory we make use of historians such as Enzo Traverso and Benedict Anderson. These uses of history are also correlated with ideas of Europe and European integration, thus bridging the uses of history with the analysis on the levels of Europeanization. In addition to contributing to the study of modern appropriations and interpretations of historical events, this thesis aims to highlight some of the issues that arise from the use of recent historical born digital and web based sources. It also aims to provide students of the humanities and social sciences with a methodology that uses easily accessible tools to explore large quantities of text. This methodology can be adopted in full or in part.

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Introduction

This research project is found in the confluence between Digital Humanities (DH), history, and Media studies. By this we mean that it is a thesis which uses and reflects on digital methods, aims to contribute to the study of contemporary history, and makes use of some media concepts to contextualize our sources. In this sense, it is a thesis in Digital History because it works with digital sources and methods while insisting on a continuance with “traditional” methods of historical inquiry. We believe that there are many more continuities than breaks between “digital” and “analogue” history.¹ The digitality of the source alters the method, which in turn allows for an expansion of chronologies and source sizes. However, as with “traditional” historical research, our thesis focuses on the centrality of the sources. It is the sources that guide our research questions. We contextualize the sources within a specific historical context, as we clarify how the media interpreted and reported on the European Union from 2004 to 2019. This centrality of the source also strengthens the idea that this is a thesis in Digital History because all our sources are born digital, as the majority of historical sources from 2000 onwards are and will be.²

The centrality of the source demands answers to several research questions. How to gather and process a large corpus of newspaper articles (a corpus of 8 newspapers across 16 years)? How to study a dataset in two different languages (Portuguese and English)? Which methods to use that would allow us to understand how the media interpreted key events and concepts? How could this methodology be used by historians who do not have a high level of technical skills? And finally, how could our methodology reflect the challenges of using born-digital sources? After we created a pipeline that answered some of the methodological issues, our main research question arose: is there a correlation between how historical events and characters are interpreted in the media and how the media interprets the European Union? Here the European Union is treated as a set of institutions and governing bodies that produce policies and guidance as well as an institution underpinned by a set of values which aim at promoting unity and peace on the Continent. To

¹ Gerben Zaagsma, “On Digital History,” *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 128, no. 4 (December 16, 2013): 16.

² Niels Brügger, *The Archived Web: Doing History in the Digital Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2018), 12-13.

answer the main research question, a subsidiary question was generated about the interplay between the media and the European Union: how does the degree of Europeanization (the intensity and the depth with which the European Union is discussed in the Public Sphere) influence how the media interprets key events taking place in the 16 years of the chronology?

We intend to argue that not only is there a correlation, but that the way the media interprets the historical past informs the treatment of several events that took place between 2004 and 2019. We further intend to argue that there is a relation between “Horizontal” and “Vertical” Europeanization and how the media approaches and interprets historical events and processes. Finally, we also aim to argue that while the digitality of the source alters the methodology used to perform the analysis, it is perfectly possible to use these methods to reflect upon historical processes, to establish causal relations between events and to acquire a clear picture of how the sources interpret events and concepts.

This project has been marked by several key differences from other doctorate projects which bear highlighting. In the first place, it is a project created within a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Innovative Training Network (ITN), named CLEOPATRA (Cross-lingual Event-centric Open Analytics Research Academy).³ This ITN initially encompassed sixteen doctoral projects, which would be developed by early stage researchers. The applicants applied to a specific doctoral project within one university. The consequence is that unlike many other doctoral projects, we did not build the project from scratch, but in fact were attributed a project that we could then modify according to our expertise. In this case, the initial topic of this project was “the media coverage of the European Elections, 2004-2014”. Immediately, however, this posed problems.

The first was the difficulty in finding born-digital information for that particular event (the European elections), especially in its early years. This was problematic because several newspapers in our corpus were not concerned about keeping or making accessible their historical data, especially articles published prior to 2010. Not all newspapers websites had in-built search engines and, when they did, often the search results did not extend to articles that went back several years. Although some newspapers, such as the Daily Telegraph or Espresso, now use tags which are added to each article, they often only go back in time for a few years; or, as in the case of

³ “CLEOPATRA – Cross-Lingual Event-Centric Open Analytics Research Academy,” accessed January 12, 2024, <https://cleopatra-project.eu/>.

Expresso, the tags are too generalized to find specific articles about the European Union. The use of web archives was helpful, but it brings problems as well. There is a great deal of data that is never captured by the web archives.

The second issue is that the study of the European elections tended to take the research into areas of knowledge such as political science and election studies with which we are less familiar, rather than contemporary history.

To solve the first problem, we decided to expand the chronology (it became 2004 to 2019) and we abandoned the focus on the European elections to focus instead on the treatment of the European Union as a whole – which in our corpus we explored through the use of the keywords “European Union”. These keywords were chosen because they were sufficiently wide to allow us to see how the European Union was employed in the most diverse of contexts, from political and social to cultural, whereas a term such as European Parliament or European Commission would generally limit the articles to the political sphere. With regard to the chronology, 2004 was chosen as a watershed moment in European Union politics when a Constitution for the EU was presented for the first time. This Constitution went unratified and it was later transformed in the Lisbon Treaty (ratified in 2009). 2019 was chosen as an end date for the research because we wanted to incorporate, as far as possible (this thesis project began in 2019), the overreaching consequences of Brexit. Furthermore, 2004 was also a necessary cutoff point as we were working exclusively with digital media and source scarcity for years prior to 2009 was a problem. In fact, for most newspapers there were very few articles for the years 2004-2007, a problem we shall explore further in chapter 3. As such, this problem would have intensified if we had gone even further back in time.

At the same time, we also looked into some concepts from European studies, particularly the concept of Europeanization, which will be very useful to explain how the media engages with the European Union. It is also hard to trace the history of European integration, including the phenomenon of Euroscepticism, without delving into the works of political scientists (such as Simon Hix, Bjørn Høyland and Nicholas Startin).⁴ However, it is hard to know where Media

⁴ Simon Hix and Bjørn Høyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) and Benjamin Leruth, Nicholas Startin and Simon Usherwood, “Defining Euroscepticism: From a broad concept to a

studies ends and European studies begins. We reached the concept of Europeanization primarily through our interest in the European Public Sphere, and the authors we based ourselves on work largely with media sources (Thomas Risse, Ruud Koopmans, Anna Triandafyllidou, Ruth Wodak and Michał Krzyżanowski).⁵ Likewise, it is hard to know what divides political science and history of European integration. As such, we decided to view the works of political scientists as subsidiary to both media studies and history, rather than assume we are making a contribution to the field of political science.

We were also interested in trying to make sense of these sources by placing them within a specific contemporary history context and approaching them as historical sources. Following the decision to abandon the focus on the European elections, and as we explored the sources using a combination of close and distant reading methodologies, we realised the importance of historical events. We confirmed this importance not simply because we were using an approach intent on contextualizing the events that took place between 2004 and 2019 within a historical background (early 21st century, Post-Maastricht European politics), but because there were numerous references to historical events in the corpus, particularly events that took place in 20th century Europe. This strengthened our decision to abandon the elections perspective, and focus on the European Union as a term employed in the corpus. The frequent mentions to historical events also forced a reflection about the uses of historical memory in the public sphere.

The third issue, that of knowledge, was more complicated. We believe that any doctoral project of this kind has to be measured in terms of what can be reasonably done within the given timeframe and the learning curves involved. We were keen on using born-digital sources and exploring newspaper websites, as they were a source that was consistently present in the public sphere online throughout these years. We were also interested in exploring born-digital sources from a historical perspective and, as mentioned above, providing a guideline that allowed students of History, from

field of study' in *The Routledge Handbook of Euroscepticism* eds. Benjamin Leruth, Nicholas Startin, and Simon Usherwood (London: Routledge, 2018)

⁵ Thomas Risse, "An Emerging European Public Sphere? Theoretical Clarifications and Empirical Indicators" (paper, Annual Meeting of the European Studies Association, Nashville, 2003), Ruud Koopmans and Jessica Erbe, 'Towards a European Public Sphere?: Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions of Europeanized Political Communication', *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 17, no. 2 (June 2004) and Anna Triandafyllidou, Michał Krzyżanowski, and Ruth Wodak, 'Introduction' in *The European Public Sphere and the Media: Europe in Crisis*, eds., Anna Triandafyllidou, Ruth Wodak, and Michał Krzyżanowski (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009).

undergraduates to postgraduates, to use some or the totality of our methodology. We were especially interested in highlighting the benefits and the limitations of such a digital approach. This is why, despite the fact that this is a thesis in DH that makes use of different analytical tools, from coding in Python to open-sourced tools such as AntConc, we attempted not to use too complex computation. During useful conversations with other digital humanists and linguists, it was often suggested the use of more specialized software or other programming languages. However, we concluded that the tools and methods we used in this research could be understood by those with a background in historical research and average technical computational skills within a reasonable temporal framework. By this we mean that our previous experience in historical research and among students and researchers of history tells us that digital methods are an important tool that can maximize the results of the research, both by expanding the number of sources and by introducing analytical methods that allow us to read the sources under different lights. Here we made use of Franco Moretti's definitions of distant and close reading. As Moretti recognized, close reading is only possible with a "extremely small canon", whereas distant reading allows to "focus on units that are much smaller or larger than the text", such as "themes", which was exactly what we set out to do in our thesis.⁶

However, the point of historical research is to explore historical questions, and during a historical investigation the methodology occupies a key place, but not the sole place. It was therefore important for us that the methodology we developed here to study our sources and the tools we used had a learning curve surmountable to anyone with the computational skills equivalent to a history undergraduate.

Another key change that we introduced to the original project was the geographical delimitation. The United Kingdom and Portugal were chosen for how their recent history informs modern views on the EU: both countries are situated on the edge of Western Europe, with a long colonial and imperial history, were forced to abandon their empires in the 20th century, but still retain a strong connection to the former colonies. Although several European countries have a colonial past, for

⁶ Moretti is talking about literature. However, we believe his point can perfectly be applied to history. Up until recently, historians have dealt with a small number of sources, especially when doing political and intellectual history. In our thesis, the "themes" we see are the different topics we divided our data into as well as the trends we noticed emerging throughout the period. Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London ; New York: Verso, 2013), 48-49.

example Belgium, Germany, France and Italy, the divergence between the UK and Portuguese outlooks on their global and European roles is particularly interesting for this thesis. It is striking that the English sources often present the idea that the EU hinders the UK from fulfilling a global design, such as the one Britain had enjoyed in the previous century. By contrast, the Portuguese media often hints that the EU helped to free Portugal from a shameful colonial past. In terms of support for the EU, Portugal and the UK find themselves at opposite ends of the spectrum, with polls showing that the Portuguese exhibit a high level of support for the EU, while the British have been either indifferent or opposed. We believe that the comparison in terms of topics and language between a public sphere that has mixed or negative feelings on the EU and one that is more positive can help illuminate key aspects of Europeanization. Furthermore, the fact that we are studying a country whose public opinion has mixed to negative views on the EU and another which has overwhelmingly positive views can contribute to a wider understanding of the phenomenon of Euroscepticism. Indeed, there will be several instances in the course of this research where we noted how the language and the framing of topics between the two corpora is striking, with the British corpus denoting a more negative language and framing and the Portuguese a positive or neutral framing. In this sense, the inclusion of Britain in this research, and the comparison to Portugal, is given a renewed importance because of how much of an outlier in European Union politics Britain became during the period in study. Additionally, we believe these differences had to be grounded in History and we will provide an explanation for them. Indeed, as we shall see in chapters 2 and 5, Portugal and the UK have a different history with the European Union: they gained membership at different times (the UK in the 70s, Portugal in the 80s) and they viewed membership differently – in the UK, the issue was more contentious and there was always a strong Eurosceptic current whereas in Portugal, EU membership was viewed as a necessity by the main political parties as well as a positive step for the Portuguese economy and Portugal's international standing. These differences are also grounded in the economic and political situation following the end of their respective Empires, which promoted a rethinking of these countries' geopolitics and place in the world. Perhaps more importantly, the way the media in these two countries report on and interact with the EU reflects a wider view of the historical role the respective nations played in the European Continent and in the world, particularly throughout the 20th century. In this sense, the way History is discussed in the present and how it contributes to the construction of identities is particularly useful for us. We will be drawing upon the works of Benedict Anderson, Enzo

Traverso and Pierre Nora to explain how history is understood by individuals and states in the present. Anderson examines the useful concept of “imagined communities” and highlights how integral the press was for the creation of national communities held together by cultural and linguistic ties, often imposed from the top down. Traverso has undertaken extensive work on the memory of the Holocaust in Europe and the United States, and Pierre Nora studied how key places, symbols and events became part of France’s collective memory. This connection between History and memory is complex, but it becomes clear in chapter 5 of this thesis that the interplay between how key historical events in European and national history are remembered in public discourse, presented in this thesis through the media, can correlate with how the European Union is discussed in the Public Sphere. We will also draw upon Reinhart Koselleck’s ideas on historical time to explain how the media frames events within modernity.⁷

Furthermore, because this study involved both close and distant reading, it was in our view important that both languages were proficiently read and spoken, so as to understand the subtleties. We believed that if we used languages we did not know and had relied instead on automated translations, the results would have been very different, and mistakes would have occurred. Indeed, as we shall see throughout the chapters, several issues regarding the use of stop-words and the way the text in our corpus employed names of people or other entities benefited from a deep knowledge of both languages.⁸

A word must also be said about the importance of collaboration for this project. An ITN aims to incentivize Early Stage Researchers to collaborate with each other and we participated in several events, such as Hackathons and Research and Development Weeks throughout the first three years of the project. From our perspective, this was very useful to gain a broader view of what DH has in common with computational science, but also how DH can benefit other fields. A lesson learned was that one of the most important roles played by Digital Humanists is the critical questioning of methods used and the care with which DH researchers read the results of the analysis, without

⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), Enzo Traverso, *O Passado: Modos de Usar* (Lisbon: edições unipop, 2012), and Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

⁸ For this reason, it is worth underlining that every translation from the Portuguese to English was made by the author of the thesis.

resorting to overarching explanations that aim to explain complex phenomena. At the same time, the contact with the work of computer scientists who were doing research into, for instance, Natural Language Processing techniques became tremendously useful for us to understand the potential and the limitations of using such methods. A good example of how much we learned from our participation in CLEOPATRA was the participation in Research and Development Weeks, where we were split into teams and attempted to create a demonstrator. Our team created a web application called TIME which performed visual analysis (topic modelling, word trends) as well as temporal analysis (showing, for instance, the occurrence of a certain keyword across time). This was based on predefined datasets, which could be modified by the user.

It was also the participation in the Research and Development Weeks, Hackathons and other CLEOPATRA events that sparked our interest in using code to do part of our analysis. Initially, the idea of using code was not very well defined. CLEOPATRA allowed us to understand, for instance, that Python would be a good language to use, first due to the fact that many key libraries (such as Spacy, Pandas, BeautifulSoup, Newspaper3k) existed in Python and then because of the number of resources available to develop Python skills.⁹ As our knowledge of Python was largely self-taught, availability of resources was key.

As part of the ITN, we also did two secondments, the first at a social media company in Germany, VICO Social Analytics, and the second at the UK Web Archive at the British Library. The former was useful for how it placed us in the context of a commercial enterprise which uses similar methods to ours (Natural Language Processing, for instance) to gauge the feelings and preferences of clients. The second secondment was more directly linked to the present research. By building and curating a collection of websites related to a single topic (in this case, Elizabeth II's Platinum Jubilee), we were given privileged access to web archiving tools and processes, as well as an understanding of how heritage institutions work to archive web-based content. This knowledge became essential to better understand the fragility of these sources and the issues surrounding access. As mentioned earlier, one of the greatest challenges in our thesis was how to gather our sources and how to make sense of source scarcity in a project that was working with large amounts

⁹ Looking at Programming Historian, for instance, out of 102 lessons published so far (September 2023), 29 use Python. "Lesson Directory | Programming Historian," accessed January 12, 2024, <https://programminghistorian.org/en/lessons/>.

of data. For example, for newspaper Expresso we were unable to find articles prior to 2008 and in other newspapers such as the Daily Mail, Jornal de Noticias and Público there is a very marked difference between the number of articles we have for the earlier years as opposed to the volume of the later years. The secondment at the UK Web Archive introduced us to the difficulties web archives face when capturing webpages, such as the inability to archive paywalled content (inaccessible to the web archive or excluded under national legislative frameworks), concerns with copyright, and the technical issues surrounding the capture of specific components of a web page (video, JavaScript). Furthermore, the secondment also allowed us to understand the evolution of the technology used to capture web pages.

Finally, we want to highlight the fact that this project began in August 2019 and that much of it took place during the Coronavirus pandemic. Although a project whose primary sources are born digital and available online is luckier than a project relying on physical archives and analogue sources, the impact of the pandemic restrictions cannot be underestimated. Access to secondary sources and literature was limited and invaluable opportunities for training and networking were lost. It is possible that had this project unfolded in different circumstances the result would have been different. We also have no wish to contribute to a fiction that academic work can thrive within conditions of restricted access to resources. This is also a reason why not only will the code be made available in the appendixes, but also why we strived to use open-source or easily accessible software.

This thesis is divided into five chapters.

The first chapter contains the literature review, which is divided into three parts: Digital Humanities, media studies and European integration. Here we take the opportunity to contextualize our research within the Digital Humanities field, by beginning to explore key concepts in DH. We also expand on important concepts in media studies, such as agenda setting and news values. Finally, we end the chapter by defining European integration and presenting some of its most pressing challenges, such as the phenomenon of Euroscepticism.

The second chapter contains an overview of the history of the idea of Europe as well as the history of the European Union. This will serve to contextualize many of the events, people and concepts that will come up in our analysis of the corpus as well as to provide an historical background to the time period we are studying (2004-2019). Here we will introduce some key concepts under

which we will interpret our results, such as the notion of “imagined communities” authored by Benedict Anderson, and the notion of invented traditions, coined by Eric Hobsbawm, which defines a type of historical phenomena where communities credit certain practices with an antiquity they did not have.¹⁰ We will also be expanding on the concept of European Public Sphere, pertinent as a space where issues pertaining to European issues are discussed.

The third chapter expands on our methodology. We explain the process of source selection as well as the steps taken to gather, clean and analyse the sources. We also explain the difficulties encountered along the way, as each individual newspaper website we used presented different technical problems when it came to scraping and cleaning its contents. This chapter also discusses the use of web archives for research (which we used for one of the newspapers) as well as the limitations of the present research. Accompanying this chapter, there are several annexes of JupyterNotebooks containing the code that we wrote. Finally, this chapter discusses the concept of Europeanization and how our methodology allows for the examination of different types of Europeanization.

The fourth chapter delves into corpus analysis. It shows how we organized our data in a way that allowed us to study the most relevant topics throughout the 16 years of our chronology. Using a distance reading methodology, which is explained in the third and fourth chapter, we explored the different events, people, places, institutions, collectives, places, postholders and political parties that appeared in our corpus. This chapter includes visualizations produced using MS Excel graphics, which attempt to convey the most noteworthy aspects of our corpus. We interpret the results by comparing the two corpora (the English and the Portuguese) as well as by comparing the changes between the years of the corpus. These interpretations are also informed by key concepts borrowed from media studies and political science, such as the concept of public sphere and Europeanization. It is worth noting that here, as in chapter five, the two corpora are analysed separately, but the comparative exercise is one of the endpoints of our analysis.

¹⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities* and Eric Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’ in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds., Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

The fifth chapter analyses the uses of history in the corpus and how these uses are connected to the idea of Europe. Using a combination of distant reading methods¹¹ with close reading (by quoting and interpreting the text of the articles) we analyse the use of historical events and people in both the Portuguese and the English corpora and how they inform the interpretation of modern events.

We use the conclusion to draw out key themes identified in the fourth and fifth chapters by reflecting on the uses of history in the corpus and how those connect with the types of Europeanization (vertical and horizontal) and engagement with European institutions.

In short, we attempt here to undertake a thesis in contemporary history, by contextualizing born-digital sources in a historical context and also by looking into how historical events and personalities are filtered, interpreted and appropriated by the media discourse, often in connection with contemporary events. We further attempt to find the correlation between these uses of history and how the media in these two countries engages with the European Union and its institutions.

¹¹ Most of the analysis in the fifth chapter was done using AntConc, “a freeware corpus analysis toolkit” created by Laurence Anthony and used for text analysis. It allowed us to do word frequency, to see words in the context of the text and to do word collocations (a technique we will explain in further detail in chapter 3). “Laurence Anthony’s AntConc,” accessed January 12, 2024, <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>.

Chapter 1

Literature review

This chapter discusses literature on the topics of Digital Humanities, media studies and historical ideas of European integration. It will begin by defining DH and setting the present research within the context of textual analysis in DH. It will then examine literature on media studies, expanding on key concepts in our thesis, such as agenda setting and framing. It will also examine the concept of Public Sphere, which is vital to contextualize media discourse. Finally, it will examine the challenges surrounding European integration, including the concept of Euroscepticism.

Defining Digital Humanities

In his chapter in *Debates in the Digital Humanities* Greenspan argues that Digital Humanities involves a “scrutiny” of the methods and practices humanist scholars use to do research.¹² This argument is in line with the statements made in a Digital Humanities Manifesto published in 2009. The manifesto asks what will happen to humanities when “print is no longer the normative medium in which literary or historical artifacts are produced?” The answer must be found in approaches that “deconstructs the very materiality, methods, and media of humanistic inquiry and practices”. Humanities tend to be “balkanized”, tied down by language, geography, scale and even field of knowledge. This is, according to the authors of the manifesto, what DH is trying to correct: “Digital Humanities is about convergence: Not only between humanities disciplines and media forms, but also between the arts, sciences, and technologies.”¹³ This idea of convergence is important to this thesis, as it is situated precisely in this intersection between disciplines such as History, media

¹² Brian Greenspan, ‘The Scandal of Digital Humanities’ In *Debates in the Digital Humanities 2019* ed. Matthew K. Gold and Lauren F. Klein (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), Chap. 9, <https://dhdebates.gc.cuny.edu/read/untitled-f2acf72c-a469-49d8-be35-67f9ac1e3a60/section/b67fbf58-faab-4ab2-8abf-e5fc666cf254#toc>

¹³ Jeffrey Schnapp and Todd Presner, “The Digital Humanities Manifesto”, UCLA, accessed 16 August 2021. <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427071842/http://manifesto.humanities.ucla.edu/2008/12/15/digital-humanities-manifesto/>. This manifesto was published in 2008 and it is a result of a collaborative effort produced by the Mellon Seminar on the Digital Humanities at UCLA 2008-2009. Its principal authors are Jeffrey Schnapp and Todd Presner

studies and DH. Technology provides the social scientist and humanist with new types of sources, and DH is a way to process and treat those digital sources.

One of the most pertinent questions about DH is what constitutes its practice. Unsworth argues that using a computer is not “humanities’ computing”, which in fact can be done only when the computer is being used as a tool “for modeling humanities data and our understanding of it”. For Unsworth this modeling must allow user interactivity, structured data, keyword search, or the introduction of algorithms that make possible the change of research parameters.¹⁴ Berry states that “email, Google searches and bibliographic databases are becoming increasingly crucial” in humanities’ research, and that this has fundamentally changed the way researchers work. That is, DH has taken to modifying the source itself, which is ready to be interpreted and analysed through different means.¹⁵ This must be measured up with what Brügger has called the “explosion of the digital”, a “major shift” in historical research.¹⁶ Historians are going from studying periods in which historical sources are either scarce or manageable through close reading, to the present and recent past, in which sources, in their digital form, are in such abundance that they can hardly be processed without the help of computational tools. In this thesis, we are interested in the abundance of textual sources, but it must be kept in mind that digital textual analysis must take into consideration the specific digitality of sources.¹⁷ In our research, which concerns online newspapers, we must note that there are significant differences between a text that has been digitized from a physical newspaper and born-digital sources. Unlike digitized newspapers whose OCR quality sometimes occludes part of the text, we have access to the full text.¹⁸ But it is worth noting that born-digital sources include two layers of textuality: the first is what is visible on the screen and the second is the code underneath, usually in HTML format. In the present case, we are interested in studying the first layer, as we are doing content analysis of media texts. However, we

¹⁴ John Unsworth ‘What is Humanities’ Computing and what is Not’ in *Defining Digital Humanities* ed. Melissa Terras, Julianne Nyhan, Edward Vanhoutte (London: Routledge. 2013), 37.

¹⁵ David M. Berry, *Understanding Digital Humanities* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2012), 2.

¹⁶ Niels Brügger, *The Archived Web: Doing History in the Digital Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2018), 13. This can also be seen in the abundance of digitized sources, see Gerben Zaagsma, “Digital History and the Politics of Digitization,” *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 38, no. 2 (June, 2023): 830–51.

¹⁷ Brügger, *The Archived Web*, 16-23.

¹⁸ Rose Holley, “How Good Can It Get?: Analysing and Improving OCR Accuracy in Large Scale Historic Newspaper Digitisation Programs,” *D-Lib Magazine* 15, no. 3/4 (March 2009), <http://www.dlib.org/dlib/march09/holley/03holley.html>

are using the HTML code to scrape the information we need from the websites, so we need a working knowledge of how the underlying code builds what we see on the screen.

Hayles chooses to look at DH as a broad field encompassing different avenues of research, inquiry and dissemination. She gives examples: “text encoding and analysis”, “digital editions of print works”, research that recreates in virtual reality classical architecture, and even electronic literature and digital art which “draws on or remediates humanities traditions”.¹⁹ In this sense, Hayles is closer to Mullen’s position who advanced the idea of DH not as a field of research set in stone, but rather as a “spectrum”. Going from using Zotero or filtering Google results to text mining is a matter of “difference of degree, not of kind”.²⁰ Hayles positions herself as heiress of both the first and second wave of DH. In the Digital Humanities’ Manifesto 2.0, which follows the Manifesto previously referenced, the first wave of DH research is defined as “quantitative, mobilizing the search and retrieval powers of the database, automating corpus linguistics, stacking hypercards into critical arrays.” On the other hand, the second wave is “qualitative, interpretive, experiential, emotive, generative (...) It harnesses digital toolkits in the service of the Humanities’ core methodological strengths: attention to complexity, medium specificity, historical context, analytical depth, critique and interpretation”.²¹ We could say that the first wave provides the tools, the second the methods with which to use the tools to interpret data and reflects upon the methods used. This definition is especially important for the work undertaken in this thesis as both the practical aspect of DH, which collects data and recreates the means to analyse it, as well as a more theoretical aspect, which establishes a methodology to interpret the data, will be present.

The wide range of DH is indelibly linked to the possibilities it has opened in terms of research. Foster claims that for the humanities and social sciences “the most important role that computation plays in research is as an enabler of access” by which he means the digitization of data “and the

Katherine Hayles, *How We Think: Digital Media and Contemporary Technogenesis* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 27.

²⁰ Lincoln Mullen ‘Digital Humanities is a Spectrum, or “We’re All Digital Humanists Now”’ in *Defining Digital Humanities* ed. Melissa Terras, Julianne Nyhan, Edward Vanhoutte (London: Routledge. 2013), 237

²¹Jeffrey Schnapp and Todd Presner, “The Digital Humanities Manifesto 2.0”, accessed 16 August 2021, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190303111000/http://manifesto.humanities.ucla.edu/2009/05/29/the-digital-humanities-manifesto-20/>

delivery of that data via the web”.²² This is a somewhat narrow view of what computation has done for the social sciences. Access to large amounts of data is undoubtedly vital, but is a means to an end, and not the end of research itself. In our research, we are especially interested in understanding how DH can enhance the treatment of textual sources and how it can expand the possible interpretations of text. Examples of how DH has changed English departments was given by Gold.²³ One relevant example is how techniques such as digitization have created an “infinite archive” carrying “its own specific problems” such as the “huge quantities of articles, texts and data”.²⁴

This huge quantity of text necessarily alters the way researchers approach it as reading them one by one is impossible. At the same time, there is much to gain from discerning patterns in these large amounts of texts. Doing so, however, changes the nature both of text itself and of reading. Moretti proposes that there are “instead of concrete, individual works, a trio of artificial constructs—graphs, maps, and trees— in which the reality of the text undergoes a process of deliberate reduction and abstraction. ‘Distant reading’, I have once called this type of approach; where distance is however not an obstacle, but *a specific form of knowledge*”.²⁵ Although concerned with literature, Moretti takes inspiration from the practices of social history which often used quantitative methods. These involved the collection and transformation of primary sources, creating a “large mass of facts”.²⁶ Moretti grounds his defence of distant reading precisely in the impossibility on the part of the literary historian of reading every novel published in the 19th century: “a field this large cannot be understood by stitching together separate bits of knowledge about individual cases, because it isn’t a sum of individual cases: it’s a collective system, that should be grasped as such, as a whole”.²⁷ The second part of Moretti’s argument consists of finding another way of approaching the text. To do this he uses graphs and statistics to understand the waves of literary trends, maps to trace the relationships between characters in French novels, and

²² Ian Foster ‘How Computation changes Research’ in *Switching Codes: Thinking Through Digital Technology in the Humanities and the Arts* ed. Roderick Coover and Thomas Bartscherer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 18.

²³ Matthew K. Gold, ‘Introduction: The Digital Humanities Moment’ in *Debates in the Digital Humanities* ed. Matthew K. Gold (Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2012), IX.

²⁴ Berry, *Understanding Digital Humanities*, 2.

²⁵ Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013), 1.

²⁶ Moretti, *Distant Reading*, 3.

²⁷ Moretti, *Distant Reading*, 4.

evolutionary trees to build morphological diagrams to detect the predominance of clues in detective fiction. We see here that text is turned into something else, such as visualizations, graphs or trees. This transformation, however, is about modeling data not interpretation. As Liu states, DH is trying out different “modes of inquiry” that are “either non-interpretive or that position interpretation as something other than the end of knowledge” and he enumerates such modes as “building, modeling, simulating, sampling, or experimenting”.²⁸ According to Liu, DH “do not pre-channel existing meaning but instead iteratively tweak the signal in the channel until it either models our understanding of pre-existing pattern (...) or discovers unexpected anomalies generative of new meaning”. We would argue that this is a somewhat positivist view of DH. Although models such as Moretti’s graphs, maps or trees do not by themselves give us a meaning or interpretation, the selection of the data that feeds the model constitutes a choice that requires pre-existing knowledge that has undergone a process of interpretation. Moretti chooses to analyse clues in detective fiction because he had previously decided that clues were an important trait in the genre.²⁹ In this sense, digital methods can aid our understanding of the source, but there is a process of selection and reflection that must come before. Furthermore, the work of the social scientist or humanist does not end when the data is turned into a graph or a map. We then must turn to interpretation. We agree with Moretti’s premise that there is much to gain from distant reading large quantities of text, and that turning this data into trees or graphs is a profitable way to flesh out trends. Graphs, for example, will be a vital element in the first half of our analysis, in which we will be mostly concerned with diachronic analysis and word and topic frequency. This stage will then open the way to explore the data in more detail, such as searching for specific topics and the relation between them.

²⁸ Alan Liu, “Digital Humanities and Academic Change,” *English Language Notes* 17, no. 35 (2009): 19.

²⁹ Moretti, *Distant Reading*, 72.

Web Archives and Born-Digital Sources

While Moretti was writing about digitized versions of texts, we must acknowledge that the challenge of source and text abundance becomes even more significant with born-digital sources, as the number is far superior and is constantly being produced, especially if we think about web sources.³⁰ We believe that the discipline of history might help with some of the methodological issues brought about by source abundance. McCullagh argues that when it comes to historical research “anything less than an exhausting description” of facts “will be the result of selection”.³¹ Lustik points out that selection bias – the inference of conclusions based upon incomplete samples – is a problem in historical research, as the selection of primary and secondary sources is by itself the result of a selection which reflects the academic background of the researcher.³² In the present study, the first step was the selection and limitation of sources. One of their most important traits is that they are all web-based and they have all been “born-digital”. This phenomenon is often associated with the second wave of DH which, as Todd Presner makes clear “introduces entirely new disciplinary paradigms, convergent fields, hybrid methodologies”.³³ More concretely, born digital “would include computer games, blogs, virtual worlds, social spaces such as mySpace, email collections, websites (..)”.³⁴ In an interview supporting the importance of Digital History, Thomas defines Digital History as an “approach to examining and representing the past that works with the new communication technologies of the computer, the Internet network and software systems”.³⁵ Indeed, Digital History and DH often “overlap” as they share techniques and

³⁰ This is the argument made in Ian Milligan, *History in the Age of Abundance? How the Web Is Transforming Historical Research* (Chicago: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), 6-7.

³¹ C. Behan McCullagh, “Bias in Historical Description, Interpretation, and Explanation,” *History and Theory* 39, no. 1 (2000): 42.

³² Ian S. Lustick, “History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias,” *The American Political Science Review* 90, no. 3 (1996): 607.

³³ Todd Presner, “Digital Humanities 2.0: A Report on Knowledge,” *The Connexions Project*, 2010, <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=d96803c5657b3f849d3e2600a4a3efbd686d0780>.

³⁴ Patrik Svensson, ‘Humanities computing as Digital Humanities’ in *Defining Digital Humanities* ed. Melissa Terras, Julianne Nyhan, Edward Vanhoutte (London: Routledge. 2013), 181.

³⁵ Daniel J. Cohen et al., “Interchange: The Promise of Digital History,” *Journal of American History* 95, no. 2 (September 1, 2008): 454.

challenges.³⁶ Zaagsma argues that it is no longer enough to claim that Digital History relates to the assortment of materials and tools historians use to do their analysis. Instead, he proposes that historians should be more than a “passive user of digitized sources”, and prepare themselves for the “new possibilities in humanities research, particularly regarding big data”, which will necessarily precipitate a paradigm shift in how historians produce knowledge.³⁷

What this means is that the born digital phenomenon imposes new methodologies of preservation, analysis and interpretation. In our research, we are interested in the role of the web. DH has been changed by the spread of the internet,³⁸ not only in terms of access to sources as has been mentioned before but as a tool of content creation. The web is the greatest producer of data. In 2013, a report by SINTEF, a Norwegian research organization, suggested that “90% of all the data in the world” had been generated over the past two years.³⁹ As Rosenzweig put it, “the astonishingly rapid accumulation of digital data (...) should make us consider that future historians may face information overload”.⁴⁰ The challenges posed by this overload are then twofold: the preservation of data and its treatment in order to produce research.

In this sense, key to this preservation are Web Archives, of which much has been written in recent years. Brügger, for example, wrote *The Archived Web* in 2018 and edited with Milligan *The Sage Handbook of Web History* in 2019. In “a growing number of cases the web will be the only existing source, because the activity being studied has taken place only on the web”.⁴¹ Web Archives come in different forms. They can be national or transnational, they can be an individual or a concerted, collective effort. The Internet Archive is the largest collection of archived webpages, and is the best example of a transnational archive as it is not limited to a specific geographical area.⁴²

³⁶ Jonathan Blaney et al. *Doing Digital History: A Beginner's Guide to Working with Text As Data* (Manchester University Press, 2021): 6. Also on the technology challenges brought about by the abundance of web sources see 11-13.

³⁷ Gerben Zaagsma, “On Digital History,” *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 128, no. 4 (December, 2013): 17-18.

³⁸ Hayles, *How We Think*, 42.

³⁹ SINTEF, “Big Data, for Better or Worse: 90% of World's Data Generated over Last Two Years,” *ScienceDaily*, May 22, 2013, <https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2013/05/130522085217.htm>.

⁴⁰ Roy Rosenzweig, *Clio Wired: The Future of the Past in the Digital Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 6.

⁴¹ Brügger, *The Archived Web*, 3.

⁴² Brügger, *The Archived Web*, 92

National Archives, such as the UK, the Danish or the Portuguese Web Archives, archive entire national domains.⁴³

Making a screenshot or a screenmovie, downloading a file, collecting data from the API (application programming interface) or web crawling are some of the ways institutions or individuals can archive the web. The most complex form is web crawling and it is the method used by the Internet Archive and most national archives.⁴⁴

Web Archiving, however, is not without issues. Anything behind a paywall or set to private (such as Facebook accounts) will not be crawled. Like traditional archives, “web archives do not provide a perfect representation of the past – they offer facsimiles of the original pages, and much is missing or of reduced functionality”.⁴⁵ There are gaps in the data that is preserved. There are significant amounts of information that was never collected, especially from the late 90s and early 2000s. Additionally, each Web Archive has its own archiving policy and accessibility often becomes an issue. For instance, the Portuguese Arquivo.pt collects the .pt domain and makes it available online, though there is a year embargo, so content from 2021 will only be made available in 2022. On the other hand, much of the content collected by the UK Web Archive is only accessible on-site in specific locations, such as the UK’s six repository libraries.⁴⁶ In the present research, Web Archives were used to find data that we were unable to find on the live web. We agree with Nanni, who argued that this patchwork of finding information is very familiar to historians and researchers who deal in archival work, as they often must make up for the gaps in the archives.⁴⁷

⁴³ Brügger, *The Archived Web*, 92

⁴⁴ Brügger, *The Archived Web*, 81-82

⁴⁵ Ian Milligan ‘Historiography and the Web’ in *The SAGE Handbook of Web History* ed. Niels Brügger and Ian Milligan (London: SAGE Publications, 2019), 5

⁴⁶ ‘UK Web Archive’, British Library, accessed 16 August 2021, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/uk-web-archive>

⁴⁷ Federico Nanni, “Reconstructing a Website’s Lost Past Methodological Issues Concerning the History of Unibo.It,” *Digital Humanities Quarterly*, 11, no. 2 (2017): 61-68.

Text Mining: Techniques and Approaches

Although the study of the web as a source must carry an awareness that a webpage is more than just text or image, the present study is concerned mainly with text, specifically text from online news. Newspapers adapted remarkably well to the digital format and to digital technologies: “World Wide Web protocols including hypertext markup language (HTML) enabled a new visual interface for accessing news via the internet”.⁴⁸ As more and more people gained access to the internet, they came to rely upon it for their news content. In 2010, in the United States, it was found that “the top 7% of news media websites collected 80% of the overall traffic”.⁴⁹ Additionally, newspapers with an online format reach a much wider audience.⁵⁰

As mentioned previously, our datasets can be found both on the live web, in the websites of newspapers, and in Web Archives. The question arises, then, of how to collect, process and analyse this data. While a close reading would be theoretically possible, it is very hard to achieve, especially considering the volume of data involved, which would render this task very time-consuming. The scale of our data requires approaches such as text mining and text analysis. To do so, we must first understand how text works online. As shown by Graham, Milligan and Weingart, the first step of the process is to scrape the data, which can be accomplished through a variety of ways including the aforementioned APIs, pre-designed software (such as Outwit Hub or Wget) or using custom scripts created using a programming language (Python in our case).⁵¹ It was only after data was gathered that we chose which text mining techniques should be applied: “mining is applied to techniques focused on exploration and discovery”, and it includes “textual features such as the relative frequency of the most frequently occurring words”.⁵²

⁴⁸ Matthew S Weber, ‘The tumultuous history of news on the web’ in *The Web as History: Using Web Archives to Understand the Past and the Present*, ed. Niels Brügger and Ralph Schroeder (California: UCL Press, 2017), 86.

⁴⁹ Weber, ‘The tumultuous history’, 92

⁵⁰ Weber, ‘The tumultuous history’, 93

⁵¹ Shawn Graham, Ian Milligan, and Scott Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data: The Historian’s Macroscopic* (London: Imperial College Press, 2016), 54-56 and 60-61.

⁵² Matthew L. Jockers, Ted Underwood, ‘Text-Mining the Humanities’ in *A New Companion to Digital Humanities*, ed. Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens and John Unsworth (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 293.

We agree, therefore, with Kirschenbaum's assertion that these digital tools and techniques serve as "a catalyst to critical and creative thinking" as they force the researcher to think about what tools should be used to explore a given corpus to its full potential.⁵³ Such techniques pertinent to the present research are topic modelling which uses Bayes's theorem on probability to estimate which particular topic can be understood from the distribution of words in a text.⁵⁴ One such example, the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) topic model, has been praised for its ability to detect the presence of a set of meaningful categories (topics) in text, and has been widely used by digital humanists.⁵⁵ Topic modelling can be particularly relevant as it quickly identifies topics in large amounts of data, thus providing the researcher with valuable clues as to what the data refers to and which topics are worth exploring in depth. There are, however, problems. In the first place, the number of clusters must be pre-defined in advance, and the results will change according to the number of topics selected. Another problem is that topics "can generate linguistic objects of very different natures"⁵⁶, which means the topics generated by the model often lack context once we wish to deepen the analysis. Furthermore, it is not uncommon for the topics provided by algorithm to be difficult to decipher.⁵⁷ This can be partly resolved by enforcing semi-supervised methods. Nanni, Kumper and Ponzetto explain how introducing metadata and seeded words into topic model algorithms can help researchers obtain more relevant results.⁵⁸

Other relevant text mining techniques involve Named Entity Recognition and the use of N-Grams.⁵⁹ In Natural Language Processing, named entities are units of information "that refer to specific categories such as people, places, and organizations", though it has evolved to extract

⁵³ Matthew G Kirschenbaum, 'Ancient Evenings: Retrocomputing in the Digital Humanities' in *A New Companion to Digital Humanities*, ed. Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens and John Unsworth (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 186-87

⁵⁴ Graham, Milligan, and Weingart, 'Exploring Big Historical Data', 117.

⁵⁵ Graham, Milligan, and Weingart, 'Exploring Big Historical Data', 119.

⁵⁶ Andrew Piper, 'What Are Some of the Problems with Topic Modeling?', *The Fish and the Painting* (blog), 6 January 2020, <https://r4thehumanities.home.blog/what-are-some-of-the-problems-with-topic-modeling/>.

⁵⁷ Federico Nanni, Hiram Kumper, and Simone Paolo Ponzetto, "Semi-Supervised Textual Analysis and Historical Research Helping Each Other: Some Thoughts and Observations," *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 10, no. 1 (March 2016): 69. Research by Brookes and McEnery has also shown some of the issues with using topic modelling to do discourse analysis. In Gavin Brookes and Tony McEnery, "The Utility of Topic Modelling for Discourse Studies: A Critical Evaluation," *Discourse Studies* 21, no. 1 (February 1, 2019): 3-21.

⁵⁸ Nanni, Kumper, Ponzetto, "Semi-Supervised Textual Analysis", 70

⁵⁹ We define an N-Gram as a "contiguous sequence of words in a text". The N is a variable, defining how many words are going to be grouped (it can also define single words or grams). In Matthias Schonlau, Nick Guenther, and Iliia Sucholutsky, "Text Mining Using N-Grams," *SSRN Electronic Journal* 17, no. 4 (2016): 866.

events, dates and numbers. The point of named entity recognition is to extract and classify these entities.⁶⁰ This is useful if we are dealing with large amounts of unstructured data, as in our case. However, a study comparing several natural languages packages in Named Entity Extraction, such as Stanford CoreNLP, Spacy, NLTK and OpenNLP concluded that “named entity extraction for the Portuguese language – is underdeveloped in comparison to other languages”, especially English.⁶¹ For these reasons, and for others we will explore in chapter 3, we privileged the use of N-Grams. N-Grams are considered one of the most popular text-mining techniques.⁶² The process works by counting “repeated phrases or continuous word sequences that occur in the corpus data”. It is important to note that “n-grams of different lengths are counted separately”;⁶³ an individual word is counted as a Uni-Gram⁶⁴ and “sequences of pairs of words are counted as 2-grams” – which in this research we call Bi-Grams – “three word sequences as 3-grams and so on”.⁶⁵ One of the problems with the use of N-Grams and word frequencies, however, is that for larger corpora, “more stringent filtering will be required” as there will be many N-Grams which will not add much to the study.⁶⁶ We will address this problem in chapter 3.

As we have seen each technique has its benefits and drawbacks, which is why we believe it is important to treat them as an important element in a wide range of tools researchers can use, but not as the end of research. As research in Machine Learning continues to advance as it has in the last decades, there have been warnings by researchers such as Burrell in regards to the “opacity” of machine-algorithms. This opacity derives, sometimes, from corporate secrecy, from lack of understanding as to how the algorithm works, or as a feature that is embedded in the complexity of the algorithm itself.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Audrey Holmes, “Named Entity Resolution for Historical Texts” (Master Diss, 2019), University of Washington, 3.

⁶¹ André Ricardo Oliveira Pires, ‘Named Entity Extraction from Portuguese Web Text’ (Masters diss., Universidade do Porto, 2017), 56.

⁶² Schonlau, Guenther, and Sucholutsky, “Text Mining Using N-Grams,” 866.

⁶³ Paul Ryson, “Tools and methods for corpus compilation and analysis” in Douglas Biber and Randi Reppen, *The Cambridge Handbook of English Corpus Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 41.

⁶⁴ Schonlau, Guenther, and Sucholutsky ‘Text Mining Using N-Grams’, 867.

⁶⁵ Ryson, “Tools and methods”, 41.

⁶⁶ Ryson, “Tools and methods”, 46.

⁶⁷ Jenna Burrell, ‘How the Machine “Thinks”’: Understanding Opacity in Machine Learning Algorithms’, *Big Data & Society* 3, no. 1 (June 2016), 2.

Another issue with such digital tools concerns the correlation between data and evidence, which relates, in our view, to how DH conceptualize the use of software and quantitative research. There is a difference between using digital tools to provide evidence for one's claims or using them as part of an ongoing exploration of data in which the tool is only a stepping stone to further, deeper analysis.⁶⁸ This epistemological distinction is also accompanied by how humanists and social scientists understand the tools they are utilizing. Owens and Gibbs expand on the relation between data and evidence: "while data certainly can be employed as evidence for historical argument, data are not necessarily evidence in themselves".⁶⁹

This is a path historical research has also trodden, with historians such as Hayden White stressing that historical facts are " 'constructed' by the kinds of questions which the investigator asks of the phenomena before him".⁷⁰ Particularly so in contemporary history "there exists a considerable indeterminacy between different types of historical knowledge, a widely agreed repertoire of factual knowledge on the one hand and different narrative accounts written from incompatible theoretical and political positions on the other".⁷¹ It is because we are keeping these positions in mind, which underline the difficulty in ascertaining an objective "truth" in historical phenomena, that we believe that approaches that use software as an exploratory tool instead of something which will produce hard evidence, are better suited to our object of study.

If each technique to analyse text has benefits and drawbacks, the same can be said of DH as a whole. As Berry and Fagerjord's warned, DH must not simply be the utilization of digital tools and techniques. They argue that DH must establish links to "social, cultural, economic and political questions of a recontextualization and social reembedding of digital technologies within a social field". To achieve this, DH must move beyond the "technological sublime" which we interpret as an excessive fascination with computerization, in order to think critically about digital culture in a way that brings the "digital (software and computation) back into visibility for research and

⁶⁸ Trevor Owens, "Discovery and Justification Are Different: Notes on Science-Ing the Humanities," *Trevor Owens* (blog), November 19, 2012, <http://www.trevorowens.org/2012/11/discovery-and-justification-are-different-notes-on-sciencing-the-humanities/>

⁶⁹ Fred Gibbs and Trevor Owens "Hermeneutics of Data and Historical Writing" in *Writing History in the Digital Age*, ed. Jack Dougherty and Kristen Nawrotzki (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2013), <https://writinghistory.trincoll.edu/data/gibbs-owens-2012-spring/>

⁷⁰ Hayden White, "The Burden of History," *History and Theory* 5, no. 2 (1966): 127.

⁷¹ Wulf Kansteiner, "Hayden White's Critique of the Writing of History," *History and Theory* 32, no. 3 (1993): 273.

critique both as a material and an ideology”. In short, Digital Humanists must not treat the computer as a “truth machine”, but must reflect seriously on the new sources and techniques afforded by technology in a way that the social sciences and humanities have been doing for decades with traditional written, oral and visual sources.⁷²

Having looked at the contributions of DH to our research, and how sources must be understood within a digital setting, we now turn to key concepts in Media Studies, some of which will form the theoretical basis to the interpretation of our digital sources.

Theorizing the Public Sphere

In the *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas traces the history of the formation of the Public Sphere, from its background in the 18th century to its commodification in the 20th century.⁷³ By Public Sphere Habermas means the “domains of our social life in which such a thing as public opinion can be formed”.⁷⁴ In this process of exploration, Habermas combines history, political thought and sociology to analyse these transformations. Although Habermas’s approach has been heavily criticized and its inconsistencies have been noted,⁷⁵ it still serves as a stepping stone for those interested in studying the public sphere.⁷⁶ Goode goes to the heart of why

⁷² David M. Berry and Anders Fagerjord, *Digital Humanities: Knowledge and Critique in a Digital Age* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017), chapter 8, kindle.

⁷³ Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, (Cambridge, Mass: Polity Press, 1989).

⁷⁴ Jurgen Habermas, ‘The Public Sphere’ in *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies*, ed. Chandra Mukerji (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 398

⁷⁵ As can be seen in Kirk Wetters, *The Opinion System: Impasses of the Public Sphere from Hobbes to Habermas* (New York: Fordham Univ Press, 2008), 98-99, or Christian Emden and David R. Midgley, *Beyond Habermas: Democracy, Knowledge, and the Public Sphere* (United Kingdom: Berghahn Books, 2013). We will mention some of the criticism further on in the text.

⁷⁶ See Patrick O’Mahony, *The Contemporary Theory of the Public Sphere: New Visions of the Cosmopolitan* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2013), John H. McManus, ‘The commercialization of News’ in *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, eds. Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch, (New York: Routledge, 2009), 218-233, or to Habermas’s influence on the theory of deliberative democracy and the Public Sphere see Simone Chambers, “Rhetoric and the Public Sphere: Has Deliberative Democracy Abandoned Mass Democracy?,” *Political Theory* 37, no. 3 (June 2009): 323–50. See also Michael Hofmann, *Habermas’s Public Sphere: A Critique* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), X.

Habermas's theories still resonate in the different fields of the social sciences: "Structural transformation invites us to reflect closely on the nature of public deliberation and the democratic process at a time when the rhetoric of "citizenship" has become such common currency (...) against a backdrop of (...) changes in media culture that implicate the very institutions which aspire to connect citizens with the powerful".⁷⁷

Habermas's work is particularly useful for the present research, first because he allows us to understand the concepts of public sphere, opinion, and publicness, and also because, as we shall see in the third part of this chapter, he too is concerned with ideas of European integration. Habermas was particularly concerned with the confluence within the public sphere of views that, regardless of being contradictory or different from one another, are not motivated by an honest, open, reasonable discussion, but rather by self-interest. He points out that towards the end of the 19th century, it was clear that private organized interests were invading the public sphere.⁷⁸ This process contributed both to a concentration of capital and to growing state interventionism. Habermas argues that within the public sphere discussion free from the constraints of private interests was no longer part of civil society. People defined themselves by what they were in private. The "rational-critical debate of private people in the salons, clubs and reading societies", possessor of a "political character in the Greek sense of being emancipated from the constraints of survival requirements", vanished.⁷⁹

By this token, Habermas points out that although the commercialized mass press was meant to provide the people with wider access to the public sphere, it merely served to diminish the "political character" of the public sphere, which became a space of consumerism and commercialization. The mass press became an intermediary between the masses and the public, promoting at the same time a "depoliticization of its content".⁸⁰

Habermas becomes useful if we want to think about the public sphere as a mediated phenomenon, which, as we shall see, is exacerbated by the individual interests of media companies, as he argued that mass media "draw the eyes and ears of the public under their spell but at the same time, by

⁷⁷ Luke Goode, *Jurgen Habermas: Democracy and the Public Sphere* (London: Pluto Press, 2015), 3.

⁷⁸ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 145

⁷⁹ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 160

⁸⁰ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 169

taking away its distance, place it under “tutelage”, which is to say they deprive it of the opportunity to say something and to disagree”.⁸¹

Habermas is also useful if we want to consider how the media can affect public debate. Democracy assumes that individual citizens should decide on public issues, and consequently, the way in which citizens “form their opinions and come to their policy preferences is an integral part of a theory of deliberative democracy”.⁸² Mass media corresponds to the necessities of mass democracy, which requires mass communication. In turn, this communication must be presented in a way that encourages consumption of information.⁸³ This is the kind of communication our research focuses on. It is generally agreed that the media is an integral part of mass democracy, as it is a mediator, but also, as we shall see throughout this thesis, it attempts to mold the views of the citizens by framing and re-packaging information.⁸⁴

Habermas has been subjected to criticism, some which Goode enumerates.⁸⁵ Particularly relevant for our research is what Goode describes as Habermas’s technophobia. Given that *Structural Transformation* was originally written in 1964, Habermas could not have accounted for the advent of the web. However, when given the opportunity to express views on the phenomenon, Habermas characterized it as a “series of global villages” that “far from contributing towards the emergence of a global public sphere, reflect and exacerbate the fragmentation of public life”.⁸⁶ Goode argues that there is some validity to Habermas’s criticism; notably, the internet has further contributed to make consumers out of its users, with tailored algorithms, and by further blurring the line between the “public-private” and “system-lifeworld” that so concerned Habermas. However, Goode also

⁸¹ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 171.

⁸² Chambers, “Rhetoric and the Public Sphere,” 333.

⁸³ Chambers, “Rhetoric and the Public Sphere,” 341.

⁸⁴ Chambers, “Rhetoric and the Public Sphere,” 341.

⁸⁵ Apart from Goode’s criticism, it is important to note that other critiques of Habermas come from a feminist perspective. See Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy,” *Social Text*, no. 25/26 (1990): 56-80. It has also been argued that Habermas’s approach excludes traditionally marginalized groups such as black people, women and low-income groups. See Francisco Jozivan Guedes de Lima and Emil Albert Sobottka, “Young’s Communicative Democracy as a Complement to Habermas’ Deliberative Democracy,” *Educação e Pesquisa* 46 (December, 2020): 1-17. Lastly, Habermas has been criticized for excessive eurocentrism and by the difficult application of his ideas to the non-western world. See Shelton A. Gunaratne, “Public Sphere and Communicative Rationality: Interrogating Habermas’s Eurocentrism,” *Journalism & Communication Monographs* 8, no. 2 (June 2006): 93-156.

⁸⁶ Goode, *Jürgen Habermas*, 106.

argues that an expanding “networking mediascape” can lead the public to revise previously held opinions and “become better listeners”.⁸⁷ That is, the increasing interconnection between different peoples and societies might improve the public debate rather than nullifying it.

The connection between the Public Sphere and democracy becomes obvious when we think about Europe. Risse argues that from the moment scholars accept that "modern democracies rely upon multiple channels of intermediation between private actors in civil society and public authorities in order to insure the legitimacy...of governance", then “critical discourse” sponsored by an “independent media” is vital for “providing an interface between state and society in a democratic polity”. As the EU is such a “democratic polity” questions arise as to whether a European Public Sphere exists in Europe and what is its configuration. An ideal European Public Sphere would occur if the “same (European) themes are discussed at the same time at similar levels of attention across national public spheres and media”, if they share similar “frames of reference” and “patterns of interpretation”, and if there is the emergence of a "transnational community of communication" where “speakers listen and recognize each other as legitimate participants in a common discourse”.⁸⁸ As we shall see in chapters 3, 4 and 5, this ideal often falls short and alternative visions of a European Public Sphere – the “possible” European Public Sphere – emerged.

The Media and the need for a European Public Sphere

There is generalized agreement about the need for a European Public Sphere. A study commissioned by the European Parliament’s Policy Department for Citizens’ Rights and Constitutional Affairs on “Europeanising European Public Spheres” establishes that permissive consensus was a period in which the “European project drew its legitimacy from its capacity to solve problems”. However, “the twin processes of increasing European integration and growing Europeanisation of the member states” were accompanied by a “decrease in public support for the

⁸⁷ Goode, *Jürgen Habermas*, 112.

⁸⁸ Thomas Risse, “An Emerging European Public Sphere? Theoretical Clarifications and Empirical Indicators” (paper, Annual Meeting of the European Studies Association, Nashville, 2003), 1.

European Union”.⁸⁹ It is not only the growing influence of the EU in national policies that threatened popular support for the institution. With increased integration the differences between nation-states became more important, such as cultural differences (“north versus south”, “protestant versus catholic”), economic differences (“urban versus rural”, “industrial versus agricultural”, “service based versus manufacturing-based”) and political differences (“long versus short democratic traditions”, “liberal versus social/Christian democratic welfare states”).⁹⁰ It is also important to keep in mind that rejection of one part of the European project or ideology does not necessarily mean a rejection of the whole of the project, as this varies greatly from region to region, as Crespy and Verschuereen argued.⁹¹ At the same time, there is a debate about the democratic procedures of the EU and the existence of a democratic deficit promoted by lack of transparency of the political process⁹², a top-down process of decision-making which has been left in the hands of Europeanized elites, the complexity of the structure of EU institutions which makes it difficult for European citizens to understand the workings of the political process,⁹³ and the lack of direct accountability to voters from important institutions such as the Commission and the European Council.⁹⁴

Scholars such as Giorgi, Crowley and Ney as well as Rumford are in agreement that “a democratically viable Europe” requires first of all “a public space or ‘public sphere’”.⁹⁵ It becomes a necessity before the “remoteness, opaqueness and inaccessibility” of European governance.⁹⁶

⁸⁹ Auel Katrin and Tiemann Guido, “Europeanising European Public Spheres” (Policy Department for Citizens’ Rights and Constitutional Affairs Directorate-General for Internal Policy, June 2020), [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2020/654628/IPOL_STU\(2020\)654628_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2020/654628/IPOL_STU(2020)654628_EN.pdf), 7. We understand Europeanisation both as the process through which EU rules and norms influence domestic institutions and policies, but also how European integration affects identities and political culture and attitudes.

⁹⁰ Hix and Høyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, 151.

⁹¹ Amandine Crespy and Nicolas Verschuereen, “From Euroskepticism to Resistance to European Integration: An Interdisciplinary Perspective,” *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 10, no. 3 (September 2009): 384-385.

⁹² Hix and Høyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, 178-180.

⁹³ Liana Giorgi, John Crowley, and Steven Ney, ‘Surveying the European Public Space - A Political and Research Agenda’, *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 14, no. 1 (March 2001): 74. This is particularly notorious when it concerns the “division of responsibilities and competencies between the Union and Member States”.

⁹⁴ Reiner Grundmann, ‘The European Public Sphere and the Deficit of Democracy’, *The Sociological Review* 48, no. 1 (May 2000): 129-131.

⁹⁵ Giorgi, Crowley, and Ney, ‘Surveying the European Public Space’, 74. See also Rumford, *The European Union*, 217.

⁹⁶ Grundmann, ‘The European Public Sphere and the Deficit of Democracy’, 136.

Grundmann argues that the media is a key factor in the establishment of a public sphere that could inform the European public on the issues related to European institutions: “The mass media have a crucial place in the process of political agenda setting (...) Political issues are mainly defined through mass media and public opinion is to a large degree influenced by the mass media.”⁹⁷ Van den Steeg argues that mass media can serve as a forum for a public sphere, and indeed the characteristics of this forum (language and “delimited public” constrained to a specific geographical area) correspond to the “boundaries of a public sphere”,⁹⁸ which might help explain why so many studies on the European Public Sphere, including those cited in this chapter, focus almost exclusively on the media coverage. The report previously mentioned on *Europeanising Public Spheres* calls the media the “embodiment of (European) public sphere”, and makes clear that information transmitted through mass media channels has become the main contact the public has with politics.⁹⁹ As Habermas put it, it is the media’s job to “help” national publics realise how the actions of the European Union influence their lives. This job has been taken up by the media because within nation-states “the floating horizon of a shared political lifeworld spanning large spaces and complex relations always had to be generated and maintained by mass media”, which gave events and ideas circulating in this space a “substance” and reproduced them to civil society.¹⁰⁰ In other words, it falls to the media to interpret the complex relations, particularly in a space so wide and diverse as the European Union, and make sense of them to national publics.

However, there are issues: Trenz points out that national medias, essential to the study of the European public sphere (or spheres), have been going through a process of segmentation, underpinned by the “privatisation, regionalisation and commercialisation of news formats” which has “fostered the multiplication of segmented spheres of communication that speak to differentiated publics”. These conditions inhibit political communication, preventing it from reaching mass audiences.¹⁰¹ In answer to this, we can say that this is not such a disadvantage, but simply the recognition that Habermas was right when he pointed out the structural transformation

⁹⁷ Grundmann, ‘The European Public Sphere and the Deficit of Democracy’, 127.

⁹⁸ Marianne Van De Steeg, ‘Does a Public Sphere Exist in the European Union? An Analysis of the Content of the Debate on the Haider Case’, *European Journal of Political Research* 45, no. 4 (2006): 610.

⁹⁹ Auel and Tiemann, ‘Europeanising European Public Spheres’, 38.

¹⁰⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The Crisis of the European Union: A Response* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2012), 49.

¹⁰¹ Hans-jörg Trenz, ‘Measuring the Europeanisation of Public Communication: The Question of Standards’, *European Political Science* 7, no. 3 (August 2008): 276.

of the public sphere. As Kellner underlines many of those who study Habermas fail to recognize that he is investigating social and discursive practices which have changed. The media went from “facilitating rational discourse and debate within the public sphere” to “shaping, constructing, and limiting public discourse to those themes validated and approved by media corporations”, which largely results in the fragmentation Trenz addressed.¹⁰² This recognition is indeed vital to understand the historical context surrounding modern media today. As Craig points out, the media is the place in the public life where “politics play out...where meanings are generated, debated and evaluated”. They are “producers of social meaning”.¹⁰³ Additionally, it is important to note that the communication and the debate about European themes and policies are still heavily dependent on national political journalism.¹⁰⁴

When it comes to social media in the European Public Sphere, concerns have emerged about the proliferation of “information disorder”. It is possible that “false narratives” which have been part “of the discourse on the EU for decades”, have grown more influential with the spread of social media.¹⁰⁵ More important to our thesis is that social media and the European Public Sphere remains a relatively unexplored subject, and as such, it is not yet clear whether transnational communication on a platform like Twitter (now X), usually taking place in English, would have the “depth, breadth, and persistence” that are associated with national public spheres.¹⁰⁶ We are also aware of the historical context and practices of news media and corporations, including the infusion of ideology in their texts as well as key concepts that serve to explain the writing and publication of news – such as news framing and agenda setting – ¹⁰⁷ that cannot easily be applied to social media.

¹⁰² Douglas Kellner, “Habermas, the Public Sphere, and Democracy: A Critical Intervention.” (2013): 6. <http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/papers/habermas.htm>

¹⁰³ Geoffrey Craig, *The Media, Politics and Public Life* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2004), 3-4.

¹⁰⁴ Trenz, ‘Measuring the Europeanisation of Public Communication’, 276.

¹⁰⁵ Jan Erik Kermer and Rolf A. Nijmeijer, ‘Identity and European Public Spheres in the Context of Social Media and Information Disorder’, *Media and Communication* 8, no. 4 (8 October 2020), 34.

¹⁰⁶ Max Hänska and Stefan Bauchowitz, ‘Can Social Media Facilitate a European Public Sphere? Transnational Communication and the Europeanization of Twitter during the Eurozone Crisis’, *Social Media + Society* 5, no. 3 (April 2019): 12.

¹⁰⁷ This is approached in the Literature review on the section on “Internal and External Dynamics of the Media”.

As a consequence, to understand the characteristics of this European Public Sphere, we must first understand one of the prime mediums used to pass on and propagate ideas in the public sphere: the media in its traditional and digital forms.

The Internet and the Media

In 2019, a study from Ofcom, the British media regulator, found that, in the UK, “after TV, the internet is the next most popular platform for news...used by 66% of adults”.¹⁰⁸ Already in 2013, 55% of Britons had “used the internet to read or download news from sources including newspapers, magazines, broadcasters...or online-only websites”. This marked a significant increase in volume from 2007 when the figure was only 20%.¹⁰⁹

A Portuguese study from 2020 found that 76% of the Portuguese population had internet access and that of these 67% use the web to find and read news.¹¹⁰ Internet audiences from the last four months of 2020 also showed that the most accessed websites were news websites, both from online newspapers and television channels.¹¹¹

Already during the first decade of the 2000s, scholars considered the phenomenon of online news was an important part of the discussion about media, for example: Boczkowski’s *Digitizing the News* (2004); *Online News and the Public*, edited Salwen et al. (2005); Li’s *Internet Newspapers: the Making of a Mainstream Medium* (2006); and Allen’s *Online News: Journalism and the Internet* (2006). All these authors agree that the internet has irrevocably changed the manner in which the public accesses news. Referring to the overwhelming online presence of American

¹⁰⁸ "Half of people now get their news from social media", Ofcom, accessed 16 August 2021, <https://www.ofcom.org.uk/about-ofcom/latest/features-and-news/half-of-people-get-news-from-social-media>

¹⁰⁹ Mark Sweney, “More than half of Britons access news online”, *The Guardian*, 8 August 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2013/aug/08/half-britons-access-news-online>

¹¹⁰ Fátima Caçador, "Dia da Internet: 76% dos portugueses têm acesso e telemóveis lideram nas plataformas mais usadas", *Sapo*, 29 October 2020, <https://tek.sapo.pt/noticias/internet/artigos/dia-da-internet-76-dos-portugueses-tem-acesso-e-telemoveis-lideram-nas-plataformas-mais-usadas>

¹¹¹ “Ranking auditado netAudience de dezembro”, Marktest, accessed 16 August 2021, <https://www.marktest.com/wap/a/n/id~2715.aspx>

newspapers online by 2004, Li declares: “few would doubt that the Internet newspapers are in a position of a mainstream medium now”.¹¹²

Many of the concerns expressed by these authors are still valid, despite the years that separate the present from the reality of the first decade of the 2000s, for example, the problem of generating revenue.¹¹³ Li mentions strategies that are in use nowadays, such as advertising and paid-for subscriptions. In 2019, revenue is still an issue as “subscription numbers remain low”. Issues arise from subscription and paywalls, especially in relation to the access to information: will there be a divide “between the information-rich and the information-poor?”¹¹⁴ This is a problem that, in line with Habermas’ ideas, only further serves to commercialize the available public sphere.

Another issue which early research on the subject picked up was credibility. The book *Online News and The Public* alerted readers to the danger of the lack of scrutiny on the internet, which the authors believed would “increase the importance of branded online news sites such as CNN.com and perhaps emphasize the value of the so-called halo effect of an existing print or television news organization to its online equivalent”.¹¹⁵ This is especially relevant to our research as it is focused exclusively on online news sites that had previous print counterparts. In the UK in 2018, amongst those users who access online news through channels other than social media, “one in seven use The Guardian, Sky and Daily Mail websites/apps”.¹¹⁶

There is also the question of the contributions of journalism to democracy. On the one hand, it can be argued that the web opens up a much wider public sphere, with citizens having fast access to news from all over the world, “linking communities (...) thereby creating greater political participation”, but on the other the web has created greater pressure inside newsrooms to churn out and update news constantly. Due to this pressure, journalists are often forced to rely on second-

¹¹² Xigen Li, *Internet Newspapers: The Making of a Mainstream Medium* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006), 1.

¹¹³ Li, *Internet Newspapers*, 17.

¹¹⁴ Richard Fletcher, “Paying for News and the Limits of Subscription” (University of Oxford, 2019), <https://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2019/paying-for-news-and-the-limits-of-subscription/>.

¹¹⁵ Rasha Abdulla et al, “Online News Credibility” in *Online News and the Public* ed. Michael B Salwen, Bruce Garrison, and Paul D Driscoll (New York: Routledge, 2004), 148

¹¹⁶ Jigsaw Research, “News Consumption in the UK: 2018”, *Ofcom*, 2018, https://www.ofcom.org.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0024/116529/news-consumption-2018.pdf, 60.

hand reports instead of going out into the field.¹¹⁷ Significantly, online journalism has opened way to a multiplicity of voices which tend to question the objective role of the journalist in favour of an acknowledgement of subjectivity. Researchers argue that this diversity of voices does not equal quality journalism, although in this thesis we are not so much interested in whether news items obey the rules of the industry, but in the views they sponsor.¹¹⁸

It is a fact that some of the points addressed by this bibliography are now outdated, having been overcome by the rapid development of the internet. The most noteworthy absence is social media. By 2006, news was accessed mainly by going directly to the news website, or through channels like Yahoo! or CNET.¹¹⁹ We now know that social media is increasingly becoming the medium through which people access their news. A 2018 Ofcom report shows that “social media is the most popular type of online news, used by 44% of all UK adults”. Facebook, which in 2006 was only two years old, was used by 76% of the respondents to the Ofcom study as their way of accessing news on the internet in 2018.¹²⁰ On the subject of news and social media, Fenton argues that the rise of news applied to social media audiences could lead to a “personalization” of content and a fragmentation of news environments, which could have a “negative impact on the processes of rational, democratic thought”.¹²¹ However, a study by Dubois and Blank concluded that individuals “make use of multiple media in their news and political information-seeking practices” and they warn of the complexity of individual engagement with media as information can be found through multiple channels, including television and offline media.¹²²

New challenges have arisen in the last 10 years and literature on the subject has been more dispersed and specific. A study from 2002 found that “content analyses of online newspapers have found few differences from print versions”.¹²³ In 2016, Humprecht reinforced this notion: “it

¹¹⁷ Natalie Fenton, “Drowning or Waving? New Media, Journalism and Democracy” in *New media, old news: journalism and democracy in the digital age* ed. Natalie Fenton, (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2009), 7-8.

¹¹⁸ Fenton, “Drowning or Waving?,” 9

¹¹⁹ Li, *Internet Newspapers*, 133.

¹²⁰ Jigsaw Research, “News Consumption in the UK: 2018,” 35.

¹²¹ Fenton, “Drowning or Waving?,” 9

¹²² Elizabeth Dubois and Grant Blank, “The Echo Chamber Is Overstated: The Moderating Effect of Political Interest and Diverse Media,” *Information, Communication & Society* 21, no. 5 (Ma, 2018), <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369118X.2018.1428656>

¹²³ David Tewksbury and Jason Rittenberg “Online News creation and consumption” in *Handbook of Internet Politics*, eds. Andrew Chadwick and Philip N. Howard (Taylor & Francis, 2010), 189.

appears that online media in many countries have not yet fulfilled the literature's expectations regarding news content e.g., a diversity of news or the inclusion of user-generated content".¹²⁴ Matheson points out that "research confirms that institutional journalism – as opposed to informal news networks – follows print and broadcasting in its forms".¹²⁵ Boczkowski and Santos concluded in 2004 that when it came to content "Regardless of the origin of the information they publish, changes in online newspapers have been tied to homogenization of their supposedly superior print counterparts."¹²⁶

This debate regarding differences and similarities materializes in journalism studies through the concepts of generalist and particularistic. The former asserts that "both traditional and digital media share a set of features that relate to the broader media system in which they are embedded". As a consequence, there would be a homogenization of content across platforms and mediums. The particularistic approach sustains that "digital changes have transformed media production and practices." It highlights "the fact that digitization has equipped journalists with tools and devices that enable new ways to access information...in addition, they have at their disposal new ways of creating content (e.g data visualisation and storytelling for mobile devices and social media).¹²⁷ A good example is the study by Thorson and Jackson on liveblogging in newspapers which constitutes a significant departure from their print counterpart.¹²⁸

Mellado et al argue that localized studies have demonstrated the difficulty of making definitive generalization about the subject. For example, a study of Israeli media (newspapers, print and television) in 2011 found more similarities than differences in "their work routines". However, "in a subsequent study" the same author "found results in the opposite direction, where differences prevailed". Another study "found that digital media had softer content and were more sensationalist than their print counterparts", and that "substantial differences emerged with regard

¹²⁴ Edda Humprecht, *Shaping Online News Performance* (London: Springer, 2017), 27.

¹²⁵ Donald Matheson, "Weblogs and the Epistemology of the News: Some Trends in Online Journalism," *New Media & Society* 6, no. 4 (August, 2004): 444.

¹²⁶ Pablo J. Boczkowski and Martin de Santos, "When More Media Equals Less News: Patterns of Content Homogenization in Argentina's Leading Print and Online Newspapers," *Political Communication* 24, no. 2 (May 2007): 177.

¹²⁷ Claudia Mellado et al., "Do Digital Platforms Really Make a Difference in Content? Mapping Journalistic Role Performance in Chilean Print and Online News," *Journalism* 00, no. 0 (August 2018): 4.

¹²⁸ Einar Thorsen and Daniel Jackson, "Seven Characteristics Defining Online News Formats," *Digital Journalism* 6, no. 7 (August 2018): 3.

to tone, depth, and geographical focus.”¹²⁹ Reich states that: “Even if reporters in different media cover similar topics based on similar worldviews, they employ different methods and means, face distinct conditions (...) varying levels of proximity to the actual occurrences, and depend on different mixes of actors, representing different interests, biases and levels of trustworthiness that may eventually lead to distinct news products.”¹³⁰ This acknowledgment seems to be a good compromise between the two aforementioned approaches, as it recognizes that although operating in close proximity given the constraints imposed by language, social and political context, and proximity to events, there remains space for particularism. This mixed dynamic is relevant to our thesis, as online newspapers are sufficiently different from their print counterparts to be analysed as an individual medium, while still part of a wider editorial and marketing strategy, which encompasses both print and digital editions.

Internal and External Dynamics of the Media

When approaching newspapers as sources, it is vital to understand a few key concepts of news production. Although this is not a study intent on analysing news routines or the inner workings of newspapers, it remains valuable to keep in mind that, as Combs put it: “for all the news media, the repetition of a topic day after day is the most powerful message of all about its importance”. Thus, “the public uses these salience clues from the media to organize their own agendas and decide which issues are important”.¹³¹ Agenda setting is then the power of media to decide what is newsworthy. In the *Handbook of Journalism Studies*, the authors of the article on the subject define the concept as a process of “the mass media presenting certain issues frequently and prominently with the result that large segments of the public come to perceive those issues as more important than others.”¹³² Agenda setting is usually split into two levels: the first “focuses on the amount of

¹²⁹ Mellado et al., “Do Digital Platforms Really Make a Difference in Content?”, 5.

¹³⁰ Zvi Reich, “Comparing News Reporting Across Print, Radio, Television and Online,” *Journalism Studies* 17, no. 5 (July, 2016), 14.

¹³¹ Maxwell McCombs, *Setting the Agenda: Mass Media and Public Opinion*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2014), chapter 5, kindle.

¹³² Renita Coleman et al., “Agenda Setting” in *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, eds. Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch (New York: Routledge, 2009), 147.

media coverage an issue” receives while the second “looks at how the media discusses those issues”.¹³³ This second level is therefore connected to framing, which is the practice of selecting “aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation”.¹³⁴ The convergence between agenda setting and framing has been widely recognized in the fields of media studies, political science and communication. Framing became a subset of agenda setting, as it “is the construction of an agenda with a restricted number of thematically related attributes in order to create a coherent picture of a particular object”.¹³⁵ In other words, we can see both framing and agenda setting as concepts that attempt to order and define the role that interpretation of reality plays in the publication of news.

Scholars have also attempted to define parameters that explain why something has become news. Indicators such as relevance (stories about groups, nations or high-profile people), the magnitude of news (how many people the event impacted), whether it is entertaining, or whether it fits in with “news organization own agenda”¹³⁶, are often cited. However, it is clear that what is or is not newsworthy is subjected to a wide array of aspects not easily pinned down. “News values are a slippery concept” precisely because of how hard it is to explain why an event is worth making the news¹³⁷, which means that “news values are often contradictory and incoherent”.¹³⁸ Maher warns of the difficulty of generalizing “across many different situations” as “the problem of content analysis can never be solved”.¹³⁹ That is, there will hardly ever be an all-encompassing theory that explains why some event in a given part of the world is news and why it is discussed in a certain way or from a certain angle.

¹³³ Coleman et al., “Agenda Setting”, 149.

¹³⁴ Robert M. Entman, “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm,” *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (1993): 52.

¹³⁵ Stephen D. Reese, Jr. Gandy, and August E. Grant, *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 70.

¹³⁶ Deirdre O’Neill and Tony Harcup, “News Values and selectivity” in *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, eds. Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch (New York: Routledge, 2009), 168

¹³⁷ O’Neill and Harcup, “News Values and selectivity,” 163.

¹³⁸ O’Neill and Harcup, “News Values and selectivity,” 168.

¹³⁹ Maxwell McCombs and Salma Ghanem, “The Convergence of Agenda Setting and Framing” In *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*, eds., Stephen D. Reese, Jr. Gandy, and August E. Grant (New York: Routledge, 2001), 78

Nonetheless, we know that it is possible to draw localized conclusions. Studies have shown, for example, that “journalists of English language newspapers in democratic countries used the same news values” and that “In a study of the role of national identity in the coverage of foreign news in Britain, the United States and Israel, news values became subordinate to national loyalties”.¹⁴⁰ Framing has often been shown to have psychological effects on the receiver, namely through persuasion, “a process that takes place when a communicator successfully revises or alters the content of one’s beliefs by providing them with new information”.¹⁴¹

As Craig argued: “The journalistic set of news values is informed by and, in turn, reinforces, ideological values in a society.”¹⁴² This aspect has been widely studied in its discursive practices by van Dijk, who argues that although “there is a lack of theory of ideology” when it comes to analysing media discourse, it is possible to devise “ideologically controlled news structures in general terms” which are in his view easier to spot than the ideology of individual authors.¹⁴³ Fowler argued that “the articulation of ideology in the language of the news fulfills, cumulatively and through daily reiteration, a background function of producing the beliefs and paradigms of the community generally”,¹⁴⁴ which is precisely why newspapers – whether they be in their online or print format – are such a valuable source of not only information, but ideas. These considerations remain valuable in understanding how news is written and structured, and how ideas and values are directly or indirectly sponsored in the texts.

An understanding of how the media selects information and interprets reality is key to understanding how the media discusses and debates issues related to the EU, and ultimately, the media’s views on European integration. However, to study the media coverage of the European Union, we must first understand the processes that led to European integration.

¹⁴⁰ O’Neill and Harcup, “News Values and selectivity,” 170.

¹⁴¹ Robert M. Entman, Jörg Matthes, and Lynn Pellicano “Nature, Sources, and Effects of News Framing” in *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, eds., Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch (New York: Routledge, 2009), 183.

¹⁴² Craig, *The Media, Politics and Public Life*, 82.

¹⁴³ Teun A van Dijk, “News, Discourse, and Ideology,” in *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, eds., Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch (New York: Routledge, 2009), 199.

¹⁴⁴ Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (Sussex: Psychology Press, 1991), 124.

Challenges of European Integration

The study of History in this thesis also includes the study of the History of the idea of Europe, which we understand as the ideological background that has been used to explain the origins of the political integration of Europe, a process that took place in the 20th century. Although ideas of Europe can be studied without the segue into the political process of integration, which led to the formation of the European Union, a significant part of the conceptual and ideological world we have mentioned served as support for the foundation of the EU. Pagden argues that “from the Duc de Sully’s Grand Design of 1620 to the fitful projects, which begin to appear after the 1840s, for a United States of Europe, there has existed a continuous objective to create a European federation that would finally put an end to intercontinental warfare”.¹⁴⁵ This does not mean we should assume a teleological view of the European project. As Brode and Kansikas argue, “Europe is and should be more than the EU, and integration is more than Brussels centred-integration towards supranationalism”.¹⁴⁶ This is true, both from a historical and a political point of view.¹⁴⁷ However, while we will be keeping away from the assumption that the European Union is the necessary culmination of several currents of thought fostered by generations of politicians and intellectuals, it was the outcome Europe arrived at, and so its intellectual background must be linked to the ideas of Europe we mentioned. As such, to work at the confluence between History, ideas of Europe and the treatment of European affairs in the media, we must first identify the concrete challenges posed by the development and advancement of European integration.

For Taylor, the history of European integration is one of “several waxings and wanings of enthusiasm”,¹⁴⁸ depending on the disposition of key political leaders willing to advance the cause of greater political and economic integration. Moravcsik sees integration as a primarily economic

¹⁴⁵ Anthony Pagden, “Introduction” in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 54.

¹⁴⁶ Matthew Broad and Suvi Kansikas, *European Integration beyond Brussels: Unity in East and West Europe since 1945* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 13.

¹⁴⁷ The book focuses on exploring “regional and subregional integration in Eastern and Western Europe as well as visions on and efforts and mechanisms towards all-European integration” which often escape the scope and authority of the EU institutions, and have been in place for longer than the EU. In Paul Taylor, *The End of European Integration: Anti-Europeanism Examined* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 14.

¹⁴⁸ Taylor, *The End of European Integration*, 8.

process driven by European powers, spearheaded by France and Germany, which was in line with “the economic incentives generated by patterns of international economic interdependence”.¹⁴⁹ In some accounts, such as those by Dinan, the history of integration is depicted as a more straightforward, progressive process, the result of compromise between governments and officials, with the occasional bump in the road being overcome in time.¹⁵⁰ Judt defines the EEC as a “French-German condominium” whose initial results, although impressive, were tainted by the replication of the nation-state model, thus creating a “certain euro-centric provincialism”.¹⁵¹ Significantly, Judt depicts important European decisions and practices, such as the common currency or the invention of “summit diplomacy”, as pragmatic ways to solve pending problems, rather than catering to a long-term plan of integration.¹⁵²

But what exactly is integration? Christiansen discusses the difficulty of using existing political vocabulary to describe the underpinnings of the European Union, in the first place because the EU is a rapidly changing institution which must adapt to the political climates, and secondly because it is a novelty in terms of political systems: it is neither a federation nor a nation state nor exclusively an international organization. Christiansen argues that the root of this problem – defining what the EU is and consequently what integration means – has to do with the notion that the EU precipitated a “situation in which it becomes impossible to maintain the principle of state-sovereignty as the foundation of political life”.¹⁵³ This is a view shared by Beck, Coman and Crespy who suggest that the EU forced a rethinking of how sovereignty is exercised, by conceiving of sovereignty as a shared effort instead of belonging exclusively to a single state.¹⁵⁴

In their examination of public opinion in relation to the EU, Hix and Hoyland conclude that “widespread opposition to the EU first emerged during the process of ratifying the Maastricht

¹⁴⁹ Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Cornell University Press, 1998), 6.

¹⁵⁰ Desmond Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of European Union* (London: Macmillan Education UK, 2014), 65.

¹⁵¹ Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (London: Random House, 2011), chapter IX, kindle.

¹⁵² Judt, *Postwar*, 529.

¹⁵³ Thomas Christiansen, “European Integration: Between Political Science and International Relations Theory: The End of Sovereignty,” *Robert Schuman Centre* 94, no. 4 (1994), 10.

¹⁵⁴ Nathalie Brack, Ramona Coman, and Amandine Crespy, “Sovereignty conflicts in the European Union,” *Les Cahiers du Cevipol* 4, no. 4 (2019): 3–30.

Treaty, in 1992–93, as manifest in referendums held in France, Denmark and Ireland”.¹⁵⁵ This has led to two conflicting views of European Integration. The first is that the process of integration was “accompanied by a ‘permissive consensus’ on the part of the European citizenry” which suggested that the European project had a “marginal impact on the individual lives of citizens”.¹⁵⁶ This consensus underwent a severe erosion in the “post Maastricht era” precisely as the EU became “more relevant to the lives and interests of European citizens”.¹⁵⁷ This is why Rumford argues that the process of integration is indelibly connected to ideas of identity, and the democratic deficit within the process of decision-making is a consequence of conflicting identities, especially the European identity and the national identity.¹⁵⁸ For critics, the democratic deficit refers to “the gap between the practices of representative democracy at nation-state level” and the difficulty of replicating this model at European level.¹⁵⁹

However, scholarship has recently begun to question the permissive consensus theory. On the one hand, Risse argues that there is actually very little evidence to show that the EU “suffers from a legitimacy problem because of a lack of identification with it”. He attempts to show that the creation of a European public sphere is well underway in Southern and Western Europe, and that many of the issues are widely shared by European citizenry.¹⁶⁰ On the other hand, however, Hooghe and Marks argue for a “constraining dissensus”: in post-Maastricht Europe, European integration became a much more contentious issue, with national leaders having to “look over their shoulder” when making decisions due to public pressure.¹⁶¹ At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that support for integration and indeed the identification with “Europeanness” is not clear-cut across the Continent. Lengyel expands on the divides between Eastern and Western Europe, by arguing that in East Europe it is more likely for the public and the elites to believe that

¹⁵⁵ Simon Hix and Bjørn Høyland, *The Political System of the European Union* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 151.

¹⁵⁶ Marco R. Steenbergen, Erica E. Edwards, and Catherine E. de Vries, “Who’s Cueing Whom?: Mass-Elite Linkages and the Future of European Integration,” *European Union Politics* 8, no. 1 (February 6, 2007):14.

¹⁵⁷ Steenbergen, Edwards, and de Vries, “Who’s Cueing Whom?”, 15.

¹⁵⁸ Chris Rumford, *The European Union: A Political Sociology* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 209.

¹⁵⁹ Rumford, *The European Union*, 212.

¹⁶⁰ Thomas Risse, *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 227.

¹⁶¹ Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, “A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus,” *British Journal of Political Science* 39, no. 1 (January 2009): 5 and 7.

“EU decision makers do not take into account their country’s interests properly”.¹⁶² This view is supported by Crespy and Verschuere who suggest that resistance to integration might translate to resistance to certain political stances of the European project (a “social Europe” or a “secular Europe”), and not a rejection of its entirety.¹⁶³ The conflict is between a national conception of the state and identity and a European one, which would carry with it a different way to understand the political debate, political consensus and individual identities. Some have tried to dispel this debate by arguing that the European project does not truly intend to form a supra-state that would overrun the nation-state. Millward argues that the founders of the European project never believed in the dissolution of the nation-state. In fact, they believed that European integration had to replicate the existing model of nation-state democracy.¹⁶⁴ Taylor concurs with this view by suggesting that membership was attractive because it reinforced states’ strength, and in the case of Greece, Portugal and Spain, it served to protect and reaffirm their young democracies.¹⁶⁵

Habermas has argued that in the “postnational constellation” brought about by the historical events of the 20th century and by globalization, there is no going back to the nation-state. He agrees that globalization has forced the nation-state to “open itself internally to the multiplicity of foreign, or new, forms of cultural life” at the same time that it constricts the action of national governments, as the sovereign state must unfold itself to external pressures and dynamics.¹⁶⁶ It is through this premise that Habermas expands on his hopes for the European project, which, if properly steered, should be the only way to face up to the challenges of globalization, while developing and reinventing new forms of democratic representation that surpass the increasingly anachronistic model of the nation state.¹⁶⁷ Habermas returns to these ideas in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis by arguing that only political integration “backed by social welfare” can protect the culture and national diversity of European countries from the competition brought about by globalization.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶² György Lengyel, “Supranational Attachment of European Elites and Citizens,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 6 (August 2011): 1049.

¹⁶³ Crespy and Verschuere, “From Euroscepticism to Resistance to European Integration,” 384-85, and 389.

¹⁶⁴ Alan Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State* (London: Routledge, 2000), 291-292

¹⁶⁵ Taylor, *The end of European Integration*, 16.

¹⁶⁶ Jürgen Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 84.

¹⁶⁷ Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation*, 88-89 and 104-110.

¹⁶⁸ Habermas, *The Crisis of the European Union*, 53.

The Eurosceptic Challenge

The term Euroscepticism is itself beset with epistemological problems. It originated in Britain in the 1980s to describe those who opposed the Single European Act, but is a “theoretical deadlock”.¹⁶⁹ As a term created by non-academics, the idea of scepticism makes sense in journalistic jargon, but none in academic language in which sceptic means something very different both from a philosophical and political perspective. Furthermore, the concept is too vague and has become an umbrella term for other far more defined concepts, such as nationalism or populism. Euroscepticism is ultimately “a negative construction” which can mean anything from opposition “to some aspect of European integration” to full-blown opposition to the European project as a whole. In this sense, Euroscepticism has been used to refer to Greek communists or Hungarian neo-nazis.¹⁷⁰

Keeping the elasticity of the term in mind should serve to remind us that it is a relatively new concept and that the framework within which it operates is largely up for debate. There are several possible ways to discuss the problem of European integration and the opposition to it. Here we will take a longer-term view, which takes on the last two centuries of European history, and a medium-term approach, which focuses on the last six decades of European history.

Sweeney argues that the European Union is the culmination of centuries of strife and diplomacy between two main countries, France and Germany, with the occasional intervention by Great Britain. Britain promoted a counter balance to this “Europe of the two”, with Sweeney going as far as to argue that Thatcher supported enlargement as a way to “dilute Franco-German hegemony”.¹⁷¹ By this token, Sweeney seeks to explain Brexit as the consequence of decades – even centuries – of an uneasy relationship with the “Continent” and as far more than a “populist

¹⁶⁹ Crespy and Verschuere, “From Euroscepticism to Resistance to European Integration,” 381.

¹⁷⁰ Benjamin Leruth, Nicholas Startin and Simon Usherwood, “Defining Euroscepticism: From a broad concept to a field of study’ in *The Routledge Handbook of Euroscepticism* eds. Benjamin Leruth, Nicholas Startin, and Simon Usherwood (London: Routledge, 2018), 4.

¹⁷¹ Stuart Sweeney, *The Europe Illusion: Britain, France, Germany and the Long History of European Integration* (London: Reaktion Books, 2019), 341.

aberration”. Brexit was a “reflection of distinct historical legacies in European states, which encourage integration, with appropriate safety valves”.¹⁷²

The flaw in this argument is that by tapping into historical analysis to frame the geo-political tensions in modern day Europe, Sweeney forgoes an examination of the current dynamics of Euroscepticism, which, as we have mentioned, is a fairly recent term, and is not an exclusively British phenomenon.

Startin and Usherwood agree that Euroscepticism is a direct consequence of the push for greater integration, and that Brexit is simply the last, albeit the most significant, expression of Euroscepticism. Other expressions are the existence of anti-integration MEPs in the European Parliament and the consistent ‘no’ votes in national referendums. Opposition to the EU “has become increasingly embedded both at European and national levels”, with several countries challenging the most fundamental principles of the European Project, such as free movement and the possibility of a fiscal union. This interpretation is accompanied not by an in-depth historical analysis, but by the more recent failures on the part of the EU in tackling some vital problems, such as the Eurozone crisis or the migrant crisis.¹⁷³

For some authors, the end of permissive consensus, a concept we examined earlier, “has given rise to mass level as well as party-based Euroscepticism”.¹⁷⁴ This view is sponsored by Daddow in an article about Euroscepticism and the media, in which he attempts to show the erosion of this consensus by comparing the media coverage of the 1975 campaign for continued membership of the EEC with the coverage of the 2016 referendum.¹⁷⁵

In spite of being a transnational phenomenon, the expression of Euroscepticism is defined by national, sometimes regional parameters, as well as by distinct political sensibilities. If in the United Kingdom and in the Nordic countries, Euroscepticism has been, since Maastricht, a right-wing tendency, in Southern European countries, such as Portugal and Spain, it has been headed by left wing parties such as the Communist Portuguese Party and Podemos. In these countries,

¹⁷² Sweeney, *The Europe Illusion*, 8.

¹⁷³ Simon Usherwood and Nick Startin, “Euroscepticism as a Persistent Phenomenon*: Euroscepticism as a Persistent Phenomenon,” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 51, no. 1 (January 2013): 2.

¹⁷⁴ Crespy and Verschuere, “From Euroscepticism to Resistance to European Integration,” 378.

¹⁷⁵ Oliver Daddow, “The UK Media and ‘Europe’: From Permissive Consensus to Destructive Dissent,” *International Affairs* 88, no. 6 (November 2012): 1222-1225.

Euroscepticism is often considered to be one of the side effects of the crisis, and the programs of austerity imposed by the IMF and the EU.¹⁷⁶ On the other hand, these countries have shown low levels of Euroscepticism due to positive historical associations with the EU, which result from very specific events of Portugal's and Spain's recent past. This situation makes it difficult for parties to hold strong Eurosceptic views without incurring "serious political risks".¹⁷⁷ These historical associations will be explored in further detail in the body of the thesis, but it suffices to stress for now that Euroscepticism must be examined under a short and a long-term approach, one that keeps in mind decades long historical dynamics while never losing sight of the immediate events that originated the present debate on the questions of integration.

After having discussed the literature that provides the theoretical context to our thesis, together with a presentation of its three main topics (DH, media studies, and European integration), the next chapter discusses the historical context that frames the state of European Integration in our chronology.

¹⁷⁶ Margarita Gómez-Reino Cachafeiro and Carolina Plaza-Colodro, "Populist Euroscepticism in Iberian Party Systems," *Politics* 38, no. 3 (August 2018): 10.

¹⁷⁷ Iván Llamazares and Wladimir Gramacho, "Eurosceptics Among Euroenthusiasts: An Analysis of Southern European Public Opinions," *Acta Politica* 42, no. 2–3 (July 2007): 229.

Chapter 2

Ideas of Europe and the European Public Sphere

This chapter serves as contextual background to many of the historical processes that will be mentioned throughout this thesis. We begin by outlining the historical origins of the idea of Europe and of European integration. We finish by examining the concept of the European Public Sphere, both in its historical dimension and as an operative concept used to contextualise the media coverage of issues in the European continent. This concept has also informed the building of our methodology, which we will expand upon in chapter 3.

The History of the Idea of Europe

As mentioned in chapter 1, most histories of the idea of Europe begin in Antiquity. The reason for this is partly the importance that Greek and Roman ancient cultures came to have on the political and cultural vocabulary of later centuries. Another reason, as identified by Delanty, is that the notion of Europe arises from a “demarcation” between territories whose geographical boundaries are flimsy.¹⁷⁸ There are no “hard”, insurmountable borders in the land that separates Europe from Asia. Therefore, frontiers had to be delimited with recourse to other arguments.

It is in the 18th century when geographical and cultural differences within Europe become allied to the emergence of modern political discourse. The 18th century is also the age of Enlightenment, which as philosopher Tzvetan Todorov claimed, was where the seeds of the idea of Europe were planted.¹⁷⁹ It was also the European Enlightenment that “prepared the way for the emergence” of

¹⁷⁸ Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2002), 16.

¹⁷⁹ Tzvetan Todorov, *In Defence of the Enlightenment* (London: Atlantic Books, 2010). 147.

notions of individualism and democracy,¹⁸⁰ and it was the Enlightenment that developed the notion of secularism.

Enlightenment intellectuals slowly developed a consciousness of being European: that is, they began to embrace the notion that something more than just a shared geographical space united Europeans. In the *Siècle de Louis XIV*, Voltaire claims that: “Il y avait déjà longtemps qu’on pouvait regarder l’Europe chrétienne...comme une espèce de grande république partagée en plusieurs États”.¹⁸¹ In the *Persian Letters*, Montesquieu establishes continuous parallels between Europe and Asia, in particular Persia. By creating a fictitious Persian visitor to Paris, Montesquieu comments on European ways, which, as Weller points out, really are French ways, but which Montesquieu universalizes as European.¹⁸² Crucially, Montesquieu identifies “love of liberty” as a Greek characteristic and that Greece influenced Italy, Spain and France.¹⁸³

These philosophers are relevant because of their importance to political events in the late 18th century, especially the French Revolution, “fuelled by the Enlightenment ideas of reason and universality”. Some revolutionaries, like Jacques Brissot, smiled upon the idea of bringing a war of liberation to other European countries. He idealised a decentralised Europe, divided into communes, which would result in a federation, guided by revolutionary ideals.¹⁸⁴ As we shall shortly see, it was Brissot’s idea of exporting the revolution that triumphed with Napoleon.

Even in the 18th century it was still not clear what were the limits of the European territory. Although Western Europe’s borders remained relatively unchanged, Eastern Europe’s borders did change significantly. However, “observers could not decide that space [the East] counted as Europe”.¹⁸⁵ As Wolf demonstrated, it was the Enlightenment that invented this “Other” bordering Central Europe. Although the idea of Eastern Europe “never attained the definitive “otherness” of the Orient...its parts were made to cohere within a system of related characteristics”.¹⁸⁶ As such,

¹⁸⁰ Todorov, *In Defence of the Enlightenment*, 147.

¹⁸¹ Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire: Siècle de Louis XIV* (Paris: Garnier frères, 1878), 159.

¹⁸² Shane Weller, *The Idea of Europe: A Critical History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 42.

¹⁸³ Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes* (Paris: Didot, 1815), 139.

¹⁸⁴ Pierre Serna, “Introduction - L’Europe une idée nouvelle à la fin du XVIIIe siècle?,” *La Révolution française*, no. 4 (2011): <https://journals.openedition.org/lrf/252>

¹⁸⁵ Biancamaria Fontana, ‘The Napoleonic Empire and the Europe of Nations’ in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 118.

¹⁸⁶ Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (California: Stanford University Press, 1994), 358.

the perceived “barbarity” of Eastern Europeans, including Russians, could serve as an antithesis to the “civilised” West.

A further characteristic of the idea of Europe in this period was what Wahnich called a “promesse de paix”¹⁸⁷, materialized in Kant’s idea of universal peace, which stems from the situation of endemic war in Europe. Kant universalises his project, aiming at world peace, which, obviously, could not be achieved without rules to keep European states in check, and which were themselves inspired by what Kant knew of the European reality. Among these rules were: “No independent states...shall come under the dominion of another state by inheritance, exchange, purchase or donation”, standing armies ought to be abolished, and “no state shall by force interfere with the Constitution or Government of another state”.¹⁸⁸

The action of Napoleon Bonaparte and his armies in the early 19th century changed European politics. Napoleon reshaped borders between European states and promoted his allies as heads of state in Spain, Naples and the Netherlands. He also ordered a uniform code of laws to be made and applied in France and to be taken as a model in other states. This code was meant to create a “European system”, which would guarantee the existence of “one people in Europe”, ruled by similar laws and constitutional systems.¹⁸⁹ Following the Napoleonic wars, Europe witnesses the rise of nationalism in Europe. In the 19th century, the idea of Europe would become linked to the German Romanticism movement, which combined a universalist and international view of politics with “nationalist bias”.¹⁹⁰ If on the one hand, national “spirit” was celebrated, the romantics also idealised “a unified European civilization”, which they imagined existed in a “Pre-Reformation Europe”, before religious divisions wrecked European unity.¹⁹¹ The French continued to conceive of an idea of Europe headed and influenced by French politics, culture and values – just like Napoleon had, with his code. The call for a united Europe which would follow the example of

¹⁸⁷ Sophie Wahnich, “L’Europe Dans Le Discours Révolutionnaire,” *Tumultes*, no. 7 (1996): 12.

¹⁸⁸ Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace; a Philosophical Essay* (London, Allen Unwin, 1917), 108, 110 and 112.

¹⁸⁹ Anthony Pagden, *The Pursuit of Europe: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 29. Pagden quotes Napoleon.

¹⁹⁰ Weller, *The Idea of Europe*, 65.

¹⁹¹ Weller, *The Idea of Europe*, 67.

France is, for instance, present in Victor Hugo's 1849 speech at the first Peace Conference, held in Paris, where Hugo supported the creation of a European Federation.¹⁹²

Despite these dreams of unity and peace, it was nationalism and war that fuelled some of the most important political events in the 19th century, namely the unification of Germany and Italy. Nationalism also became tainted, towards the end of the 19th century, by growing racist undertones. "European racism emerged in the intellectual currents of the eighteenth century in Western and Central Europe", particularly through "the new sciences of the Enlightenment and the Pietist revival of Christianity".¹⁹³

The combination of rabid nationalism with the belief in the superiority of the European civilization also contributed to the strengthening of colonial ambitions. "The non-European world was seen as what Europe had once been; hence it could be both romanticised and rejected". "European civilisation" became a vehicle for the "legitimisation of imperialism and the extermination of other cultures".¹⁹⁴ Within Europe, racial theories used to support the civilizational advancement of the Europeans rapidly turned against the Jewish population, as Jews were not meant to belong to the "Homo Europaeus".¹⁹⁵

Colonialism outside and within Europe coupled with nationalism, particularly in central Europe and the Balkans, would become one of the factors that led to the First World War. These were aided by the mounting tensions between France and Germany, inherited from decades of bitter rivalry. The violence and destruction wreaked by the war so impacted the European political and cultural elites that something more "ambitious than a European federation would be required", namely a "league not merely of the European nations, but of all of the nations of the entire world".¹⁹⁶ Several European jurists tried to imagine how a European Federation would work from a legal and political framework. However, "the sovereignty issue" remained unsolvable; that is, the success of any sort

¹⁹² Victor Hugo, 'Victor Hugo au Congrès de la Paix de 1849 : son discours', Le Taurillon, last modified 31 January 2009, <https://www.taurillon.org/Victor-Hugo-au-Congres-de-la-Paix-de-1849-son-discours.02448>.

¹⁹³ Delanty, *Inventing Europe*, 70-71.

¹⁹⁴ Delanty, *Inventing Europe*, 95.

¹⁹⁵ Weller, *The Idea of Europe*, 134.

¹⁹⁶ Pagden, *The Pursuit of Europe*, 143.

of extra-national polity depended on a certain abdication of national sovereignty, which no state at the time was ready to do.¹⁹⁷

An important proponent of European federalism in this period was Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, an Austrian aristocrat who in 1923 founded the “International Pan-European Union” and wrote a manifesto, “Pan-Europa”, where he espoused his ideas. In it, Kalergi argues that the “concept of Europe appeared from a mixture of geographical, political and cultural elements”. Politically, he conceives of Europe as a conglomerate of “all democratic states (and semi democratic) of Continental Europe”. This automatically excludes Britain, whose vast Empire rules out the necessity of uniting with other European countries. He argues that Europe was indeed halfway there, as it had a common history, which began with the Romans, the invasions of the Germanic tribes, “and continued with the Papacy, and Feudalism the Renaissance and the humanist, the Reformation (...) and the Enlightenment, the parliamentarism, (...) nationalism and socialism”. He concludes that “the cultural unity of the West gives us the right to speak of a European Nation”. However, Kalergi’s proposal on how to attain such a union was vague, as he did little to imagine the political structure of this Pan-Europa, or how it would be attained.

Nonetheless, his Pan-European Union organisation managed to seduce European intellectuals as well as important politicians such as French Prime Minister Aristide Briand.¹⁹⁸ Briand proposed a plan for the creation of a “system of Federal European Union”, which he presented at the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1929. This memorandum states that European nations are particularly well suited for international cooperation due to their “racial affinities and their common ideals of civilization”.¹⁹⁹ Briand stressed the necessity of a “rapprochement” between the European economic systems, through the establishment of a “common market...by means of the progressive liberation...and simplification of the circulation of goods, capital and individuals”.²⁰⁰ This formulation is by now quite familiar, and would become one of the bases for the creation of the Single Market post WWII.

¹⁹⁷ Pagden, *The Pursuit of Europe*, 158.

¹⁹⁸ Weller, *The Idea of Europe*, 163.

¹⁹⁹ Aristide Briand, ‘Memorandum on the Organization of a Regime of European Federal Union | 100 Books | European Parliament’, 100 Books on Europe to Remember, accessed 7 September 2022, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/100books/en/detail/14/memorandum-on-the-organization-of-a-regime-of-european-federal-union>, 10.

²⁰⁰ Briand, ‘Memorandum...’, 12-13.

In the meantime, however, Europe would have to grapple with fascism and Nazism, which brought its own idea of Europe. Nazi insistence on the necessity of a “Lebensraum”, or living space, was closely linked to the idea of “Mitteleuropa”. The space Nazi Germany reclaimed as belonging to itself corresponded to this central and Eastern European area, first idealised in the 19th century as an economic union to counterbalance the growing power of Great Britain. In the early 20th century, it grew into the notion of a political union.²⁰¹ Most crucially, this idea went hand in hand with the notion of a “New European order”, spearheaded by Germany, which would clean Europe of all “non-European elements, including Jews, Gypsies, and Communism”.²⁰²

It is worth pointing out that for part of the German resistance, European unity had different meanings. Even before the war, the Social Democratic Party had embraced the notion of a United States of Europe, based on democracy and cooperation. During the war, “Europe symbolised the values of democracy, human rights, and social justice, values that had to be preserved against the Nazis”.²⁰³

If the First World War had “left the idea of common – European or universal – values in crisis” then the Second World War forced decisively a re-evaluation of these values. Although Winston Churchill said that Kalergi’s plans were “crude, erroneous and impracticable”, he also affirmed their necessity.²⁰⁴ In his famous United States of Europe speech, given at the University of Zurich in 1946, Churchill argues then that the only solution against future wars is a “regional organisation”, a recreation of the “European fabric” through a “structure under which it can dwell in peace, safety and freedom”. He evokes Briand’s plan and finally, he compares such a future organisation to Britain’s Commonwealth of Nations, arguing that belonging to such a structure would not “weaken” the recently created United Nations.²⁰⁵ The implications, however, are clear:

²⁰¹ Pagden, *The Pursuit of Europe*, 194.

²⁰² Weller, *The Idea of Europe*, 185.

²⁰³ Thomas Risse and Daniela Engelmann-Martin, ‘Identity politics and European Integration’ in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 298.

²⁰⁴ Winston Churchill, ‘Preface’ in Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi ed., *An Idea Conquers The World* (London: Purnell & Sons, 1954), IX-X.

²⁰⁵ Winston Churchill, ‘Address given by Winston Churchill (Zurich, 19 September 1946) - Historical Events in the European Integration Process (1945–2014)’, cvce.eu, accessed 8 September 2022,

https://www.cvce.eu/en/recherche/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3c68ff/e8f94da5-5911-4571-9010-cdcb50654d43/Resources#7dc5a4cc-4453-4c2a-b130-b534b7d76ebd_en&overlay.

yes, Europe desperately needs unification, but without the membership of the British, who would retain the remains of their Empire.

We will examine the conditions that lead to the creation of the EEC and the European Union in the next section. However, we will say that although we agree with the idea there expounded that integration was driven by very concrete motivations, particularly of an economic nature, the idea of a united Europe became closely linked to the concept of solidarity. This is an important idea underlining the Schuman Declaration (1950), where it is affirmed that: “Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity.” The first step in this edifice would be the “elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany.”²⁰⁶ There was also a concern with Human Rights: this motivated the creation of the Council of Europe and a European Court of Human Rights. Indeed, the idea of values was never too far away from the process of integration, even if it was not the main engine propelling it forward.

This constant negotiation between European “civilizational” values and the horrors of European History is nowhere made more explicit as in George Steiner’s *Idea of Europe*, published in 2004. Steiner envisions the idea of Europe as divided into five axioms: the European coffeehouses, where artists, revolutionaries and writers convened in discussion; the walkability of the European landscape, which allowed Europeans, throughout their history, to easily transpose borders; the streets named after famous statesmen, scientists, writers, and artists; the moral and intellectual negotiation between the values of Christianity and those of Ancient Greece, and finally, the idea of the end of civilization and History, never as evident as in the 20th century, during those two “European civil wars”. Before the horrors of the 20th century, Steiner asks whether “a belief in the termination of the European idea” should not be a “moral obligation?” He answers this question by insisting that the idea of Europe should be maintained through understated values that Europe can – and has in the past – represented: “certain ideals of leisure, of privacy, of anarchic individualism”.

²⁰⁶ Robert Schuman, ‘Schuman Declaration May 1950’, european-union.europa.eu, accessed 8 September 2022, https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/history-eu/1945-59/schuman-declaration-may-1950_en

Objections to the Idea of Europe

There are objections to the ideas of Europe outlined in the previous section. In an essay titled “Some Europes in their History”, historian J.G.A Pocock asks a pertinent question: “When did it begin to be said that ‘Europe’ had a history, and when did it begin to be implied that all history is history of Europe?”²⁰⁷ Pocock answers the question with the Enlightenment. According to him, it was the historians of the Enlightenment who first defined the borders and the civilizational tenets of Europe. In their hands, the history of Europe became the history of the struggle of the State to free itself from religion.²⁰⁸ This struggle concerned key European countries – France, England, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire – imposing a distance between Central/West Europe, and the North and the East, which were often excluded from the European narratives of Enlightenment. Pocock argues that the subsequent ideas of Europe have been dominated by these principles. The EEC began as a “French-German consortium”. It also became “an affirmation of Catholic-Protestant Enlightened ‘Europe’ against the Orthodox-Muslims Europes”.²⁰⁹ The problem, for Pocock, is that while the Enlightenment theorists had some reason to invent a Europe “as a system of states in which the partnership of civil government and civil society was necessary to commerce and the spread of manners”, modernity has subverted this invention to mean the “submergence of the state and its sovereignty, not in some pan-European or universal confederation, but in a postmodern era in which the global market demands the subjugation of the political community”.²¹⁰

This idea of invention is worth focusing on. This has been a motif in the ideological construction of Europe. We saw in the previous section how Wolf argued that Enlightenment writers constructed Eastern Europe in direct opposition to Western Europe.²¹¹ We also saw how in central European states, the idea of Europe melded together with Mitteleuropa, the principles of the former becoming undistinguishable from the latter. Although partly aesthetic, this melding was, above all,

²⁰⁷ J. G. A. Pocock, “Some Europes in their History” in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 62.

²⁰⁸ Pocock, “Some Europes in their History”, 62.

²⁰⁹ Pocock, “Some Europes in their History”, 67-68.

²¹⁰ Pocock, “Some Europes in their History”, 70.

²¹¹ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 360.

political. It was connected to German expansionism in the region, as well as reactionary tendencies in Austria, nostalgic for the heydays of the Austrian Empire. Delanty warns that mitteleuropa is a concept impossible to divorce from fascism and antisemitism.²¹²

The third invention worth addressing is the Westernization of Europe, a process by which the idea of Europe became, in many aspects, the idea of the West. Delanty traces it to the beginning of the age of discovery when Western Europe was opposed in the battlefields to Turkish presence in the East.²¹³ This means that throughout the centuries, the idea of Europe became associated with the culture of Western-Central European countries, Catholic and Protestant, which necessarily excluded the Muslim and Orthodox East. This Westernization is also expressed through emerging colonialism.²¹⁴

Pocock further argues that the European unification project precipitated a deconstruction of national identities and narratives in favour of a vague and ambiguous construction – Europe – whose geographical and political limits are artificial and arbitrary. Pocock writes that it is difficult to conceive of European history without the primacy of the state and state sovereignty,²¹⁵ and asserts that European deconstruction of the nation-state dovetails into a post-modernist conception of history in which “all history is invention, and that all invention is alien and an imposition”.²¹⁶

The flaw in Pocock’s reasoning is that all national identity is also a construction. Anderson expands on the incoherence and fragilities of nationalism: nations imagine themselves as limited sovereigns – limited because even the largest community has a finite number of individuals, and sovereign because they needed to reassert the power of the many before the ruins of the hierarchical, divinely ordained dynastic states. Finally, it is *imagined* as a community because “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail” the nation is “conceived as deep, horizontal comradeship”, linking people to a community they’re willing to kill and die for.²¹⁷ Hobsbawm also argues that there are sets of practices, rituals, and symbolic rules which were established to form a continuity with an idealized past which were appropriated in order to fit new national purposes.²¹⁸

²¹² Delanty, *Inventing Europe*, 106.

²¹³ Delanty, *Inventing Europe*, 30.

²¹⁴ Delanty, *Inventing Europe*, 31

²¹⁵ J.G.A. Pocock, “Deconstructing Europe,” *History of European Ideas* 18, no. 3 (May 1, 1994), 338.

²¹⁶ Pocock, “Deconstructing Europe”, 340.

²¹⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

²¹⁸ Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction’, 6.

National identity – aided by the state – uses symbols to affirm itself (the anthem, the flag, the emblem) which in themselves were the object of an “invention of emotionally and symbolically charged signs of club membership.”²¹⁹ These inventions are not necessarily negative. As mentioned, the European idea itself is an invention made of many facets. However, it would be incomplete to argue for the invention of “Europeanness”, be it the invention of Eastern Europe or of Mittleuropa, without adding that national identity itself is a relatively recent invention too, only one so consolidated that it can appear to be “natural”.²²⁰

A more pressing issue touched upon by Pocock is the inclusion/exclusion dynamics that are part not only of the European Union as it stands today, but of European identity. Pieterse argued that European culture as the result of a Romanized Judaeo-Christianity is a relic of 19th century imperialism,²²¹ and that this idea is seeping into the cultural discourse of European integration, thus creating an artificial logic of exclusion/inclusion based on outdated values, which contribute to create a ‘Fortress Europe’.²²² Neumann argues that the EU “‘operationalizes’ European Identity...in order to maintain the boundary between Europe and non-Europe”²²³ and Amin adds that the idea of Europe is now being mobilised for reasons connected to “Europe’s standing in world affairs, primarily economic and political-cultural”.²²⁴ However, recent research by Lutz and Karstens also suggests that strong external borders and a delimitation of those who can come in are needed to maintain European citizens’ support for the European project. After the refugee crisis of 2015 “citizens became more positive about internal migration and increasingly preferred border controls at the European, rather than at their national, borders”.²²⁵

It is obvious, however, that part of the ideological construction of Europe – a concept connected to a set of ideas and values – seeped into the process of political European integration. This process was guided both by politics and economics as well as by ideas, as shall see in the next section.

²¹⁹ Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction’, 11.

²²⁰ Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction’, 14.

²²¹ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, “Fictions of Europe,” *Race & Class* 32, no. 3 (1991): 4-5

²²² “Fictions of Europe”, 5

²²³ Iver B. Neumann, “European Identity, EU Expansion, and the Integration/Exclusion Nexus,” *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 23, no. 3 (1998): 401.

²²⁴ Ash Amin, “Multi-Ethnicity and the Idea of Europe,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 21, no. 2 (April 2004): 5.

²²⁵ Philipp Lutz and Felix Karstens, “External Borders and Internal Freedoms: How the Refugee Crisis Shaped the Bordering Preferences of European Citizens,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 28, no. 3 (March 4, 2021), <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13501763.2021.1882541>

A History of European Integration

Historians differ as to the beginning of the process of European integration. Sweeney claims that Brexit should be explained by a longitudinal historical study of Britain's relationship with other European states, and so he goes back to the Peace of Westphalia in the 17th century.²²⁶ Pagden is careful not to establish a line of evolution between the Greeks and the EEC, but argues that the historical divisions (religious, economic, political) that split the European Continent are slowly vanishing.²²⁷ Stirk begins his History of European integration with a brief chapter on pre-1914, mostly dedicated to the rise of Germany. Even Desmond Dinan asserts that "the idea of a united Europe is a recurring theme in the long and violent history of the Continent" from the Holy Roman Empire to Napoleon and finally to Hitler.²²⁸

It seems to us that there is an important difference between ideas of Europe (which we have explored in the previous section) which might include a reflection on the concept of Europe as a geographical space, the possibility of a European identity, historical cooperation between European states, cultural and intellectual exchanges between European peoples as well as plans or aspirations for a united Europe, and the history of European integration as it historically happened. The institutions that were created in the second half of the 20th century and which developed throughout the decades into the modern European Union are the result of the events of the 20th century, in particular the two World Wars, with special emphasis on the second. Urwin argues that "the story of European integration (...) essentially begins and is conventionally dated as beginning in 1945".²²⁹ Still Urwin cannot resist going into a much wider chronology as he expands on the persistence of the idea of Europe, with mentions of Charlemagne, the Duc de Sully, Napoleon and Hitler. But precisely because of how easy it is to fall into this tendency, this is an important division to make. Evidently, this is not a clear-cut separation and there are important connections between

²²⁶ Sweeney, *The Europe Illusion: Britain, France, Germany and the Long History of European Integration*, 16-17.

²²⁷ Pagden, "Introduction," 3.

²²⁸ Desmond Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of European Union* (London: Macmillan Education, 2014), 1.

²²⁹ Derek W Urwin, *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration since 1945* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1.

these processes, particularly when it comes notions of cooperation between European states and the emergence of the idea of a United States of Europe, which predates the 20th century, but we must avoid falling into a teleological and anachronistic reading of History, in which the EEC and the EU are the necessary historical conclusions to a process that began in the Middle Ages.

Indeed, the European Union itself seems to be aware of this division, placing its origins in the 1940s. The earliest date they mention in a chronology published on their website dedicated to the History of the European Union is 1945: the war ends in Europe, “the continent is devastated. Millions of people are dead, injured or displaced. Six million Jews have been murdered in the Holocaust”. The chronology then points to the creation of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Council of Europe, an institution which, independent of the future European Community structure, aimed to protect Democracy and defend Human Rights. In 1950, the website signals the Schuman Declaration, followed by the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Historians treat this post-war beginning as consensual. Where they differ, however, is on the motives that drove European integration: were they more politically or economically motivated? And to what extent was integration led by a wider geopolitical strategy which took in account the European continent, or by narrower national interests? Dedman believes that the beginning of the process cannot be dissociated from the context of the beginning of the Cold War and the necessity of creating a strong Western Europe that contained Soviet power and influence on Eastern Europe.²³⁰ However, he also agrees that the integration process has been driven mostly by economic factors and that the decision-making power still lays with the national states, as opposed to a process powered by a centralised Brussels government, which would result, little by little, in a federation of European States.²³¹ Milward places integration within a wider context of economic liberalisation which was promoted by the Americans as a result of the Marshall Plan, as well as the recognition that European prosperity could not exist without the prosperity of the German economy.²³² As we shall shortly see the process of integration was not so linear.

Moravcsik argues for a theory of integration almost exclusively driven primarily by economic and commercial interests. He also sees integration as a process led mostly by France and Germany,

²³⁰ Martin Dedman, *The Origins and Development of the European Union 1945-2008: A History of European Integration* (London: Routledge: 2010), 2-3.

²³¹ Dedman, *The Origins and Development of the European Union 1945-2008*, 9.

²³² Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, 104-105.

especially in the first two decades after the Treaty of Rome. Post-war Germany pursued a policy of export growth as a way to feed its heavy industry, which was wholly without colonial links, unlike other European powers at the time (notably France), and which had been stripped of Eastern European markets.²³³ In France, on the other hand, the post-war context was of steady industrial modernization coupled with the importance of agriculture, which accounted for 25% of employment. In 1953, 37% of French exports were still destined to the French African colonies and only 19% to the six countries that would sign the Treaty of Rome. However, by 1963 this tendency would be reversed, which resulted in greater support for market liberalisation.²³⁴

These are the underpinnings of the Treaty of Rome. The Spaak report, produced by a committee of foreign ministers belonging to the six members of the ECSC, “recommended a customs union, an agricultural policy, atomic energy union and supranational institutions, much like those that finally emerged”.²³⁵ These measures all come to fruition in the Treaty of Rome, with the exception of the Euratom.²³⁶ The Treaty of Rome “launched a process rather than completed it”.²³⁷ It sowed the seeds for a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which was in the great interest of France, and it established Germany’s preference for Free Trade Agreements and a closer relationship with France. Indeed, so obvious was the preponderance of national interests that Moravcsik quotes Alberto Spinelli, a great defender of federalism, who accused the Common Market of “betraying the European ideal in favour of a ‘Europe of Governments’ within a treaty that was legalistic rather than participatory...economical rather than political”.²³⁸

The Treaty of Rome also defined early European institutions, the most relevant of which was the Commission, which was meant to answer to a “European ideal”, rather than national governments.²³⁹ Based in Brussels, it had the power to propose policies and it ought to decide how policy was implemented. The other important body was the Council of Ministers, which gathered all the foreign ministers of the member states and was tasked with coordinating policy. It had actual decisive power. The ministers had voting rights, but they were distributed according to size and

²³³ Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, 96.

²³⁴ Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, 108.

²³⁵ Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, 143.

²³⁶ Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, 148.

²³⁷ Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, 157.

²³⁸ Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, 150.

²³⁹ Urwin, *The Community of Europe*, 81.

population: West Germany, France, and Italy had four votes each, the Netherlands and Belgium two, and Luxembourg only one. Depending on the issue, decisions could be reached by unanimity, simple majority, or qualified majority vote (QMV).²⁴⁰ The third major institution was the Parliamentary Assembly, which counted 142 members and had the power to “put questions to the Commission”, “censure the Commission”, and “discharge the annual budget”.²⁴¹

The following decade of the history of European integration, from 1958 to 1969, would be dominated by Charles de Gaulle. Following the logic of the preponderance of economical and commercial interests, de Gaulle was particularly invested in planning the CAP and making it a vessel of French agriculture. Indeed, the CAP soon came to dominate European politics, as agricultural exports were a key part of the economy not just of France, but Italy and the Netherlands.²⁴²

It can even be argued, as historians have done, that the CAP was one of the prime reasons de Gaulle so vehemently opposed British membership to the EEC, which was first tried in 1961-62. He knew the British would not accept a CAP that was exceedingly protectionist of French agricultural interests.²⁴³ Indeed, the CAP that emerged was a victory for French interests, and therefore a defeat for the European Commission. The Commission meant for a more liberal, market-oriented policy; what it got instead was a more protectionist model, shielded from the pressures of the market.²⁴⁴

The 1970s were marked by two important events: the emergence of a European Monetary System (EMS) and EEC enlargement. The EMS attempted to promote monetary stability across Europe. While it succeeded in stabilizing exchange rates, it tended to favour strong-currency countries, like Germany, rather than weak-currency countries, like France, Italy and Britain.²⁴⁵ Enlargement came about only after de Gaulle bowed out. If on the one hand, Britain was anxious not to jeopardize the relationship with the Commonwealth,²⁴⁶ on the other, Britain’s safety and prosperity depended on its relationship with continental Europe.²⁴⁷ Indeed, the British membership’s bid was

²⁴⁰ Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, 77.

²⁴¹ Urwin, *The Community of Europe*, 82.

²⁴² Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, 197.

²⁴³ Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, 102.

²⁴⁴ Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, 216.

²⁴⁵ Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, 238-239.

²⁴⁶ Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, 136.

²⁴⁷ Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, 309.

accompanied by failing trade with the Commonwealth, which started falling behind the trade with Europe in the mid-60s.²⁴⁸ By the 70s, this tendency was consolidated.²⁴⁹ In 1972, after two blocked attempts by France in 1962 and 67, Britain succeeded in accessing the EEC. However, by then the structure of the EEC was well defined, and Britain had no hopes of being able to influence it.²⁵⁰

EEC enlargement, once started could not be stopped. The 80s witnessed the membership of Greece (1981), Spain and Portugal (1986). These processes were not easy: in the case of Greece it took six years of negotiations and nine for Spain and Portugal. This reflects the difficulty in integrating weaker economies as well as countries with feeble democratic traditions as all three countries had been under dictatorial rule for most of the 20th century.²⁵¹

The 1980s relaunched the European project. The Community's agenda was dominated by market liberalisation, following the economic trend of the 1980s (of which Britain with Thatcher at the head was the strongest supporter) and monetary union. On market liberalisation, the greatest achievement was the common market, which had been a goal of the EEC since the Treaty of Rome, but that had not materialised to its full potential. By the mid-1980s, the EEC was still little more than a custom's union, nowhere close to full economic integration.²⁵² Jacques Delors, then president of the European Commission, was quick to grasp that a single market could open way to a true European Union, and so he pushed for a single act, a treaty that would link the common market with institutional reform.²⁵³ This was achieved by the Single European Act (SEA) which created an internal market, an area "without internal frontiers in which the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital is ensured".²⁵⁴

The SEA established that by 1992 the Single Market ought to be created. To this landmark two very important events were added: the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany. The reunification of Germany accelerated European integration, as Chancellor Helmut Kohl

²⁴⁸ Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, 165.

²⁴⁹ Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (London: Random House, 2011), kindle edition, chapter IX.

²⁵⁰ Judt, *Postwar*, kindle edition, chapter IX.

²⁵¹ Urwin, *The Community of Europe*, 196.

²⁵² Peter M. R. Stirk, *A History of European Integration Since 1914* (Pinter, 1996), 208-209.

²⁵³ Stirk, *A History of European Integration*, 211.

²⁵⁴ "Single European Act" (Official Journal of the European Communities, 1986), <http://data.europa.eu/eli/treaty/sea/sign/eng>.

assumed it as a necessity, a proposal the European Commission came to accept.²⁵⁵ One explanation is that the Maastricht Treaty was a reaction to German reunification, a way to “lock post-unification Germany into an integrated Europe” promoted by French fears of a united Germany.²⁵⁶ Maastricht was supported on “three pillars”: the first was a commitment to make the Single Market work and to promote a “balanced and sustainable development of economic activities”. The second concerned the definition of a common foreign policy, and the third cooperation “in the fields of justice and home affairs”.²⁵⁷ Maastricht also redefined the powers of European Institutions. The Parliament was given more legislative authority amidst concerns of a democratic deficit and unaccountability of the European institutions. This generated a system of cooperation and co-decision between the Parliament and the Council, the former having “been elevated almost to the legislative equal of the Council”.²⁵⁸

The history we have traced so far has been focused around political economy and commercial interests; however, we do not believe this tells the whole story. If scholars like Moravcsik and Milward insist upon these explanations it is because of the preponderance of political narratives surrounding European integration, which put too much emphasis on ideology and domestic actors.²⁵⁹ However, in the newspapers examined in this thesis the coverage of European issues focuses more on daily events rather than on a macroeconomic, structural view of European integration. We must also be sensible to how the views of particular actors influence positions. Both de Gaulle and German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer firmly rejected federalist dreams, and were concerned about their respective countries. In this sense, we must understand the EEC as a “Franco-German condominium”, as an institution in which the balance of powers between France and West Germany was constantly being played.²⁶⁰

At the same time, Britain’s tumultuous relationship with European integration has to be understood through the lenses of politics and ideology, from initial disbelief in the feasibility of the project to hostility to the admission that Britain needed to join for economic reasons. The issue, however,

²⁵⁵ Stirk, *A History of European Integration*, 223.

²⁵⁶ Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, 380.

²⁵⁷ “The Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties” (European Parliament, 2023), https://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_1.1.3.pdf.

²⁵⁸ Dinan, *Europe Recast*, 251.

²⁵⁹ Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, 27-35.

²⁶⁰ Judt, *Postwar*, kindle edition, chapter IX.

divided opinions internally: Labour Eurosceptics saw the EC as a “capitalist endeavour hostile to workers’ rights and as an economic arm of NATO”. Conservative Eurosceptics viewed it as “socialistic and hostile to business interests”, as well as a threat to national sovereignty.²⁶¹ When accession was finally debated in the House of Commons in 1971 Prime Minister Edward Heath, a committed pro-European, achieved a large majority. However, even then a significant number of conservatives and almost half of the Labour MPs voted against membership.²⁶² Thatcher herself, one of the greatest defenders of the Single Market because of deeper market integration and liberalisation,²⁶³ was never at ease with the political aspects of integration. She was particularly at odds with Delors’ willingness to add a social dimension to the 1992 project. He considered that the internal European market ought to be conceived in a way that “improved working conditions (...) and dialogue between the two sides of industry”.²⁶⁴ This is how we can explain Thatcher’s support for the Single Market as well as the Bruges speech where she decried the dangers of European integration, emphasising her intergovernmentalist views as opposed to what she considered were the ever-growing powers of the European Commission.²⁶⁵ It is worth pointing out that Britain managed to stay outside the European Monetary Union (EMU).

Political and not only economic reasons are at the centre of Portugal’s membership. Following the 25 April Revolution which ended a decades long dictatorship (the so-called Estado Novo), Portugal’s political situation was attentively followed in Europe, particularly given the prominence of the Portuguese Communist Party.²⁶⁶ However, the Socialist Party, which together with PCP was the most organised party structure in the post-revolutionary period, was strongly pro-European. Additionally, the process of accessing the EEC, spearheaded by the Socialist Party and its main leader, Mário Soares, happened in tandem with the decolonization process as well as with the creation of democratic institutions.²⁶⁷ Portugal abandoned its “African vocation”, a mark of Estado

²⁶¹ Dinan, *Europe Recast*, 109.

²⁶² Dinan, *Europe Recast*, 139.

²⁶³ Dinan, *Europe Recast*, 215.

²⁶⁴ Dinan, *Europe Recast*, 228.

²⁶⁵ Dinan, *Europe Recast*, 242.

²⁶⁶ Maria Cristina Ferrão Marques, “Os partidos políticos e a adesão de Portugal à CEE: análise das intervenções parlamentares de 1976 a 1985” (Master Diss, ISCTE-UL, 2014), 11.

²⁶⁷ Nuno Severiano Teixeira, “Portugal e a integração europeia, 1974-2015: uma introdução histórica” in António Costa Pinto and Nuno Severiano Teixeira, eds., *A Europeização Da Democracia Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2017), 20-21

Novo's ideology, and as revolutionary fervour fizzled out, so too did it abandon its connection to third-worldism, which had been close to the heart of some factions of the revolutionary left.²⁶⁸ Europe became a necessity not just politically, but economically. European funds were crucial for the economic and social development of a country that trailed behind its European counterparts for most of the 20th century.²⁶⁹

Having examined the History of the Idea of Europe and European integration, we must now understand the history and the concept of "Public Sphere" – that is, the space where ideas of Europe and integration are going to be discussed and mediated.

The European Public Sphere: between Past and Present

By looking into the development of the concept of the Public Sphere, Habermas necessarily chronicles its history. Habermas traces the rise and fall of the Public Sphere in three main countries, France, Germany and the United Kingdom. He begins by arguing that in Greece, the sphere of the *polis* (the political realm) was entirely separated from the sphere *oikos* (the home).²⁷⁰ This was unlike what began to take place in the 18th century where a middle ground was found between public and private. This was "a political public sphere, the literary public sphere and the market of cultural goods", which were "backed by a private and intimate sphere". These gave the bourgeois public sphere "a humanised character and a liberatory potential in being able to resist the authoritarianism of the state".²⁷¹ Habermas also argues that it was in the 18th century that the concept of public sphere arose because of specific historical conditions that facilitated it.²⁷² It was precisely in the 18th century that public opinion came to define the "expression of reason" with

²⁶⁸ Teixeira, "Portugal e a integração europeia, 1974-2015", 22. This fact might explain as well why opposition to the EU these days comes mainly from parties which are to the left of the socialist party, such as the Communist Party or the Left Bloc (Bloco de Esquerda), as we mentioned in chapter 1.

²⁶⁹ Fernando de Sousa, 'Portugal e a União Europeia', *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 43, no. 2 (December 2000): 194.

²⁷⁰ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 4.

²⁷¹ Luisa Passerini, "Public and Private in European Perspective" in Robert Frank et al eds., *Building a European Public Sphere From the 1950s to the Present* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), 42.

²⁷² Jürgen Habermas, 'The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)', *New German Critique*, no. 3 (1974): 50.

which laws should be made.²⁷³ The bourgeois public sphere arose when private individuals came together to discuss literature and politics. Habermas argues that these discussions and their spaces (salons, cafes) promoted equality and reason, and that the transposition from the physical semi-public space where they were taking place to public areas was inevitable.²⁷⁴ As time went on, the public sphere became a “functional element in the political realm” capable of giving civil society a way to voice its needs within the state.²⁷⁵

The concept of public opinion and its limitations continued to be the subject of debate within 19th century liberal constitutionalism. Here Habermas examines the thought of Stuart Mill and Tocqueville, who pointed out the contradictions contained in the notion that “convergence of public opinion with reason supposed it to be objectively possible” and that this convergence would keep “conflicts of interest and bureaucratic decisions to a minimum”.²⁷⁶ In other words, if public opinion is always an expression of human reasoning, how can it be wrong and how can it contain different, sometimes opposing views?

Today, the liberal model of the public sphere, which was developed in the 18th and 19th century, irrevocably changed when the “literary journalism of private individuals” became the “public services of the mass media”, as this process was accompanied by the “influx of private interests”, which brought to the public the conflicts “hitherto restricted to the private sphere”. This meant that the public sphere became a field for competing private interests.²⁷⁷

The relevant question for our thesis is how to integrate the history of the European Public Sphere within the larger idea of the Public Sphere, as defined by Habermas. If a History of the Public Sphere is possible to construct, regardless of the debate surrounding its origins and practices, the history of the European Public Sphere is a more elusive process.

²⁷³ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 54.

²⁷⁴ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 54.

²⁷⁵ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 74

²⁷⁶ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation...* 131

²⁷⁷ Habermas, ‘The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)’, 54. It is worth noting, however, that Habermas has also been criticized by historians for being too rigid in this chronological and conceptual definition of the Public Sphere, and particularly for ignoring 17th century discursive formulations and processes of communication, which could point to earlier developments of the Public Sphere. In Sandro Landi, ‘Beyond the Public Sphere: Habermas, Locke, and Tacit Consent’, *Revue d’histoire moderne contemporaine* 594, no. 4 (2012): 31-32.

Some scholars have tried to solve this problem by arguing that for certain elites such as scholars, a European Public Sphere has existed since the Enlightenment, was “broken by 20th century dictatorships, but re-emerged after their fall”.²⁷⁸ Others have taken the idea of an intermittent European Public Sphere to describe what happened after 1945, in which there would have been an initial burst in the 40s and 50s, when Europe was widely debated in the Public Sphere, followed by a weakening during the Cold War, and a reawakening in the 80s.²⁷⁹ Habermas argues that in the 19th century European identity was the product of the mind of the national elites and functioned primarily as a “double-sided national consciousness”, which in practice meant that it carried all the flaws of nationalism, including violent exclusion of “alien” groups. However, the “idea of the nation” also promoted a model of “solidarity between persons who had until then remained strangers to one another”. This, Habermas argues, is what the European Union should aim for in the creation of a politically united Europe, which is the natural affirmation of the Maastricht Treaty: from the moment the European project decides to go further than an economic community, it becomes necessary to create networks of solidarity and a sense of belonging to a political community.²⁸⁰ Indeed, it is difficult to divorce the discussion on the necessity of a European Public Sphere from the process of European integration as promoted by the EU, particularly in the wake of Maastricht when permissive consensus, a concept we examined in the first chapter, started weakening and concerns were raised about a democratic deficit in the way the process of integration was being conducted.²⁸¹ At the same time, although the concept of a European Public Sphere might be inappropriate when applied to the 1950s and 1960s, when the EEC was still far from the political community it came to be, the European Community was already more integrated than other supranational organisations. Furthermore, concerns about democratic legitimacy are older than 1992; a directly elected Assembly (in existence since 1979) and majority voting in the Council of Ministers already point to an “emerging supranational polity”.²⁸²

²⁷⁸ Luisa Passerini and Hartmut Kaelble, ‘European Identity, the European Public Sphere, and the Future of Europe’, in *Les Identités Européennes Au XXe Siècle : Diversités, Convergences et Solidarités*, ed. Robert Frank (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2014), 100.

²⁷⁹ Hartmut Kaelble, “The European Public Sphere” in Robert Frank et al eds., *Building a European Public Sphere From the 1950s to the Present* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), 27.

²⁸⁰ Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation*, 19.

²⁸¹ Jan-Henrik Meyer, *The European Public Sphere: Media and Transnational Communication in European Integration 1969-1991* (n/p: Steiner, 2010), 19. And Steenbergen, Edwards, and Vries, ‘Who’s Cueing Whom?’, 15.

²⁸² Meyer, *The European Public Sphere*, 25.

It is unquestionable that the EU took up the mantle of fomenting a European identity, both through the creation of new symbols, such as the flag, the anthem, the Euro coins, and the appropriation of historical figures such as Charlemagne, and also by recreating specific places as being particularly “European”, such as Brussels and Strasbourg.²⁸³ Scholars have pointed out that symbols of Europe are fleshed out from the historical symbols of the nation, and that they are themselves always interpreted through the lenses of national identity.²⁸⁴ It is also worth remembering that reception and debate on European issues occurs in different national languages, and that in this sense the European Public Sphere is a “composite Public Sphere”. This leads to our first definition of the European Public Sphere: “The history of the European public sphere was largely the history of transfers and links between the national public spheres”.²⁸⁵

Although this definition refers to the cultural exchanges between national public spheres from the 18th to the 20th century, it remains of particular importance to our thesis because our sources belong to national public spheres, both British and Portuguese. The idea of transfer and links between national public spheres remains important. The White Paper on a European Communication Policy, presented by the European Commission in 2006, argues that Europe “needs to find its place in the existing national, regional and local ‘public spheres’”, and that it is the responsibility of the national and regional governments to inform citizens about European policies.²⁸⁶ The solution proposed by the Commission to address the ‘communication gap’ between the European Union and its citizens passes necessarily through the regional and national public spheres because these are spaces more easily accessible to European citizens. Therefore, it makes sense to talk not only about “the European Public Sphere”, which might give the impression of one united sphere, but rather of the “Europeanization of national Public Spheres”. This is a necessary recognition that “there are important historical and linguistic boundaries which inhibit the development of one European public sphere”, and so the situation we are witnessing today – and indeed have witnessed for the past decades – is one where there exists a degree of national media debate about European

²⁸³ Hertmut Kaelble, “The European Public Sphere”, 32.

²⁸⁴ Michaela Ferencová, “Reframing Identities: Some Theoretical Remarks on ‘European Identity’ Building,” *International Issues & Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs* 15, no. 1 (2006): 4–17.

²⁸⁵ Hertmut Kaelble, “The European Public Sphere”, 28.

²⁸⁶ “White Paper on a European Communication Policy” (Commission of the European Communities, 2006), 5. https://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com2006_35_en.pdf.

policies, according to the level of intervention of the EU on public policy.²⁸⁷ According to de Vreese, the Europeanisation of national public spheres is the “realist” approach to the analysis of the European Public Sphere, as it measures the degree of penetration of European themes and actors in the national public spheres. This, as we shall see in next chapter, partially inspires the way in which we are analysing our sources.²⁸⁸

Therefore, we agree with Risse’s definition, one which he takes from Habermas, that the European Public Sphere is a “public political space which enables citizens to take positions at the same time on the same topics of the same relevance”.²⁸⁹ When applied to the media this means that a Europeanised public sphere and media communication “can be analysed as a process that enlarges the scope of public discourse beyond the territorial nation state”,²⁹⁰ and this is usually done by comparing different national public spheres in order to ascertain whether they contain the “‘same issues’ at the ‘same time’ and employ ‘similar aspects of relevance’”.²⁹¹

Triandafyllidou, Krzyzanowski, and Wodak employ a different vision in their analysis of the Public Sphere. In their work the European Public Sphere is a “transnational arena of communication where social, political, institutional, cultural actors voice their opinions and ideas which are then discussed, distributed and negotiated”. This is not a Europeanisation of national public spheres, but rather a true European Public Sphere precisely because of its *Europeanness*. It is European because it takes place in the geographical space of Europe, because its underpinnings rely on “ideas and concepts of European history, culture and modernity” and because “it is a common arena where the existence, shape, and scope of Europe and Europeanness, European Unity or conflict (...) are discussed and contested”.²⁹² Although we believe that it is more realistic to think about our sources from the point of view of national media mentioning European actors and debating European issues, we also believe there is validity in setting these national media spheres within a historical and geographical context. Portugal and the United Kingdom indeed exist within a delimited

²⁸⁷ Porte and Van Dalen, ‘Europeanization of National Public Spheres? Cross-National Media Debates about the European Union’s Socio-Economic Strategy’, 281.

²⁸⁸ Claes H. de Vreese, “The EU as a Public Sphere,” *Living Reviews in European Governance* 2, no. 3 (2007): 10.

²⁸⁹ Habermas quoted in Thomas Risse, *A Community of Europeans?*, 116.

²⁹⁰ Trenz, ‘Measuring the Europeanisation of Public Communication: The Question of Standards’, 278.

²⁹¹ Kermer and Nijmeijer, ‘Identity and European Public Spheres in the Context of Social Media and Information Disorder’, 30.

²⁹² Triandafyllidou, Krzyzanowski, and Wodak, ‘Introduction’, 5

geographical space (Europe), sharing ideas and concepts common to European History, culture and modernity, and where the meaning of Europe and Europeanness is debated.

Having expanded upon the theory behind a European Public Sphere the next chapter will explore how to analyse the existence of a European Public Sphere in practice, that is, how to search for the ways in which European ideas, concepts, actors and events are employed and discussed in the national public spheres, here represented by our media sources (Portuguese and English newspaper articles).

Chapter 3

Methods and Sources²⁹³

In this chapter, we will look into the methodological underpinnings of our research. We will begin with a discussion on online media, followed by why we chose to use a historical approach when interpreting the dataset. Finally, we will discuss the steps we took to gather, clean and analyse the data. We will also discuss different analysis methods and the reasoning behind the choices. Finally, we will look into the methodology used by previous studies on the Public Sphere, and how they informed the method we developed to interpret our sources.

The Online Media

The present dataset is composed of eight newspapers, equally divided between the British and Portuguese press. For the UK, they are the Daily Mail, the Guardian, the Daily Mirror and the Daily Telegraph. In Portuguese we have Público, Correio da Manhã, Expresso and Jornal de Notícias. We are exclusively working with the online editions of these newspapers. Using the paper version of these newspapers would make this research impossible, particularly when it comes to the size of the datasets. If we had used the paper version, we would have had to limit ourselves exclusively to close reading and as such it would have been difficult to gain a generalized, overarching perspective on the coverage of the European Union, which our research aims to provide. In addition, working with born-digital sources provided an opportunity to engage with

²⁹³A word must be said on the organisation of the appendices throughout this chapter and in chapter 4 and 5. Because often in this thesis the appendices refer to Jupyter Notebooks files, Excel files and text files, we had to find a way to group them together. In the first place, all the appendices pertaining to Jupyter Notebooks containing code were numbered together (from 1 to 11) in order to facilitate search. They are in the File Directory “Python Jupyter Notebooks”. All the URLs we scraped are inside the File “Data URLs” (Appendix 12). The Excel files with the categorized Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams are counted as one appendix (Appendix 13, inside the file directory “Complete Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams Lists”). A file directory was also created for the StopWords lists (Appendix 14). All the text files with the collocations lists (which will be useful in chapters 4 and 5) were placed inside a file directory (Appendix 15 - AntConc Collocation Lists). The Collocations text files are all named appropriately with the collocated word or words, the year, and the language it pertains to (EN for English, PT for Portuguese).

the challenges of retrieving and keeping historical data and also to address the issues that arise from working with online articles published several years ago.

The past 15 years have witnessed increased online readership as well as a growing reliance on online news as a main source of information. In 2000, for instance, a UK survey of 1000 people found that only 1% of those surveyed mentioned the internet as an important source of news.²⁹⁴ In 2020 Ofcom reported that the internet was the second most used platform for news consumption, surpassed only by television, and used by around 65% of UK consumers. This number rises to 79% amongst the 16-24 age group, surpassing television.²⁹⁵ The Guardian readership is a good example of this steady tendency. In the days following the London bombings in 2005²⁹⁶, the Guardian website received a record 1.3 million visitors.²⁹⁷ By 2018, it was reporting an average of 5.2 million readers per week.²⁹⁸ This is a verifiable trend in the Portuguese context as well. A 2014 study found that 55% out of 1035 people consulted online news at least once a day.²⁹⁹ In 2020, around 5.8 million Portuguese read online news.³⁰⁰

Early works on the subject of online news postulated that in the late 1990s and early 2000s, online newspapers replicated the model of print news, both in terms of form – being heavily dominated by text – and content, by merely posting stories already found in their print editions.³⁰¹ Philips also alerted us to the possibility that online reportage was making news more homogeneous as it is easier for reporters to check on what the other news agencies and newspapers are publishing and then reproduce the same content on their own websites, a problem aggravated by the pressure

²⁹⁴ Colin Meek, "British Shun Internet as First Choice for News," *Journalism*, 31 August, 2000,

<https://www.journalism.co.uk/news/british-shun-internet-as-first-choice-for-news/s2/a5145/>

²⁹⁵ Jigsaw Research, "News Consumption in the UK: 2020" (Ofcom, 2020),

https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0013/201316/news-consumption-2020-report.pdf, 3.

²⁹⁶ Terrorist attacks which took place in July 2005. They targeted buses and the underground, killing over 50 people.

²⁹⁷ John Plunkett, "Record numbers visit Guardian Unlimited", *The Guardian*, 8 July, 2005,

<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2005/jul/08/media.newmedia>

²⁹⁸ Esther Kezia Thorpe, "How people in the UK are accessing news: 6 key findings", *What's new in publishing*, 6

August 2019, <https://whatsnewinpublishing.com/how-people-in-the-uk-are-accessing-news-6-key-findings/>

²⁹⁹ Gustavo Cardoso et al., "A Internet e o Consumo de Notícias Online Em Portugal" (Publicações Obercom, 2015), <https://obercom.pt/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/A-Internet-e-o-consumo-de-not%C3%ADcias-online-em-Portugal-2015.pdf>, 5.

³⁰⁰ Marktest, "Dois Em Cada Três Portugueses Leem Notícias Online," 5 May, 2021,

<https://www.marktest.com/wap/a/n/id~2770.aspx>.

³⁰¹ David Tewksbury and Jason Rittenberg, *News on the Internet: Information and Citizenship in the 21st Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 42-43.

journalists are under to publish updated content at greater speed.³⁰² However, we agree with Boczkowski who argued that the process of publishing news online is more complex than simply copying print media text. It is a process which involves recombining content, that is, taking content from the print editions but adding new elements, often directed at specific geographical contexts or particular groups of users as well as making use of the interactivity afforded by the web.³⁰³ Online news websites also engage in what Boczkowski calls “recreating”, the practice of creating content exclusively for the website but drawing partly from material and symbolic “repertoires existing in media and computing circles”, such as writing styles, video and animation techniques.³⁰⁴ Of particular interest to us is the claim that online news media is capable of holding more content, especially archived material which can then easily be referred to in more recent news articles. As each news organization builds its own archive, it relies less and less on content from external websites.³⁰⁵ Finally, it is worth keeping in mind that although the process of creating online news is different from that of writing printed news, as different mediums demand different strategies, there is a continuity in the sense that the news are part of the same ecosystem: they are still inserted in the same logic of commodity value. They are, in short, part of a business model which aims, in part at least, to profit from this commodity exchange. For this reason, the logic of agenda setting and news selectivity remain the same even when the medium of communicating information changes.³⁰⁶ It is safe to say that as far as the online version of these newspapers is concerned, they share the agenda and indeed the political positioning of their printed counterparts. It is, however, important to note that dynamics introduced during this time period, such as the increased use of social media by individuals and institutions, led to changes in news production and consumption, with traditional media venues having to adopt different ways of writing news (such as liveblogging) as well as attempting to integrate the audience into their coverage.³⁰⁷ Furthermore, social media has become a significant medium through which people consume and interact with news, particularly towards the end of the period covered in this thesis. Articles might

³⁰² Angela Philips, “Old Sources: New bottles” in *New media, old news: journalism and democracy in the digital age*, ed. Natalie Fenton (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2009), 96.

³⁰³ Pablo Boczkowski, *Digitizing the News: Innovation in Online Newspapers*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004), 57-58

³⁰⁴ Boczkowski, *Digitizing the News*, 60-61.

³⁰⁵ Li. *Internet Newspapers*, 60.

³⁰⁶ Tewksbury and Rittenberg, *News on the Internet*, 61.

³⁰⁷ Nic Newman, William H. Dutton, and Grant Blank, “Social Media in the Changing Ecology of News Production and Consumption: The Case in Britain,” SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester: Social Science Research Network, April 30, 2011), 24.

have share buttons, for example, and audiences are often able to play a part in determining which stories and articles get more attention. In this way, the power of selecting news is now more shared between the news organisations and the audience.³⁰⁸

The newspapers used in this study were selected according to the size of their online readership. Initially, we considered choosing them on the basis of their political positioning, a metric based on Kuhn's *Politics and the media in Britain*, which identified a correspondence between the goals of each political party and the content of the newspapers. Helpfully, British newspapers declare their support during general elections, which gives us a defined idea of their broad ideological bent. From 1992 to 2005 the Daily Mail supported the Conservatives, except in 2005, when they appealed to "Not a Labour victory", which effectively supported a Conservative win. The Daily Telegraph lent its support to the Tories during the same period, whereas the Mirror supported Labour.³⁰⁹ The Guardian supports Labour, although in 2005 it supported either Labour or the Liberal Democrats as an alternative to the Conservative Party.³¹⁰ It is additionally worth noting that while broadcasting in Britain is regulated by the Broadcasting Code, no such rules are applicable to the press,³¹¹ which means that "strong, distinct political orientations are clearly manifest in news content".³¹²

However, this comparison proved unsustainable because the Portuguese press behaves in a different way: there is no overt political support. While the press was highly politicised in the 80s, as Portuguese democracy consolidated itself and the two main parties became dominant, so did the press become more neutral and flexible.³¹³ The press in Portugal is also regulated by the Portuguese Regulatory Authority for the Media, an independent body which measures press

³⁰⁸ Chakraborty, Abhijnan, Saptarshi Ghosh, Niloy Ganguly, and Krishna P. Gummadi. "Editorial Versus Audience Gatekeeping: Analyzing News Selection and Consumption Dynamics in Online News Media." *IEEE Transactions on Computational Social Systems* 6, no. 4 (August 2019): 689-690.

³⁰⁹ Raymond Kuhn, *Politics and the Media in Britain* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 219.

³¹⁰ Roy Greenslade, "Newspaper support in UK general elections", *The Guardian*, 4 May, 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2010/may/04/general-election-newspaper-support>

³¹¹ Paul Copeland and Nathaniel Copsey, "Rethinking Britain and the European Union: Politicians, the Media and Public Opinion Reconsidered," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 55, no. 4 (2017): 11.

³¹² Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini, *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 211.

³¹³ Francisco Varandas Soares Graça, "A Política e os Media: O Enviesamento da Imprensa Portuguesa em 2009 e 2015" (Master Diss., Lisbon, ISCTE-UL, 2017), 10.

coverage in terms of political bias and the space dedicated to each of the political parties and political issues.³¹⁴

The key criterion became, therefore, online readership, as it means that the topics approached by the media had more repercussions in the public sphere, as they reached more people. For the British press, we made use of the numbers published by Ofcom in their 2019 report (reporting data from 2018) which show that The Guardian is the most read online newspaper, followed by the Daily Mail, the Daily Telegraph, and finally, the Daily Mirror.³¹⁵ The problem of doing a thesis using these sources over a number of years is that readership numbers necessarily change. We decided to look into the latter years because that is also when we were able to find more detailed data about the readership, especially in the Portuguese corpus. As such, in Ofcom's 2018 report (reporting data from 2017) the tendency is repeated.³¹⁶ However, in their 2020 report (reporting to 2019) Ofcom shows that the numbers have changed and the Daily Mirror has been surpassed by the Sun in terms of online readership, and the Mirror is tied with The Times.³¹⁷ This report, however, was published after we had defined our sources and begun scraping data so the original choice of titles was not changed. It is unlikely that the Sun would have been a useful source of information in any case, as its website did not contain much news about the EU for most of our chronology. This might be either because the Sun did not publish much news on the EU on its website or that the articles were not captured by either the Sun's inbuilt search engine or by Google.³¹⁸

In Portugal, we relied on NetAudience, which in partnership with Markttest – a survey company – specialises in web audiences. Their methodology focuses on specific months of the year rather than a comparison between months in different years, which is OFCOM's strategy. We made use of the data available for September 2018, November 2018 and April 2019 which shows that the

³¹⁴ Graça, "A Política e os Media", 10-11

³¹⁵ Jigsaw Research, "News Consumption in the UK: 2019" (*Ofcom*, 2019), https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0027/157914/uk-news-consumption-2019-report.pdf, 37.

³¹⁶ Jigsaw Research, "News Consumption in the UK: 2018" (*Ofcom*, 2018), https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0024/116529/news-consumption-2018.pdf, 41.

³¹⁷ Jigsaw Research, "News Consumption in the UK: 2020" (*Ofcom*, 2020), https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0013/201316/news-consumption-2020-report.pdf, 36.

³¹⁸ This conclusion was reached by searching for the keywords "European Union" in the search box provided in the Sun's website. Clicking on the last page (which as of May 2023 numbered 447) showed that results produced only went as far as 2016. Using Google Advanced search, using the same keywords and searching into the Sun website, rendered very few results from 2004 to 2014.

most read newspapers were Correio da Manhã followed by Público, Jornal de Noticias and Expresso.³¹⁹ OberCom, an observatory which studies media in Portugal, also shows that in 2020 out of the newspapers that have both a print and an online version, those we chose to analyse were the most read.³²⁰

Despite what has been said about the difficulty of ascertaining political positioning in the Portuguese press, we chose to focus on the press instead of broadcasting websites partly because editorials and opinion articles are integral elements of both Portuguese and British newspapers. These spaces of opinion allow journalists and political pundits to express their views and to interpret current events.³²¹ Furthermore, by making newspaper websites our principal source we also guaranteed a reliance on text as the main source of information, which ties together with our analytical methodology.

The Contributions of Contemporary and Intellectual History

The importance of the historical context in this work is paramount, and something that differentiates it from other studies on media coverage, such as most of the current works on media coverage and the EU.³²² The intention, furthermore, is not to discuss in depth the existence of media bias, the reasons for agenda-setting, or even to reflect on the role of the media in modern

³¹⁹ Markttest, "Sites noticiosos: Correio da Manhã com maior reach", 18 September, 2018, <https://www.markttest.com/wap/a/n/id~241b.aspx>

NetAudience, "Ranking netAudience," 2018, <https://www.meiosepublicidade.pt/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/netaudience-ranking-de-novembro-de-2018.pdf>, 1

³²⁰ OberCom, 'Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism Reuters Digital News Report 2020 Portugal', 2020, https://obercom.pt/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/DNR_PT_2020_19Jun.pdf, 69.

³²¹ Geoffrey Craig, *The Media, Politics and Public Life* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2004), 81. A study on the Portuguese media in the 90s found that amongst the opinion makers writing in the newspaper Público were 3 politicians and 2 journalists who were part of the board of the newspaper. In: Isabel Ferin Cunha, "Nós e os outros nos artigos de opinião da imprensa portuguesa," *Lusotopie* 4, no. 1 (1997): 435–65.

³²² To mention a few particularly relevant to our thesis: Asimina Michailidou, "The Role of the Public in Shaping EU Contestation: Euroscepticism and Online News Media," *International Political Science Review* 36, no. 3 (2015): 324–36, Paul Copeland and Nathaniel Copsey, "Rethinking Britain and the European Union: Politicians, the Media and Public Opinion Reconsidered," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 55, no. 4 (2017): 709–26. Some studies, such as Oliver Daddow's 'The UK media and 'Europe': from permissive consensus to destructive dissent' or the book *Politics and the Mass Media in the UK* by Ralph Negrine offer an historical perspective of their topics, but they do not follow an historical method.

democracies. We consider media texts to be sources of historical significance which, like all historical sources, present a version of events, ideas, and people. The intention is also not to contribute to a discussion about the political underpinnings of the European Union as an institution, but rather to examine how it has been represented in the media between 2004 and 2019 as well as the historical arguments that have been used to sustain the European project.

As Braudel notes “History is a study...of the whole of society, and thus of the past and thus equally of the present, past and present inseparable”.³²³ In the case of this study, the tools provided by history serve to highlight the various causal relations between events while knowing that “a historical phenomenon can never be understood apart from its moment in time”.³²⁴ This means that present phenomena such as Brexit, Euroscepticism, even the process of integration itself cannot be divorced from the past that cemented them. In the same way, the study of the media coverage of the European Union is already a defining process of continuity which is fed by events that modify the discourse. However, the discourse and the events are grounded in a wider, structural context that can only be made clear through the use of historical tools. This was precisely what we attempted to do in chapter 2 and will go on to do in chapter 5.

Historians are in the habit of working with “fragmentary imperfect and intractable evidence”.³²⁵ The centrality of the source for the historian provides tools of analysis that will be particularly useful in this work, especially given that, as long as it is not the immediate present, historians can retrieve conclusions from of all sorts of material. Dumaz writes that “there are huge numbers of newspapers, magazines, television stations, political statements, experts’ announcements and such like providing a permanent record of contemporary events, and in many cases a forum for social comment”.³²⁶ Historians also have to define very clearly the limits of their research and justify why they limited it this or that way, which is what we have attempted to do in the previous section.

A contemporary history approach poses problems, nonetheless. The most commonly referenced concerns the lack of distance from the object of study which in turn influences the historian’s

³²³ Fernand Braudel, *On History*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 69.

³²⁴ Marc Bloch, *Historian’s Craft* (New York: Vintage, 1953), 35.

³²⁵ Saime Durmaz, “On the Possibility of Writing Contemporary History,” *Sosya Bilimler* 2, no. 1 (2012): 115.

³²⁶ Durmaz, ‘On the Possibility of Writing Contemporary History’ 114.

objectivity.³²⁷ Although the concept of objectivity in history is debatable,³²⁸ this is a question that is seldom put to other social scientists such as sociologists or anthropologists who work in much closer proximity to their object. All history is contemporary history in the sense that “it is written by men and women, now, to communicate ideas and understanding to make honest judgements about events, people and societies that have some purchase on the conduct of life for modern audiences”.³²⁹

A more serious charge is the notion that the contemporary historian has a limited perspective as they “can only be aware of consequences and results of the events he has studied, to a very limited degree”.³³⁰ This objection can be reasonably applied to the present study. The events of the recent past carry consequences for the present and future that cannot be guessed. However, our analysis does not intend to make predictions about the future. As has been mentioned, our view is that the events of the last 15 years can be approached from a historical point of view because they are, necessarily, a consequence of different historical dynamics and of a historical context, in this case, a post World War II and post-Cold War Europe. Moreover, when looking at the history of certain ideas as we will be doing, we witness the existence of patterns of meanings that can only be explained by the historical context within which they emerged. As such, contemporary history and intellectual history will provide particularly useful frameworks for this study: the first because it helps to clarify the structures of the contemporary world; and the latter because it concerns the emergence, spread and appropriation of ideas in history.

Indeed, the contributions of the historical method are vital because this thesis aims to explore not only the historical underpinnings of European integration (which serve as a medium-term historical context for the events, places, people, concepts, and institutions mentioned in our corpus), but also how the historical construction of the idea of Europe and the historical events and characters associated with ideas of Europe and the European Union are approached in the media: “Understanding the rhetoric of newspaper articles pertaining to history is a form of historical research. These newspaper articles are sources rather than facts and represent the dominant

³²⁷ Durmaz, ‘On the Possibility of Writing Contemporary History, 110.

³²⁸ Behan McCullagh. *The Truth of History* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 13-16.

³²⁹ Justin Champion, “What Are Historians For?,” *Historical Research* 81, no. 211 (May, 2007): 169.

³³⁰ Dumaz, ‘On the possibility...’ 110.

ideology and current social cultural contexts of the time when they were written”,³³¹ which is precisely how we contextualise our sources.

In this sense, practices of intellectual history as established by German historian Reinhart Koselleck will be particularly helpful, due to his reflections on the nature of historical time and how history has been interpreted and utilised.

Koselleck argues that “modernity”, a time we still live in and have lived in since the 18th century, contains within itself an awareness of the past and the future. Modernity introduced the idea of progressive time, of a delimited past, and a future ahead.³³² This progress carried with it the idea that the past and the future were bound together, but without the repetitive, cyclical element of the Mediaeval period, the future ceased to be a “natural space of time and experience”, and provoked instead “new, transnatural, prognoses”,³³³ which Koselleck defined as a “conscious element of political action.”³³⁴ In other words, the future became unpredictable, time accelerated and “history abbreviated the space of experiences, (...) and continually brought into play new, unknown factors, so that even the actuality or complexity of these unknown quantities could not be ascertained.”³³⁵

More importantly for our thesis, Koselleck argues that in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, History was seen as, in Cicero’s phrase, the “teacher of life”, a topos which was replicated by many statesmen and thinkers throughout History. However, from the French Revolution onwards, it was no longer History as a written account – sieved and interpreted by an interpreter – that was *magistra vitae*, but “history itself”, which emerges “purified”, and becomes, particularly from the French Revolution on, a “subject furnished with divine epithets of omnipotence, universal justice and sanctity”. It becomes, in Hegel’s understanding, “a driving force”.³³⁶

In this process of universalization and unity, other concepts underwent the same transformation. “Freedoms” became “freedom”, “progresses” became “Progress” - ³³⁷ progress towards a Utopian future, what Koselleck calls a “concept of historical hope”. Since the acceleration of historical time

³³¹ Faye Sayer, *Public History: A Practical Guide* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), chap. 4, kindle.

³³² Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 16-17.

³³³ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 22.

³³⁴ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 19.

³³⁵ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 22.

³³⁶ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 33.

³³⁷ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 35.

made it difficult to predict the future based on the past, “historical instruction enters political life once again via the back door of programs of action legitimated in terms of historical philosophy”. That is, the acceleration and deceleration of History is integrated in historical discourse to define what the future is going to be.³³⁸

What emerges in our sources is not this idea of History as a set of writings and individual examples that could teach the present something, but as a unitarian and universal motion of events, walking in one direction. The events that appear frequently in our dataset, such as the World Wars or the Portuguese Revolution, are often depicted by several actors, be they journalists, columnists or politicians, as being elements of this powerful force that ushered individual countries as well as the European Continent into the present and the future. They are evaluated often by their consequences and feed into the idea that the world or the country created from them is a better one.

The Dataset

As mentioned, we have scraped eight newspapers, four of them in English and four in Portuguese. After cleaning the data, we arrived at a total of 60,705 articles published between 2004 and 2019. These articles were gathered on the basis that they should all have the keyword “European Union” as part of their text (this will be further explained in section 4). This number is considerable, particularly when compared to similar studies. Analysing only the year 2015 across four newspapers, Mellado et al., worked with 1141 news items,³³⁹ whereas our English corpus for 2015 contains 2278 news articles. Brosius et al., with a study on EU articles based on 10 newspapers across several European languages from 2004 to 2015, amassed a total of 53,378 articles.³⁴⁰

³³⁸ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 41.

³³⁹ Mellado et al., “Do Digital Platforms Really Make a Difference in Content?,” 8.

³⁴⁰ Anna Brosius, Erika J van Elsas, and Claes H de Vreese, “Trust in the European Union: Effects of the Information Environment,” *European Journal of Communication* 34, no. 1 (February, 2019): 57–73.

Sources	Number of articles
The Guardian	15,692
Daily Telegraph	5,968
Daily Mail	4,877
Daily Mirror	6,976
Correio da Manhã	19,436
Público	4,407
Expresso	1,996
Jornal de Notícias	1,353
Total	60,705

Table 1 – Numbers of the dataset by newspaper.

As seen in Table 1, the distribution of the articles retrieved is significantly uneven. In general, English newspapers have rendered more articles, but the newspaper which gave us the highest number of articles is Correio da Manhã.

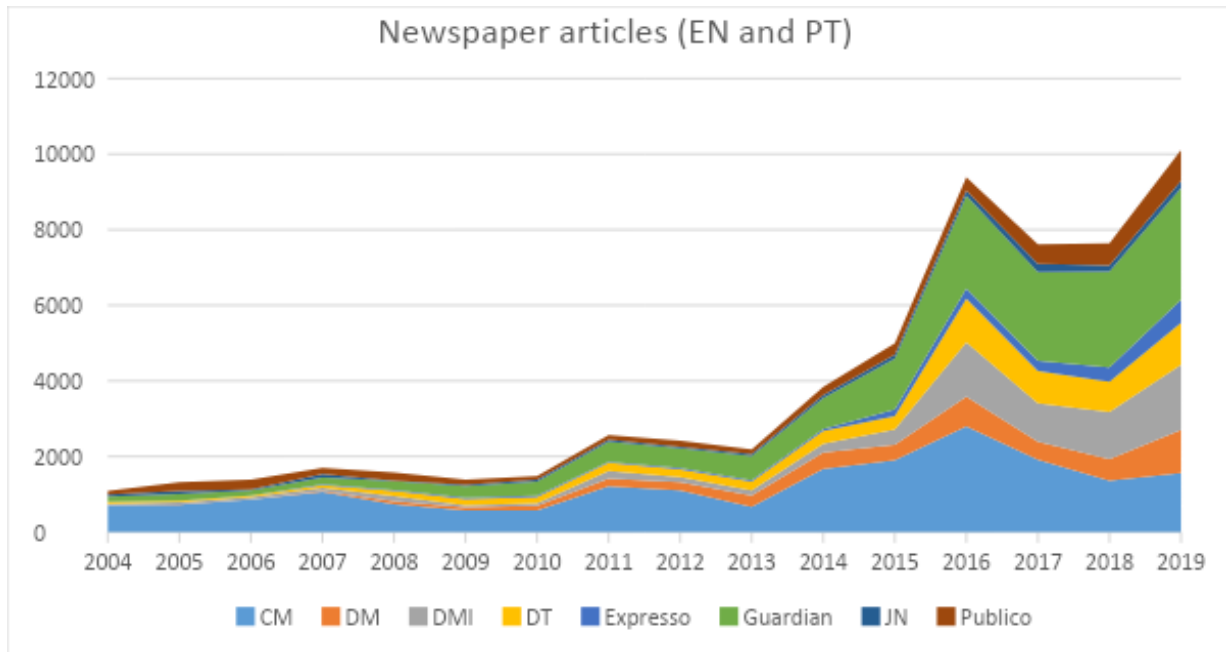


Figure 1. Newspaper articles (English and Portuguese). All files are text files. CM refers to Correio da Manhã, DM to Daily Mail, DMI to Daily Mirror, DT to Daily Telegraph and JN to Jornal de Noticias.

Additionally, these numbers are not equally distributed across time. A comparison of the newspapers with the highest and the lowest number of articles in each language will show great disparities in the time frame (Figure 1). The explanation for these numbers lies in the methods used to retrieve the information present online and in the structure and availability of online newspapers. The figures cannot be used to gauge the prominence of the coverage of European affairs in these newspapers. Some hypotheses can, however, be reasonably advanced within the newspapers individually. 2016 is a noteworthy year in basically all newspapers as it represents a peak when compared to previous years. 2016 was the year of the Brexit referendum, so more articles related to the EU would have been written. However, this does not explain the rise in the number of articles

in 2019. The reason for this lies in our methodology: we primarily used the Google search engine to scrape the articles from these newspapers, and it is not made to archive, keep or even privilege historical data. It works by crawling, indexing, and ranking the data. According to Google itself the act of indexing is made by taking note of “key signals – from keywords to website freshness – and we keep track of it all in the Search index.”³⁴¹ Furthermore, Google assumes that the majority of people using their search engine are looking for recent results and the engine is geared towards providing the most recent events when the date is not specified.³⁴² Precisely because Google is in constant update, with the flow of news and events every hour of the day, it is very difficult to know what happens to older data. Although there is a recognition that older data can still be useful, crawling and indexing older pages is not a priority.³⁴³

The Scraping: The English Newspapers

This research is based on the existence of keywords in the text.³⁴⁴ We have chosen one main set of keywords related to the European Union, which will be the object both of quantitative analysis and close reading. The choice to focus on keywords was motivated by the recognition that the system of tagging and categorization within the newspapers themselves was somewhat lacking.

³⁴¹ "How Search organises information", Google, accessed 19 August, 2021,

<https://www.google.com/search/howsearchworks/crawling-indexing/>

³⁴² Amit Singhal, “Giving You Fresher, More Recent Search Results,” *Inside Search* (blog), March 11, 2011, <https://search.googleblog.com/2011/11/giving-you-fresher-more-recent-search.html>.

³⁴³ Singhal, “Giving You Fresher, More Recent Search Results.”

³⁴⁴ Similar approaches based on keywords and search terms were used by Caroline de la Porte and Arjen Van Dalen, “Europeanization of National Public Spheres? Cross-National Media Debates about the European Union’s Socio-Economic Strategy,” *European Politics and Society* 17, no. 3 (July, 2016): 279–293, by Anna Brosius, Erika J van Elsas, and Claes H de Vreese, “Trust in the European Union: Effects of the Information Environment,” *European Journal of Communication* 34, no. 1 (February, 2019): 57–73, by Christiane Barth and Patrick Bijsmans, “The Maastricht Treaty and Public Debates about European Integration: The Emergence of a European Public Sphere?,” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 26, no. 2 (April, 2018): 215–31, and by Rita Himmel and Maria Manuel Baptista, “Migrants, Refugees and Othering: Constructing Europeanness. An Exploration of Portuguese and German Media,” *Comunicação e Sociedade*, no. 38 (December, 2020): 179–200. This last article uses Google search engine for keyword selection.

In the first place, tagging systems are relatively recent. The Daily Telegraph only started including tags for its articles from 2016 onwards.³⁴⁵ It is worth pointing out that the Daily Telegraph gives the user the option to search by keyword, but this search is powered by Google search engine and within the website it does not render more than 10 pages of results. Noteworthy, too, is the fact that the Daily Telegraph used to have an archive page, with all the years, months and days and the respective news published from 2000 to 2020. However, in late 2020 this page disappeared from the website, and is now only viewable in Web Archives.³⁴⁶ This example illustrates well some of the difficulties with finding and retrieving web data.

From the English newspapers, The Guardian is the one that has a more complete tagging system. Their European Union tag runs up to 1900 pages, with articles going as far back as 2002.³⁴⁷ However, complete as it is, even this tagging system has flaws. The Google search rendered articles that failed to show the tag “European Union”, but did mention the European Union in the body of text (likely because the tagging system recognizes only the main topics in the text). For example, a series of articles on the conflict between Kosovo and Serbia from 2008 all mention the European Union, but the tag of the article is simply “Europe”.³⁴⁸

The Daily Mail does not have a tagging system although it does have an “archive” containing all the articles published per month and day. Initially, we began scraping all these articles. Doing this, however, soon proved very time consuming as it was necessary to scrape virtually every piece of news the Daily Mail had published online from 2004 to 2019.

Finally, the Daily Mirror finds itself in a similar situation to the Guardian, with a European Union tag applied to 411 pages,³⁴⁹ containing articles from 2002 to the present day. Considering the

³⁴⁵ “European Union,” The Daily Telegraph, Accessed 22 November, 2022, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/european-union/page-255/>. (as of November 2022).

³⁴⁶ “News Archive - News, Sport and Travel Archive - Telegraph,” 1 May, 2020, Accessed 22 November, 2022, <https://web.archive.org/web/20200501045341/https://www.telegraph.co.uk/archive/>.

³⁴⁷ As of July 2021.

³⁴⁸ Mark Tran, "Serb protesters attack Kosovan outposts", *The Guardian*, 19 February, 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/feb/19/kosovo.serbia2>

Mark Tran, "Police in standoff with Serb demonstrators over Kosovo", *The Guardian*, 22 February, 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/feb/22/kosovo.serbia> . And Peter Beaumont, "Kosovo border secured as

Serbs turn up heat", *The Guardian*, 21 February, 2008,

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/feb/21/kosovo.serbia>

³⁴⁹ As of July 2021.

modest results rendered by the Google search when it comes to the Daily Mirror, this is the only English newspaper which we scraped using the HTML of the website itself.³⁵⁰

The Portuguese Newspapers

Within the Portuguese newspapers the situation is slightly different. Público allows you to search for terms on its website and set a date limit. However, we verified that Google search rendered many more results than the website's inbuilt system. For example, in 2004, the website search generated only 13 articles mentioning the term "União Europeia",³⁵¹ whereas with Google for the same date, we managed to scrape 91. In 2005, the website search rendered 30 articles,³⁵² whereas we scraped 226 with Google. Público's website allows users to search for the tag União Europeia. However, it only renders consistent results when it comes to more recent dates, and it is not possible to access older articles.³⁵³ For these reasons, we chose to use Google.

The Expresso website also presents problems. Its category system is generalised, divided into Política (politics), Economia (Economics) and Internacional (International), so it does not have a specific "União Europeia" category. Expresso has an inbuilt search engine, which allows for free text search, but which is presented through endless scrolling. Scraping these articles with endless scrolling proved a very complex task, as there is no limit to be set and no way to define when it should begin or end. Any errors resulted in having to begin the scraping anew.

Jornal de Notícias offers a categorization per topic. However, when selecting a specific topic, such as União Europeia, we face the same problem we had with Expresso – a list of articles displayed

³⁵⁰ Using Google Advanced Search, we verified that the results rendered from 2004 to 2010 in the Daily Mirror amounted only to 10 entries.

³⁵¹ "Pesquisa," Público, accessed 28 November 28, 2022, <https://www.publico.pt/pesquisa?query=uniao%20europeia&start=01-01-2004&end=31-12-2004§ion=uniao%20europeia>. (One of the Articles is repeated)

³⁵² "Pesquisa," Público, accessed 28 November, 2022 <https://www.publico.pt/pesquisa?query=uniao%20europeia&start=01-01-2005&end=31-12-2005§ion=uniao%20europeia>.

³⁵³ "União Europeia | 815," Público, accessed 28 November, 2022 <https://www.publico.pt/uniao-europeia?page=815>. Page 815 as of November 2022.

by endless scroll, with no way to set a date limit on the website.³⁵⁴Jornal de Notícias also has a search engine on its website, which is powered by Google. We concluded that the only way to access older news items published by Jornal de Notícias is by using Google search or exploring content held in a Web Archive.

Correio da Manhã was the only newspaper which was scraped using the HTML of the website and the tools it offered. With a functioning search engine built into the website, which allows keyword search and date limits, code was developed to search for keywords within the timeframes we wanted, rendering a list of yearly URLs, which we then manually divided into months.

It is obvious from our experience that newspapers websites are not archives. They privilege more recent articles and often do not have the tools needed to access subsets of their data, as they offer limited topical or chronological delimitations. This is why there is no collecting method that fits all websites and we have had to adapt our approach.

The Process of Data Gathering

When it comes to the process of gathering and analysing data, we attempted to develop a method that, as mentioned in the Introduction, would be easily reproducible and understandable to historians and other humanists and social scientists who are not DH specialists. Whenever possible, we used tools that were already available, such as Python libraries like Newspaper 3K which allowed us to easily retrieve clean text from the article URLs. In this sense, the use of Google was also important, as it is a tool that even in its advanced search form is very familiar.

Google scraping proved very convenient because the code we utilised allowed us to make full use of the Google Advanced Search functions, and thus we were able to select specific keywords and timeframes as well as searching within certain domains, such as those belonging to the newspapers. With some newspapers, such as Daily Telegraph, Jornal de Notícias, Expresso and Público we did not have much of a choice other than using Google because scraping using the HTML of the websites or the search features they offered, either through search engines, or through tagging and

³⁵⁴ “uniao-europeia,” Jornal de Notícias, accessed 28 November, 2022, <https://www.jn.pt/tag/uniao-europeia.html/>.

category systems, was simply not possible. With The Guardian and the Daily Mail, using the functionalities offered by the website was possible, but we chose not to do it for the reasons mentioned above. Additionally, Google timespans are very accurate as the manual checks made on our data confirmed. This proved useful because, as will be shortly seen, on some occasions we were unable to scrape the date.

The first, most time-consuming step was the scraping of the data. To do this, we used the python programming language and Jupyter Notebooks. We began by using code that allowed us to scrape from Google. This was done without a Google account, from a browser in the United Kingdom. This is relevant only insofar as the results presented on Google search engine depend on geography and language.³⁵⁵ However, because we were scraping all the results in a chronological fashion, we believe that the ranking of Google search engine did not have a particular impact on the research.

As seen in Appendix 1,³⁵⁶ we used a Python library, googlesearch, which allowed us to make use of the advanced functions of Google search to define parameters, such as time frame, keywords and domain name.³⁵⁷ This information was scraped monthly from January 2004 to December 2019. As previously mentioned, the exceptions were Correio da Manhã and the Daily Mirror for which the code we employed made use of the search engine functionalities offered by the websites.³⁵⁸ We also used the sleep function from the Time Library, which allowed the specification of a number of seconds between each URL scraped, as when time limits were not set, the code would often break.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁵ Andrea Ballatore, Mark Graham, and Shilad Sen, “Digital Hegemonies: The Localness of Search Engine Results,” *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 107, no. 5 (September, 2017): 1194–1215. Search results also depend on the richness of content published in different languages and domains.

³⁵⁶ Appendix 1 - The Guardian Scraping. Bear in mind that all the Jupyter Notebooks are kept inside the file directory named “Python Jupyter Notebooks”. Furthermore, each newspaper has its scraping notebook (as well as its own cleaning notebook), but the code is largely the same (except in the case of the Daily Mirror and Correio da Manhã). We also published those notebooks where the code varies.

³⁵⁷ Nishant Vikramaditya, “Googlesearch-Python: A Python Library for Scraping the Google Search Engine,” pypi.org, accessed 3 December 2022, <https://github.com/Nv7-GitHub/googlesearch>.

³⁵⁸ The notebooks can be seen in Appendix 2 - Correio da Manhã Scraping and Appendix 3 - Daily Mirror Scraping.

³⁵⁹ “Time — Time Access and Conversions,” Python documentation, accessed 3 December, 2022, <https://docs.python.org/3/library/time.html>.

In the case of Correio da Manhã, because we were scraping directly from the website, we used Python module Regular expressions,³⁶⁰ and the libraries Requests³⁶¹ and BeautifulSoup³⁶². Regular expressions allowed us to control the parameters of the search (search words, timeframe) from the Jupyter Notebooks to automate the process; Requests allowed us to make requests to a web page, for example to tell it to open or close; BeautifulSoup allowed us to select which part of the HTML code we want to scrape. This process enabled the code to open the search page results, identify the part of the HTML code containing the URLs of the articles (usually, there were 10 articles/URLs per page), collect them and then move on to the next page. After we got a list of those URLs, we used Newspaper 3K to extract only the text of the article.³⁶³ However, in this case, scraping per month led to results from previous or subsequent months being included, thus often repeating the URLs we collected. As such, we had to adjust our method and we scraped the data yearly instead. The text file with the URLs that was produced was then manually divided into months.³⁶⁴

With the Daily Mirror, we also used regular expressions, Requests and BeautifulSoup to define the pages the articles were in and to scrape them. In the Daily Mirror website, the tag European Union was organised chronologically and by pages, so it was a matter of finding the pages matching the temporal interval we wanted. We scraped the URLs using a method similar to that developed for Correio da Manhã.

The result of the scraping was a list of URLs contained inside text files.³⁶⁵ After this stage, and after making sure that all the URLs were divided per year and month, we retrieved the title, the

³⁶⁰ “Re — Regular Expression Operations,” Python documentation, accessed 3 December, 2022, <https://docs.python.org/3/library/re.html>.

³⁶¹ “Requests: HTTP for Humans™ — Requests 2.31.0 Documentation,” Requests, accessed 3 December, 2022, <https://requests.readthedocs.io/en/latest/>.

³⁶² “Beautiful Soup Documentation — BeautifulSoup 4.4.0 Documentation,” BeautifulSoup-4, accessed 3 December, 2022, <https://beautiful-soup-4.readthedocs.io/en/latest/>.

³⁶³ Appendix 1 - The Guardian Scraping.

³⁶⁴ This strategy turned out to be unnecessary, because we eventually realised that the data was going to be analysed yearly, and the months were not especially important. When we scraped the Daily Mirror and the early years of Jornal de Notícias the data was organised yearly and remained so.

³⁶⁵ All the URLs scraped can be found organised in Appendix 12 - Complete URLs Dataset. This is a file directory, organized according to the newspapers, years and months, containing the URL to each article.

text and the date inside each article.³⁶⁶ We achieved this by using a Python library, Newspaper3k, whose purpose is the retrieval of information from news websites, such as title, body of text, date, author, etc.³⁶⁷ This library was crucial because it retrieved only the information we wanted, thus producing text files that were clean and free from additional HTML code.³⁶⁸

The main difficulty in the scraping and retrieval of text was posed by the paywalls, which required the payment of a fee and a login. Out of the 8 newspapers under analysis, 3 (Público, Expresso and Daily Telegraph) could not be accessed freely. The problem here was how to automate the process. To log in manually and expect the code to recognize the login was not enough. Therefore, a connection between Newspaper3k and the automatic login had to be made. This was achieved through using the Selenium library as a first stage.³⁶⁹ This is a library that allowed us to automate the process of logging in, by taking control over the browser using a Python script, and inserting the necessary credentials (email, password).³⁷⁰ When we employed Selenium, however, we discovered that using Newspaper3k still did not retrieve the full HTML of the body of text (which was hidden by the paywall before the use of Selenium). Because of this, we used BeautifulSoup to select the HTML within the article. It is worth noting that it is possible to perform some of these actions manually once the web browser is controlled remotely. For instance, it is possible to click the login button ourselves and manually type the email and password.

There was one exception to this method of scraping. Because we were unable to find any information online for Jornal de Notícias from 2004 to 2008, either through their website or on Google, we used Arquivo.pt, the Portuguese web archive. Arquivo.pt contains a search engine which allows for searching of their repository (we searched for the term “União Europeia” within the website we wanted, www.jn.sapo.pt, in this case). Arquivo.pt also allows users to download a CSV file containing URLs for the text versions of each entry (which in this case corresponded to articles from these years). A problem we noticed at this stage was that some of the URLs

³⁶⁶ The exception to this was the Daily Mirror, which was the last newspaper to be scraped. By then, we had realised that the division per months was not very useful, as our analysis was going to be based on the years.

³⁶⁷“Newspaper3k: Article Scraping & Curation — Newspaper 0.0.2 Documentation,” Newspaper3k, accessed 3 December, 2022, <https://newspaper.readthedocs.io/en/latest/>.

³⁶⁸ To better understand this process, we include a pipeline of the process we used to retrieve, clean and analyse our data. This can be found in Table 2 as Appendix 16 – Table of Process.

³⁶⁹ “WebDriver,” Selenium, accessed 3 December, 2022, <https://www.selenium.dev/documentation/webdriver/>. The notebook using Selenium can be found in Appendix 4 – Daily Telegraph Scraping.

³⁷⁰ The browser used in this case was Google Chrome.

categorised by the search engine as belonging to a certain year actually were from a year before or after. We manually corrected this error by transferring links to different files. These links were compiled into yearly text files and scraped using BeautifulSoup.³⁷¹

A reason why much of the information from 2004 to 2008 was missing from Google is that Jornal de Noticias had two domains throughout most of the early 2000s: www.jn.sapo.pt and www.jn.pt. Both these versions in Arquivo.pt take us to the same webpage. However, from 2004 to 2007, www.jn.sapo.pt is the one with the most captures, whereas www.jn.pt has more captures from 2010.³⁷² This latter version is also the current online version and the former is unavailable online, as it redirects to another website.

We faced a similar problem with Expresso, which was also hosted on two different domains: www.expresso.clix.pt and www.expresso.pt. The latter is still online, but the former is unavailable. Unfortunately, neither Google search nor Arquivo.pt presented relevant results for the term “União Europeia” from 2004 to 2007. From 2007, they began to appear on Google and we used Google to scrape it. The term “União Europeia” does appear in the Portuguese web archive under www.expresso.clix.pt, but many of the results are repetitions and there are few unique articles.³⁷³

The other problem with using Arquivo.pt is that the text file rendered from scraping the links contains parts of HTML which we were unable to delete because they are part of the text itself, such as the name of the newspaper directors, the HTML of social media plug-ins and instructions for how to print the articles. We solved this problem in a later stage, when we curated the N-Grams lists, by manually deleting references to the directors and the social media plug-ins.

³⁷¹ Appendix 5 – JN Arquivo.pt Scraping.

³⁷² “Arquivo.pt: versões da página www.jn.pt,” Arquivo.pt, accessed 5 December 2022, https://arquivo.pt/url/search?q=www.jn.pt&l=pt&from=19910806&to=20221116&trackingId=b8c272ca637e0c65e4d8_c926d52ece9ed53660d5&adv_and=www.jn.pt. “Arquivo.pt: versões da página jn.sapo.pt,” Arquivo.pt, accessed 5 December 2022, https://arquivo.pt/url/search?q=jn.sapo.pt&l=pt&from=19910806&to=20221116&trackingId=b8c272ca637e0c65e4d8_83547973c22a5d44acd2&adv_and=jn.sapo.pt.

³⁷³ “Resultados da pesquisa: união europeia site:<http://expresso.clix.pt/>,” Arquivo.pt, accessed 5 December 2022, https://arquivo.pt/page/search?from=20070101&to=20071231&siteSearch=http%3A%2F%2Fexpresso.clix.pt%2F&maxItems=500&trackingId=b8c272ca637e0c65e4d8_e36edba2b3ff1650c933&q=uni%C3%A3o+europeia+site%3Ahttp%3A%2F%2Fexpresso.clix.pt%2F&adv_and=uni%C3%A3o+europeia&offset=0.

The final result of the scraping was a list of articles, each article corresponding to one text file, organised yearly and in all cases except the Daily Mirror also by months.

Data Cleaning

With the data retrieved, it was necessary to clean it. Because the data had already been collected by selecting specific parameters (such as the keywords and the dates) and because Newspaper3k guaranteed it only contained what we wanted, free from HTML clutter, the main concern was to make sure that all the articles contained at least one following of the keywords: European Union, EU, European Commission, European Community and their counterparts in Portuguese (União Europeia, UE, Comissão Europeia, Comunidade Europeia). It is true that to scrape the articles we used the keywords “European Union/União Europeia”, so in principle all the articles scraped contained these keywords. However, we decided to include all these other words at this stage of the process to guarantee that the body of the text contained references to the European Union, as it is possible that the keyword “European Union” might have been caught in the Google Search through an article tag (which would not appear in the body of the text that was scraped). The code we used also allowed us to single out the word “EU/UE” as an independent word, and not as part of other words.³⁷⁴ To do this cleaning, we used the Pandas library,³⁷⁵ which allows for the structuring and manipulation of data, to run through all the articles and exclude those that did not have the mentioned keywords, as we realised that, particularly with the Google search, several articles were scraped that did not include the term European Union or União Europeia in the body of text.

Another form of cleaning was introduced by using Microsoft folders and directories themselves. In the process of creating copies of folders containing the text files themselves, the windows directory automatically detects some repeated files inside the directory. To detect repeated files,

³⁷⁴ This code can be found in Appendix 6 - The Guardian Data Cleaning.

³⁷⁵ “Getting Started — Pandas 2.2.0 Documentation,” Pandas, accessed 3 December, 2022, https://pandas.pydata.org/docs/getting_started/index.html.

we also used the open-source software SearchMyFiles³⁷⁶ which allowed us to go into the folders and search for duplicate files based on their title and size.

A problem which was only detected at a later stage is that the Daily Mail and the Daily Mirror frequently had repeated sentences in the beginning of the text file, either a repeated title, a repeated first sentence or a summary of the article which was the same as the article's first sentence (see examples on Figure 2 and 3). This is a problem because if there are too many repeated sentences in the dataset, this portrays a false image of the number of Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams, especially in the years where there are fewer articles.

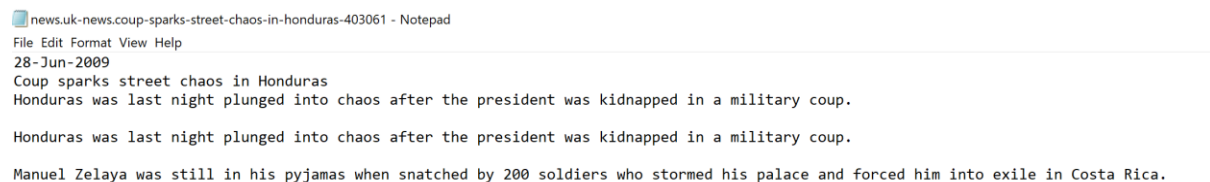


Figure 2. Text repetition in the Daily Mirror.

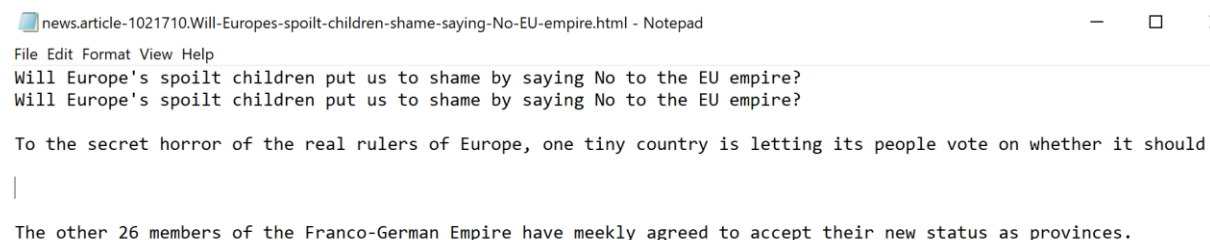


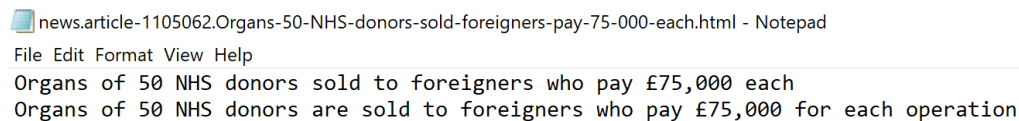
Figure 3. Text repetition in the Daily Mail.

In figure 2, if we check the online version of the newspaper (Daily Mirror) we see that the repeated words are repeated in the body of text.³⁷⁷ However, in figure 3 (from a Daily Mail article) the

³⁷⁶ "SearchMyFiles," Softonic, accessed 3 December, 2022, <https://searchmyfiles.en.softonic.com>.

³⁷⁷ Patrick Mulchrone, "Coup Sparks Street Chaos in Honduras," *Daily Mirror*, 29 June, 2009, <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/coup-sparks-street-chaos-in-honduras-403061>.

repeated title is not reflected in the article itself³⁷⁸ but only in our text file, which led us to believe that this was a repetition present in the HTML of the page. We built code in order to fix this, using glob library (to locate the files in our directories),³⁷⁹ tqdm library,³⁸⁰ which iterates through the whole dataset and allowed us to select only the first 7 lines in each text file, and the methods readlines³⁸¹ and writelines³⁸² which allows the code to go into each file, read the lines, recognize the repetitions and deduplicate the repeated lines.³⁸³



The screenshot shows a Notepad window with the following text:
news.article-1105062.Organs-50-NHS-donors-sold-foreigners-pay-75-000-each.html - Notepad
File Edit Format View Help
Organs of 50 NHS donors sold to foreigners who pay £75,000 each
Organs of 50 NHS donors are sold to foreigners who pay £75,000 for each operation

Figure 4. Text repetition in the Daily Mail.

Some articles, especially in the Daily Mail, had a very similar title (figure 4). However, if we compare them to the respective articles online³⁸⁴, we see that only one of the titles (the first) was used. We assume that the titles were corrected after the article was published, but the old version is still present in the HTML of the page. These lines were not deleted, not only because the coding involved would have been much harder to put together, but most importantly, we consider them important information that although outside the scope of our research, can be explored in further research, as they give a glimpse into the editing methods of online newspapers.

³⁷⁸ Peter Hitchens, “Will Europe’s Spoilt Children Put Us to Shame by Saying No to the EU Empire?,” *Daily Mail*, 24 May, 2008, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1021710/Will-Europes-spoilt-children-shame-saying-No-EU-empire.html>.

³⁷⁹ “Glob — Unix Style Pathname Pattern Expansion,” Python documentation, accessed 6 December 2022, <https://docs.python.org/3/library/glob.html>.

³⁸⁰ “Tqdm: Fast, Extensible Progress Meter,” pypi.org, accessed 6 December 2022, <https://pypi.org/project/tqdm/>.

³⁸¹ “Python File Readlines() Method,” W3Schools, accessed 6 December 2022, https://www.w3schools.com/python/ref_file_readlines.asp.

³⁸² “Python File Readlines() Method.”

³⁸³ This code can be found in Appendix 7 - Repeated Lines Solution.

³⁸⁴ Martin Delgado, “How ‘crazy’ New Health and Safety Rules on Ladders Could Add £1,000 to Repairs on Your Home,” *Daily Mail*, 30 August, 2008, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1050933/How-crazy-new-Health-Safety-rules-ladders-repairs-homes.html> and Daniel Martin, “Organs of 50 NHS Donors Sold to Foreigners Who Pay £75,000 Each,” *Daily Mail*, 5 January, 2009, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1105062/Organs-50-NHS-donors-sold-foreigners-pay-75-000-each.html>.

A final cleaning problem was the question of dates. In some cases, such as in *Correio da Manhã* and some articles in the *Daily Telegraph* and *Expresso*, Newspaper3k did not scrape the date. As mentioned previously, using Google Advanced Search fixed this issue, as Google's timestamps are generally correct. With *Correio da Manhã* (for which we did not use Google) heavy manual checking was involved. First because we scraped the articles yearly instead of monthly, and in a first stage we inserted the articles into their monthly folder, which involved going through the list of yearly URLs and opening several of them to pinpoint their exact date. After this was done, we did regular date checks, opening the URLs in the browser to see if they matched the year we had assigned them to.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Topic Modelling

Topic Modelling was the first step in data analysis.³⁸⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 1, we made use of Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) to select five topics within the corpus.³⁸⁶ The first step was the creation of an SQLite database, containing all the data scraped. This data followed the organisation with which it had been scraped: divided into newspapers and years. We then used NLTK³⁸⁷ to tokenize and stem the words, as well as to create stopwords – that is, words that often occur in the text such as articles, adjectives, pronouns, etc. but which take us away from identifying the topics, concepts and people the text is talking about, as these are nouns. We then used Pandas to dip into the data contained in the SQLite database in order to select the newspapers and the years we wanted to perform Topic Modelling on. Finally, we also used pyLDavis to visualise the Topics and the most relevant terms for each topic. PyLDavis is a library which translates the results of the

³⁸⁵ The code for the Topic Modelling can be found in Appendix 8 – Topic Modelling.

³⁸⁶ We offered an explanation of LDA in chapter 1.

³⁸⁷ “NLTK: Natural Language Toolkit,” NLTK, accessed 10 December 2022, <https://www.nltk.org/>.

application of LDA into a visualisation, which makes it easier for the user to view and interpret the results.³⁸⁸

Initially, because the intention was to focus the research on the European elections, we chose to analyse the 4 years of the past 15 in which there were European elections (2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019). We ultimately decided to concentrate on how the European Union was approached by the media in the span of those 15 years, but the Topic Modelling testing that was done for these four years revealed the fragilities of using Topic Modelling.

We see in figures 5, 6 and 7 the 5 topics provided for the Guardian in 2019 and the visualisation of some of the topics, which shows the top 30 most relevant terms.

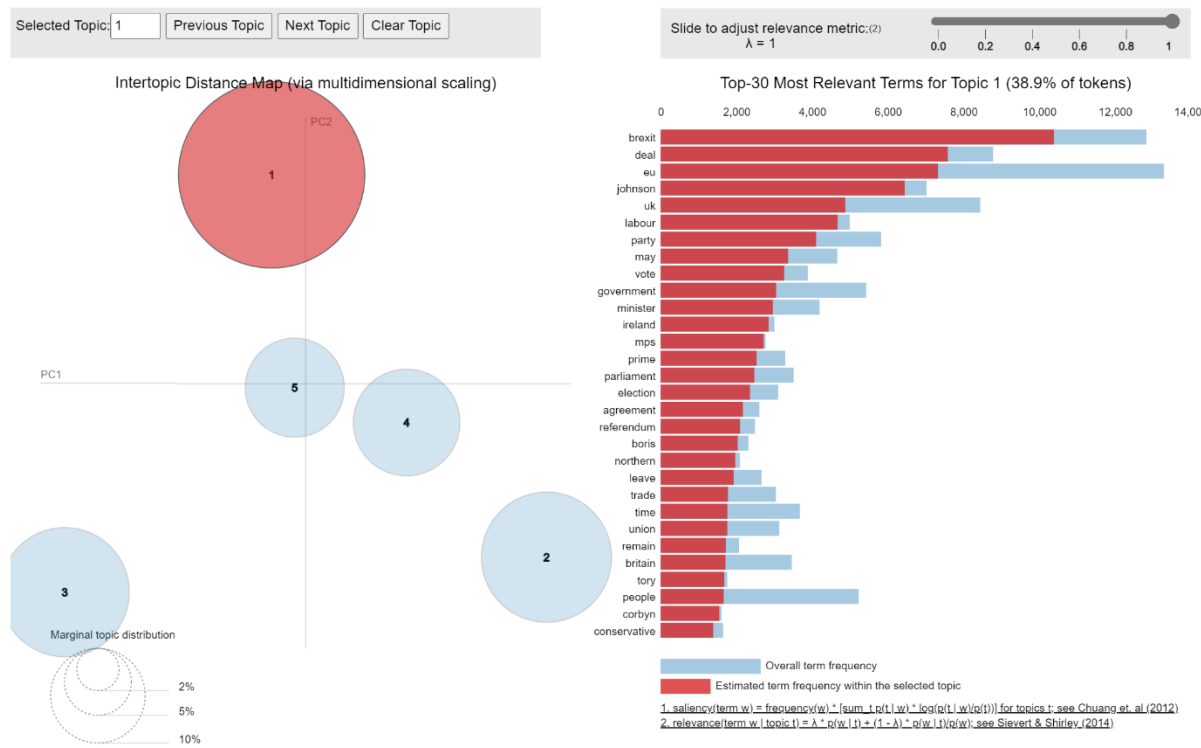


Figure 5. Topic 1 in The Guardian Topic Modelling (2019).³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ “pyLDAvis · PyPI,” pypi.org, accessed 10 December 2022, <https://pypi.org/project/pyLDAvis/>.

³⁸⁹ The mapping on this figure is how Topic modelling topics are presented using pyLDAvis visualisations. The larger the circles, the more relevant the topic in the dataset. By clicking on each circle, we can see the most relevant words that were grouped to make the topic.

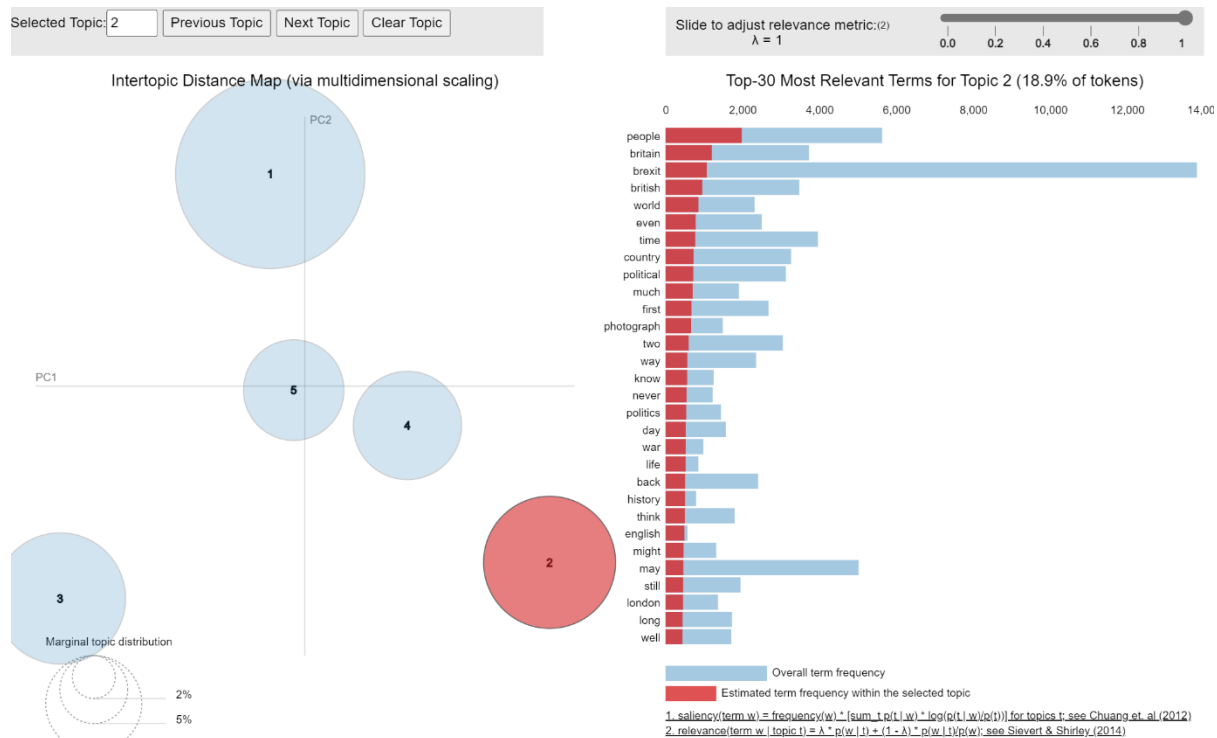


Figure 6. Topic 2 in The Guardian Topic Modelling (2019)

If we then look at the biggest topic and its most relevant terms (figure 5), we see that it is dominated by Brexit, by references to UK government and parliamentary system. However, looking at figure 6, the most relevant terms are not as coherent. “Trump” and “president” are mentioned, but so is “Brexit” and “Britain” as well as “war”. Because certain terms are repeated in the different clusters - “eu”, “uk”, “Brexit”, “people” - it becomes quite difficult to understand the coherence of the algorithmically generated topics.³⁹⁰

³⁹⁰ Issues with finding coherent topics in topic modelling have been explored in the literature. See Anne Lauscher et al., “Entities as Topic Labels: Combining Entity Linking and Labeled LDA to Improve Topic Interpretability and Evaluability,” *Italian Journal of Computational Linguistics* 2, no. 2 (December, 2016): 67–87. Also Gavin Brookes and Tony McEnery, “The Utility of Topic Modelling for Discourse Studies: A Critical Evaluation,” *Discourse Studies* 21, no. 1 (February, 2019): 3–21. See also: Bokyong Shin, “Residents' Voices on Proposals: Analysing a Participatory Budgeting Project in Seoul using Topic Modelling” in Noella Edelmann et al., *Electronic Participation: 15th IFIP WG 8.5 International Conference, ePart 2023, Budapest, Hungary, September 5–7, 2023, Proceedings* (Springer Nature, 2023), 61

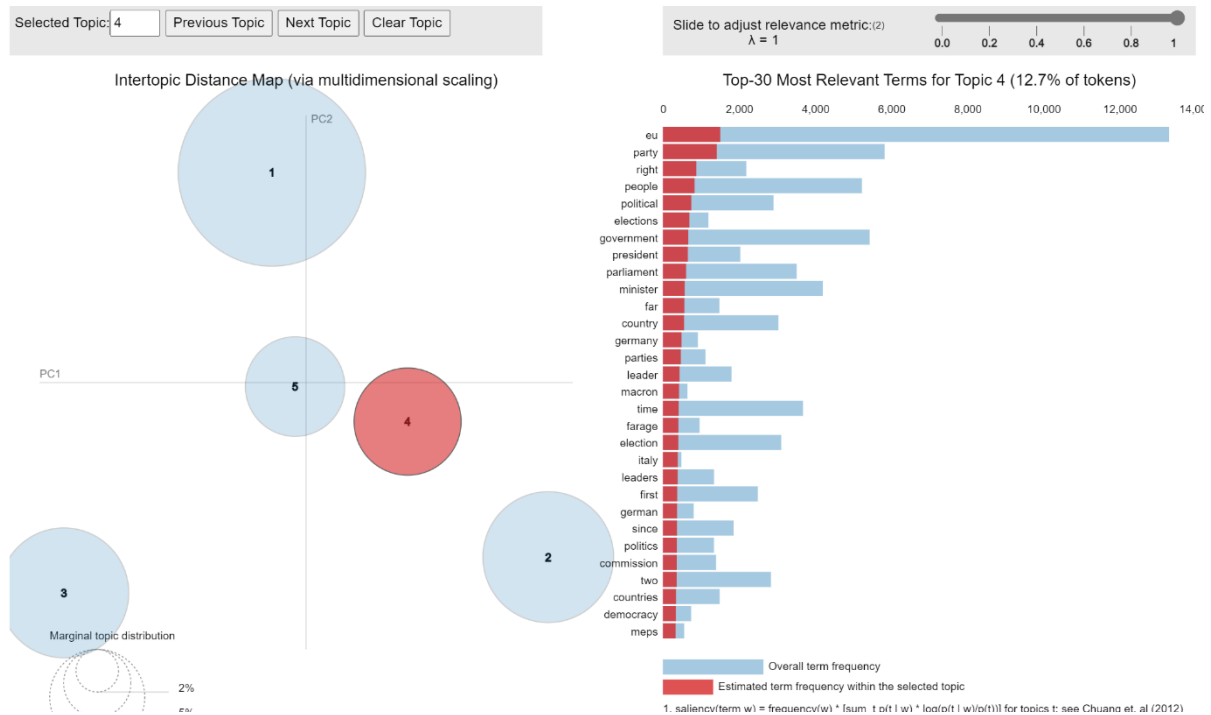


Figure 7. Topic 3 in The Guardian Topic Modelling (2019)

Looking at figure 7, we see several mentions of European countries and leaders, such as Macron and Farage. The presence of Farage and the words “far” and “right” can point to Euroscepticism in the UK, but the connection to other European countries is not immediately clear. In other words, with Topic Modelling we incur the danger of reading too much into certain words (for instance, it is tempting to think that “right” and “far” in topic 4 would refer to “far right”) and retrieving interpretations which might not be sustained by the data. Because a topic in Topic Modelling is a “probability distribution over terms” and LDA offers a “probabilistic recipe that produces both the hidden topic structure and the observed words of the texts”,³⁹¹ we are relying on the algorithm to cluster the terms together into a coherent topic, but this coherence is not always humanly verifiable.³⁹²

³⁹¹ David M Blei, ‘Topic Modeling and Digital Humanities’, *Journal of Digital Humanities* 2, no. 1 (2012), <http://journalofdigitalhumanities.org/2-1/topic-modeling-and-digital-humanities-by-david-m-blei/>.

³⁹² Elias Jonsson and Jake Stolee, ‘An Evaluation of Topic Modelling Techniques for Twitter’, in *Proceedings of the 53rd Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics and the 7th International Joint Conference on Natural Language Processing (Short Papers)*, 2015, 7, <https://web.archive.org/web/20210522120831/https://www.cs.toronto.edu/~jstolee/projects/topic.pdf>.

This is not to say that Topic Modelling is not useful. By looking at these Topics, one gets a general yet defined idea of what was discussed in the Guardian in 2019. However, if one wants to delve deeper into the data and understand more about the context surrounding the terms that appear, Topic Modelling is not ideal.

Using N-Grams

The other reason we discounted the use of Topic Modelling was because we realised that using N-Grams granted us the same knowledge about the data as well as the possibility of delving deeper into the dataset. N-Grams have been applied both to historical data and to newspapers, as it is a “powerful platform for exploratory searching”.³⁹³ They are particularly useful because “trends, changes and continuities in the salience of various topics in historical corpora can be estimated based on changes in the frequency with which carefully chosen words are used”.³⁹⁴ Using Spacy and CountVectorizer which “convert a collection of text documents to a matrix of token counts”,³⁹⁵ we built lists of the 50 most frequent Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams per year and per newspaper.³⁹⁶ Because our dataset is very big, we decided that we were going to work almost exclusively with these top 50 Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams, by deepening the topics and trends they revealed. As explained in chapter 1, Uni-Grams are one word tokens and Bi-Grams are two words.

One could ask why we stopped at 50 or why we went as far as 50 Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams. 50 Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams per year and per newspaper allowed us to see the word frequencies, from words that were mentioned very often to words that still had a relevant number of frequencies,

³⁹³ Joke Daems et al., “Workers of the World’? A Digital Approach to Classify the International Scope of Belgian Socialist Newspapers, 1885–1940”, *Journal of European Periodical Studies* 4, no. 1 (2019): 113.

³⁹⁴ Nello Cristianini, Thomas Lansdall-Welfare, and Gaetano Dato, ‘Large-Scale Content Analysis of Historical Newspapers in the Town of Gorizia 1873–1914’, *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 51, no. 3 (July 2018): 145.

³⁹⁵ “Sklearn.Feature_extraction.Text.CountVectorizer,” scikit-learn, accessed 10 December, 2022, https://scikit-learn/stable/modules/generated/sklearn.feature_extraction.text.CountVectorizer.html and “spaCy 101: Everything You Need to Know · spaCy Usage Documentation,” spaCy 101, accessed 10 December, 2022, <https://spacy.io/usage/spacy-101>.

³⁹⁶ Complete lists of the Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams per year and newspaper can be seen in the Appendix 13- File Directory: Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams lists.

but that would have been obscured had we stopped at 20 or 30. In this way, we were able to overcome a surface-level understanding (especially in later years when the frequencies increase) while still guaranteeing relevance in proportion to the size of that year’s and newspaper’s total number of words.

The CountVectorizer library lowers case and ignores punctuation, which is always treated as a “token separator”.³⁹⁷ We used Spacy’s list of stopwords both for English and Portuguese. However, we also included our own stopwords based on what we were seeing in the N-Grams list. For example, words such as “getty” “subscribing”, “newsletters”, “news/noticias”, “click/cliq”, “partilhar” (“share”), “imprimir” (“print”) were very frequent because they appeared repeatedly in the HTML of the body of text in some newspapers, but did not have anything to do with the subject of the article.³⁹⁸

We also had to whitelist some of the stopwords that were included in the SpaCy lists, but that turned out to be relevant. For example, once we understood by looking at the N-Grams list that “world war” was a bigram that appeared often, we chose to exclude from the stopwords list the words “first/primeira”, “one” and “two”, and “segunda” (“second”, which was included in the Portuguese stopwords list). Indeed, the SpaCy Portuguese stopwords list included many words which were relevant especially when we paid attention to the specific context of our dataset. Words such as “conselho” (“council”) “poder” (“power”, which in Portuguese is also the verb “can”), “estado” (“state”) and “sistema” (system”) were included, and they are obviously important words for any dataset containing news on politics and economics as ours is.

After this process, we generated lists of Uni-Grams (one word) and Bi-Grams (two words) for every newspaper across the 16 years of our data.³⁹⁹ Because there are many fewer articles for some of the newspapers, the frequency of some of the Bi-Grams – especially in earlier years – is only in single digits. At the same time, and as we shall see in chapter 4, Bi-Grams turned out to be a very rich source of information. For example, “war” is an interesting Uni-Gram, but it does not reveal much by itself. On the other hand, “world war” or “cold war” already refers to specific events.

³⁹⁷ “Sklearn.Feature_extraction.Text.CountVectorizer.”

³⁹⁸ A list of these stopwords can be found in the Jupyter Notebook containing the code that was used to generate the Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams lists. This notebook can be found in Appendix 9 – Generate N-Grams.

³⁹⁹ This process is found in the Notebook in Appendix 9 – Generate N-Grams.

We used Excel spreadsheets to display the top 50 N-Grams and then we set out to manually label them according to the meaning of the words. This was a lengthy process that underwent several repetitions. For example, we only discovered the inclusion of vital stopwords in the list after we had already done the labelling, which meant that we had to re-do it. The labelling was done by attributing colours to Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams, as can be seen in Appendix 13 (Complete Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams lists). From then on, we created 10 categories: events (orange), concepts (green), people (light yellow), institutions (light blue), places (grey), collectives (red), nationalities (dark orange), postholders (yellow), political parties (dark blue) and currency (purple). We will expand on the meaning of these categories in the section “the specificities of our data”, but for now it suffices to say that the first 7 were the most common and provided richer information for our analysis.

This method provided several advantages, not only compared to Topic Modelling, but also to other methods, such as Named Entity Recognition (NER). First, by giving us the frequency of words, we get an immediate idea of what and who is employed in the text. We must be careful in making simple associations: simply because a certain politician is mentioned a lot in one given year that does not automatically mean that their actions and words were carefully covered. They might have just been mentioned in passing. However, even in this case the frequency helps, because even if the coverage is not intense, the fact that it is frequent already has some meaning. For instance, the references to Russian politicians and Russia increases in 2009 and 2014, years of the Russian invasion of Georgia and Ukraine, respectively. As we shall see, although there are surprises in the data and important distinctions to be made between the Portuguese and the English datasets, it is evident that our data is marked by big events which set the context for many of the most frequent terms: the financial crisis, Russia’s aggression, Brexit.

The other advantage is the fact that we do not have to rely on a model to identify our data. Undoubtedly, Named Entity Recognition algorithms would recognize a lot of the entities in our texts. Spacy’s NER recognizes 17 types of entity, including events, people, organisations, countries and cities, nationalities and groups, objects, languages and even works of art.⁴⁰⁰ However, some of the most interesting Bi-Grams we have come across could be difficult to categorise by NER due

⁴⁰⁰ Susan Li, “Named Entity Recognition with NLTK and SpaCy,” *Medium* (blog), 6 December, 2018, <https://towardsdatascience.com/named-entity-recognition-with-nltk-and-spacy-8c4a7d88e7da>.

to their linguistic complexity. In 2009, for example, *Jornal de Notícias* contains in its top 50 Bi-Grams the words “recondução durão”, meaning “Durão re-elected”. Durão refers to Durão Barroso and re-elected refers to his re-election as President of the European Commission.

Above all, going through the list of N-Grams and making sense of the top Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams gave us a much wider understanding of the corpus and what it contained. It was obviously impossible to read every article we scraped, but the exercise of going through each newspaper in every year labelling the data granted us much more knowledge about the contents of the corpus and how to formulate further research questions. For example, we were able to exclude words that, although not part of the stopwords list, were not very relevant. For instance, the word “mr” is important as a Bi-Gram because many English newspapers use it to refer to male individuals. However, as a Uni-Gram the word is useless.⁴⁰¹ This also happened with *Jornal de Notícias* whose text files scraped from *Arquivo.pt*, as we explained in the previous section, contained undesirable elements in the text that we were unable to delete. Those articles often contain the words “Twitter” and “Facebook” which are there to give readers the option to share the articles on those platforms. By following this method, we were able to exclude them from the Uni-Grams list manually without having to include these words in a list of stopwords that would affect the other newspapers and the other years.

Additionally, this method made it easy to see trends across newspapers and years, such as the frequent references to historical events which did not necessarily occur in every newspaper every year, but were spread throughout the corpus. In our view, “Digital multilingualism is not just about linguistics or language (...). It has a cultural and socio-economic dimension which is crucial in studying increasingly transcultural and transnational dynamics”.⁴⁰² Our method enabled us to interact with the respective languages without any need for translation or for adaptation to the tool used (except in the case of stopwords).⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ A list of these manually excluded words is included in appendix 14 - Stopwords list

⁴⁰² Paul Spence, ‘Disrupting Digital Monolingualism: A Report on Multilingualism in Digital Theory and Practice’ (London: Language Acts & Worldmaking project, 2021), 1.

⁴⁰³ It is worth noting that experiments made in 2017 and 2018 using NLP libraries, such as Spacy, showed that Portuguese does not perform as accurately as English when it comes to Named Entity Recognition. See: Pires, “Named Entity Extraction from Portuguese Web Text,”⁵⁶ and Wilame, “spaCy Basic Features: Comparing Performance for Portuguese, French and English,” *Medium* (blog), 19 March 2023,

How to Quantify the Corpus

The next problem we faced was how to make sense of the corpus in a way that would make it easier to visualise and explain the trends that were present in the corpus.⁴⁰⁴ Part of the issue is that the corpus was uneven, in the number of articles (and words) both per year and per newspaper. To solve this problem, we decided to merge the English newspaper data into one corpus and the Portuguese into another, which is how information is presented in chapter 4. We are aware that this means that some newspapers within each corpus that have less articles are under-represented. However, the use of the N-Grams partly compensates for this, as we decided that as long as an N-Gram appeared in the top 50 in any newspaper in any year (even if it only appeared once) it would be part of the temporal analysis. By this we mean that even if an N-Gram only appeared once in the 16 years of the corpus, it would still be included in a chronological analysis, for example by charting the evolution of that same N-Gram across several years - even if the N-Gram was only present in the top 50 in one of the years. In some cases, Bi-Grams concerning Concepts, Events and People, have been included in Tables (Tables 3, 4 and 5 – Appendix 17 – Tables for Comparison) showing all the Bi-Grams that appear in a year in each corpus. This will be a more observational approach, although it has been combined it with visualisations which show the most frequent Bi-Grams.⁴⁰⁵

Additionally, chapter 5, which is more dedicated to close reading, compensated for this agglomeration, as it includes qualitative analysis of individual articles, some of which are from those newspapers with fewer articles.

After we labelled the N-Grams, we went through a process of selection. Here we realised that in some cases, particularly Events, Concepts and People, Bi-Grams were more valuable than Uni-Grams. A good example is the word “may” which in English has manifold meanings, but it only

<https://medium.com/@wila.me/spacy-basic-features-comparing-performance-for-portuguese-french-and-english-bb2edab49b4>.

⁴⁰⁴ The code detailing how we quantified the corpus can be found in Appendix 10 – Query N-Grams.

⁴⁰⁵ Due to their quantity and diversity, it was confusing to plot them all in a single figure, and tables became the best vehicle for comparison between years and corpus. We selected the top 10 Events and Concepts and plotted in a graphic. When it came to People, we attempted to aggregate them according to whether they were national, international or European actors, although we also singled out certain People Bi-Grams in order to see their evolution throughout time.

becomes a person as a Bi-Gram (“Theresa May” or “Mrs. May”). As mentioned previously, certain categories contained more information than others. Events, Concepts, People, Places, Nationalities, Collectives and Institutions provided us with more information about what we wanted to know in concrete terms, namely how the EU was analysed throughout the years, and which institutions, places, and personalities were paid more attention. As such, we only quantified these categories, while the others were subjected to an observational approach which had grown out of our labelling the N-Grams.

For Uni-Grams, the process was fairly straightforward to enact. We then took the lists of Uni-Grams and used the Jupyter Notebook to calculate the percentage of a given Uni-Grams relative to the number of words in each year. This allowed us to see their evolution throughout the years and allowed, too, a proportional analysis. To further aggregate data, our code in the Jupyter Notebook also gave us the raw frequencies, which we then copied to Excel Spreadsheets in order to add them together, turn them into percentages relative to the total words in the corpus (either English or Portuguese), and make lists of all the Uni-Grams that appeared throughout the corpus in a given category. A good example is Figure 11 (in chapter 4) which shows the top 10 most frequently mentioned places in the English corpus from 2004 to 2019. In these cases, we were interested in the Uni-Grams that appeared the most throughout the whole corpus, although we are of course aware that this sort of aggregation is affected by the unevenness of the corpus, which means that Uni-Grams that appeared more in the later years of the corpus will be more represented. Even so, we believe that by subdividing the data (for instance, when it comes to places, we divided it geographically, according to European places and non-European places) and by doing chronological analysis where we would follow a term throughout the 16 years, we can get a good idea of the contents of the corpus. Furthermore, as we will see in chapter 4, the categories are often interconnected. Russia (Place), Russian (Nationality) and “Vladimir Putin” (Person) are mentioned quite frequently around the same time.

We followed the same principle with Bi-Grams, adjusting our calculations to the total number of Bi-Grams per year. However, some further difficulties presented themselves, because we were interested in seeing how many European actors were mentioned as opposed to national actors. This was to get an idea of the weight of national politics in a dataset that had as its pivot keyword the “European Union”. The problem is that people were mentioned in a variety of ways, especially in

the English Corpus. Theresa May could be mentioned as Mrs. May, David Cameron as Mr. Cameron, and Vladimir Putin as President Putin. Using Uni-Grams would not solve the problem, as some people shared their last name with unrelated others – in our dataset, for example, Heath refers both to Edward Heath and Surrey Heath, a borough in Surrey. On the other hand, in the Portuguese corpus, many names are composite, and appear as different Bi-Grams in the top 50 although they refer to the same person. For example, Marcelo Rebelo Sousa can appear both as “Marcelo Rebelo” or “Rebelo Sousa”. To solve this problem, we tried two approaches.

Firstly, we included a function in the Jupyter Notebook that allowed us to do the quantification not only in relation to the number of words per year, but also per article. This means that instead of looking for how many times “Theresa May” appeared in the text, the code looks at when she is mentioned per article – as was explained previously, each text file corresponds to one article. In this approach, what counts is the number of articles where she is mentioned rather than the number of times she is mentioned in the text. In the Portuguese corpus, we used our knowledge of the people mentioned to select a version of their name. For instance, Marcelo Rebelo Sousa, Portuguese President from 2016 to the present, is never referred only as Marcelo Rebelo, but only as Rebelo Sousa, and so it was this latter Bi-Gram we included as his name. We used this method to divide the people into national, European and international actors, by creating a list of these names and quantifying them according to their category in their corpus (in the English corpus, for instance, Theresa May is a national actor).

Secondly, we also produced a list of synonyms. We looked to our Top 50 Bi-Grams for the different ways of mentioning people and we equated those to one version of the name. So, “Mrs. May” would be counted as “Theresa May” every time it appeared on the corpus. This could allow us to do a quantification relative to the number of words, rather than per article. The problem, of course, is that it is possible that some names were mentioned in ways that are not accounted for in the Top 50 Bi-Grams lists, and so we would have no way of knowing about all of them. Furthermore, it is also obvious that many people were mentioned by their title, such as Prime Minister or President. As such, the first approach (quantifying by article) is safer, as it is very likely that people would be mentioned at least once by their first and second name as a way of identification, even if they are referred to by their title in the rest of the article. In fact, The Guardian style book says: “Prominent figures can just be named in stories, with their function at second mention: “George

Osborne said last night ... “(first mention); “the chancellor added ... “ (subsequent mentions)”.⁴⁰⁶ Even so, when it comes to the category of People, we tried both approaches, as will be seen in chapter 4. We looked into how many times a person’s first and last name appeared in the text of all the articles (in a given year or across the years) and we also used the quantification by article. We verified that the differences are minimal and the general trends remain the same.

All the values that were rendered by the Jupyter Notebooks were presented in dataframes (for which we used the Pandas Library). These dataframes were easily copied to excel spreadsheets, which we used to produce graphics. An example of these dataframes can be seen in figure 7.

```
Out[15]:
```

year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	20
word															
immigrants	0.000672	0.000217	0.000236	0.000356	0.000206	0.000225	0.000253	0.000228	0.000235	0.000282	0.000350	0.000228	0.000183	0.000129	0.0001
immigration	0.001613	0.000313	0.000312	0.000625	0.000320	0.000404	0.000670	0.000465	0.000401	0.000675	0.000938	0.000866	0.001306	0.000793	0.0006
Total	0.002285	0.000530	0.000548	0.000981	0.000526	0.000630	0.000923	0.000694	0.000636	0.000957	0.001288	0.001094	0.001488	0.000922	0.0007

Figure 7. Dataframe example from Jupyter Notebook from Appendix 10 – Query N-Grams.

AntConc and Voyant Tools

Together with quantitative methods, we used text analysis tools to explore the dataset in more depth. We began by using Voyant Tools, which is a good introductory tool, but soon realised that Voyant Tools’ main shortcoming is that it is not optimal for larger datasets. It takes a lot of time to load the data and we were often met with errors that prevented the loading.⁴⁰⁷ In this sense, AntConc, which is an installable application, did much better with larger corpora.⁴⁰⁸ Despite this, because in some years we had many thousands of articles, we used code (OS module⁴⁰⁹ and

⁴⁰⁶ “Guardian and Observer Style Guide: N,” *The Guardian*, 17 March 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/guardian-observer-style-guide-n>.

⁴⁰⁷ “Voyant Tools,” Voyant Tools, accessed 11 December 2022, <https://voyant-tools.org/>.

⁴⁰⁸ “Laurence Anthony’s AntConc,” Laurence Anthony Website, accessed 11 December 2022, <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>.

⁴⁰⁹ “Os — Miscellaneous Operating System Interfaces,” Python documentation, accessed 11 December 2022, <https://docs.python.org/3/library/os.html>.

chardet⁴¹⁰) to join all the articles into one yearly file, which could be easily uploaded into AntConc.⁴¹¹

AntConc also proved to be useful when analysing plain text format, and offers distinct functionalities based on word frequency.⁴¹² We used AntConc version 3.5.9 and made use of the Concordance tool and Collocation tools. The Concordance tool allowed us to search for a word or a set of words in the text, by colouring the words and listing them alphabetically according to the words that come after or before the word we searched for. Collocation is defined as “the phenomena of certain words frequently occurring next to or near each other”,⁴¹³ which is particularly useful to understand the context of a word by looking into what other concepts and words are associated with it. We used AntConc’s default delimitation, which is 5 words to the right and 5 to the left. AntConc provides a list of the most frequent collocations for a given N-Gram, and usually we selected the top collocations to get an idea of what they were most frequently associated with (see example in figure 9). As discussed further in chapter 5, we usually selected the top 3 most relevant collocations, but this depends on the volume of each collocated word (which AntConc defines as type). This volume, in turn, depends on how common the N-Gram we are searching for is and how many articles we are analysing. In some cases, especially as seen in chapter 4, when the Uni-Gram or Bi-Gram we searched for was very frequent, it was worth expanding beyond a top 3, to grasp better what other N-Grams were associated with the word we had searched for. Additionally, in chapter 4, where we analyse the main trends of the dataset, we tended to perform collocation analysis for the whole Portuguese or English corpus, as we were looking at the data from a more general perspective. In chapter 5, however, because we are looking into specific issues (ideas of Europe, historical events) in each individual newspaper and because we performed collocations by analysing specific sets of years so as to compare them, the volume of collocated types was lower.

⁴¹⁰ “Frequently Asked Questions — Chardet 5.0.0 Documentation,” Chardet, accessed 11 December 2022, <https://chardet.readthedocs.io/en/latest/faq.html>.

⁴¹¹ The code for this can be seen in Appendix 11 – The Guardian Joining.

⁴¹² Sawsan Askoul, ‘EU Immigration in the British Press: How Was Immigration Reported Immediately Prior to the EU Referendum?’, *Training Language and Culture* 2, no. 2 (June 2018): 69.

⁴¹³ Baker quoted in Askoul, ‘EU Immigration in the British Press’, 74.

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
6	9320	4431	4889	3.18843	a
7	8369	1969	6400	4.19429	s
8	6248	2004	4244	3.74897	is
9	5477	3528	1949	3.66880	for
10	4851	2364	2487	3.25022	that
11	3891	2338	1553	3.31563	on
12	3589	2173	1416	3.64278	with
13	3494	2410	1084	4.12892	from
14	3247	933	2314	3.10732	it
15	3059	1194	1865	3.35844	as
16	2655	709	1946	3.61559	has
17	2519	1061	1458	3.20979	be
18	2471	934	1537	3.54636	are
19	2361	849	1512	3.54996	we
20	2336	2233	103	6.78302	across
21	2263	1628	635	4.86356	britain
22	2169	813	1356	3.50518	not

Figure 9. Example of collocated words in AntConc using the word “europe” in the English Corpus.

We did not use stopwords with AntConc, first because the version of AntConc we used made it difficult to include stopword lists; and secondly because we thought that common stopword lists might hamper some of the context surrounding a Uni-Gram or Bi-Gram. While for the collocations we continued to focus on mentions of people, concepts, events, places, institutions etc. to select the most frequently collocated words we did not want to completely exclude verbs and modifiers from the list, as this was an attempt at reading the text more closely. In an answer to a question about the use of stopwords in AntConc, Laurence Anthony, the creator of AntConc, describes them as a “very blunt instrument”, as “depending on the corpus and the research question, some stopwords might be very important and relevant, but the researcher will not notice because they have been eliminated too early.”⁴¹⁴ Indeed, this was a problem we too found with our stopword lists, particularly in the Portuguese corpus. However, for the top N-Grams, including stopwords was a necessity, given that we were only focusing on the top 50 of all Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams and on those specific categories mentioned, so it was important to make sure that all the words included in the top 50 were relevant. On the other hand, when looking at collocations, although

⁴¹⁴ Laurence Anthony, “Stop Words,” Google Groups, accessed 11 December, 2022, https://groups.google.com/g/antconc/c/QBMGYz4_EME.

frequency remains important, we are also concerned about the linguistic context that surrounds a certain Uni-Gram or Bi-Gram.

We chose collocations by their frequency and every time we reference a collocation we mention its rank in the list and its frequency. However, as a result of not including stopwords, our chosen collocations often appear ranked lower in the list because the higher places are occupied by not very significant words such as “the”, “he”, “a” etc. It is also noteworthy that in some cases, due to the lack of articles in a given year or set of years, the frequencies are rather low; nonetheless we believe they are still relevant as they are ranked in relation to the number of articles in those years.

Limitations of the Dataset

The most obvious limitation of the dataset is the fact that we are talking about only a portion of the texts published during these years that mention the European Union. This is partly due to how difficult it is to get historical data from newspaper websites and Google itself. Web Archives were on occasion a solution to this problem, but they are not a complete solution. For example, after completing the Daily Mail scraping, we realised that we could have used SHINE, a tool sponsored by the British Library, to retrieve articles from the Daily Mail from its early years. SHINE allows for text search and mainly uses the Internet Archive database to list the articles, allowing the user to download them into a CSV file. This is very useful, but it still has its problems, as many of the articles are repeated and often they do not belong to the year being searched for, but rather to the year the capture was made. Using Google, in this sense, solved the problem of the dates (as they were all correct) and largely solved the problem of repetition, which was insignificant in the articles scraped from Google. As mentioned above, Google is not an archiving platform, and therefore it does not deal well with historical data. However, as we have also seen, in some cases we had no other recourse than Google.

Another limitation of the dataset, which emerges as a consequence of the partial capture, is that later years have more articles than earlier years. This was a trend we also verified in the newspapers scraped directly from their newspaper website, such as *Correio da Manhã* and the *Daily Mirror*. This means that this imbalance is not only the result of Google functionalities, but also the pattern

of online publishing, which we mentioned earlier in this chapter. Furthermore, some newspapers, as seen previously, have more articles than others, which means that some newspapers are under-represented in the dataset.

We tried to solve this by including every N-Gram that appeared in the top 50, even if it only appeared once in one newspaper. This gave newspapers with fewer articles the chance to include their own N-Grams in the dataset, even if they did not appear in the Top 50 in other newspapers. Looking at data from a diachronic perspective, in proportion to each year's number of words or articles, as we often do in chapter 4, also helped to mitigate this problem, as did the tables with Concepts, People and Events we built, and which contain the respective Bi-Grams mentioned in each year in each corpus. Collocation analysis also helped to balance this problem, especially in chapter 5, where we look into each newspaper individually, to give them space to show their coverage. However, this is a problem that remains unsolvable once we attempt to look at aggregated data, which we also do in chapter 4. From the moment we want to look into the most frequent N-Grams in a single year but across all newspapers (to compare between the two corpora for example), or across a set of years, earlier years and some newspapers are going to be under-represented, given that as a rule later years and some newspapers have more articles. However, we would argue that this aggregation is necessary in order to have a clear idea of the general trends present in the corpus. This imbalance is embedded in the corpus, but the trends are still there and can be valuable, especially if the point of comparison is between the English and the Portuguese corpora.

Another problem that arises directly from Google scraping is the difficulty of reproducing the research without the original links. Sample tests made a year after the initial scraping show that articles that had been caught in Google search when we scraped the articles were no longer there. In the case of our thesis, this problem will be fixed by publishing all the links we scraped alongside this thesis.

A further characteristic of the dataset – which in this case we hesitate to call a limitation – is that some newspapers repeat parts of their text in different articles, which might, at first glance, give the impression that the articles are repeated. This happens especially in the Daily Mail and the

Daily Mirror. A good example occurs in 2019 in the Daily Mail on the news of Jacques Chirac's death. Part of Chirac's biographical information was written in the same way in different articles.⁴¹⁵

Additionally, all the newspapers contain some news articles which are published by news agencies, such as Reuters or Associated Press; however, we believe that the inclusion of these articles in the coverage still follow the principles of agenda setting we discussed in chapter 1, as they are part of the decision to write news about a certain topic.

Finally, there were some omissions in the data that we did not realise until much later on. Some newspapers, particularly *Correio da Manhã* and *Expresso*, had a minority of paywalled articles, which we thought were open. This was only detected after all the data was scraped, cleaned and the analysis had already begun because the pattern of those paywalled articles was irregular – it was not all opinion articles, but only a few; it was not all “exclusive” content, but only some. Furthermore, it only affected articles in the later part of the corpus, which is why our manual data sampling did not originally detect them, as there were many more articles in those years. This by itself is an interesting factor, as it exposes the different models of content publishing in online press. In our dataset, we have newspapers that became almost completely paywalled over the years, such as *Daily Telegraph* and *Público*, newspapers that were never paywalled, such as the *Guardian* and the *Daily Mail*, and newspapers which had a minority of articles paywalled, such as the ones mentioned.

The other omission arises from the fact that *Newspaper3K*, the Python library we used to do the scraping of the text of the articles using its HTML, performed very well with the text and title, but in some cases, such as with *Correio da Manhã* and *Expresso*, it did not scrape the date, although we directed the code to scrape it. Additionally, in almost all newspapers except the *Daily Mirror*, it also failed to scrape a “summary” of the article, which is an introductory paragraph, summarising the text, usually found just after the headline. Although noteworthy, we believe that these omissions do not greatly alter the results. Heavy data sampling was performed to guarantee that the articles corresponded to the dates we had assigned to them during scraping, while the summary

⁴¹⁵ Peter Allen, ‘France Pays Tribute to Former President Jacques Chirac’, *Daily Mail*, 27 September 2019, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7509971/France-mourns-ex-President-Jacques-Chirac-Eiffel-Tower-switched-tributes-Paris.html>. And Tim Stickings and Peter Allen, ‘Former French President Jacques Chirac Dies Aged 86’, *Daily Mail*, 26 September 2019, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7507249/Former-French-president-Jacques-Chirac-dies-aged-86.html>.

of the article would contain information that was reflected and expanded upon in the article text itself.

For all these reasons this study contains important limitations, which prevents it from being a universal study of the employment of the term “European Union” throughout these years; however, we argue that this is not the aim of this research. We believe that the number of articles we scraped is sufficient for quantitative research throughout a period of 16 years, and the data analysis performed will be able to answer the questions we ask of it. This remains an exploratory study, one which will advance hypotheses based on our data analysis. Nonetheless, they are not infallible and are open to interpretation.

Having explained the process of data selection, retrieval and analysis, we must now turn to how we interpreted the large amounts of data that were retrieved. This was done by dividing the data into useful categories and choosing to focus on specific themes present in the dataset. This choice was informed by the methodologies used in previous studies of the Public Sphere, which also use the media as their primary sources. These are the methodologies we are now going to examine.

Methodologies in the Study of the European Public Sphere

According to Risse, there are two approaches to measuring a European Public Sphere. The first consists of counting how often words related to Europe (“Europe”, “European Institutions” or “European affairs”) appear in the media. This approach relies heavily on comparing the salience of European affairs in relation to national and local issues. The problem is that there are always many more references to national and local institutions and affairs, and so the conclusion is almost inevitably that “given the low salience of European themes” there is no significant European Public Sphere.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁶ Risse, “An Emerging European Public Sphere?,”3

The second approach, on the other hand, analyses specific European-related events, such as debates on EU enlargement or corruption scandals in the European Commission. This allows us to measure whether European questions are being debated at the same time in different media across different geographies, and whether they are being approached within the same “interpretative schemes”,⁴¹⁷ which translates to “similar frames of interpretation, but not necessarily the same opinions”.⁴¹⁸

This second approach was first developed by Koopmans and Erbe in 2004⁴¹⁹ and then further taken up by Koopmans and Statham in the book *The Making of the European Public Sphere*. This was a theorization for three possible forms of Europeanisation: supranational, vertical and horizontal. The first refers to intense interaction between European Institutions, actors and the media which would culminate in the development of a “European-wide mass media”.⁴²⁰ Vertical occurs when there are “communicative linkages” between the national and the European level, which can be bottom-up (such as when national actors talk about European issues or to other European actors) or top-down (when European actors intervene in national debates). Finally, horizontal Europeanisation refers to how European countries interact with one another. There are two variants in horizontal Europeanisation: in its “weak variant”, the media “covers debates and contestation in another country” and in the “stronger variant...actors from one country explicitly address or refer to actors or policies in another European country”.⁴²¹

Koopmans, Erbe and Statham’s approach inserts another dimension into the study of the European Public Sphere, which is the active role played by European actors and institutions. This is not a new concern; a European Public Sphere must be understood as the result of communication between institutions, the media, and civil society. The institutions, be they European or national, set norms and policies in place, which attempt to regulate life in a certain space. They also,

⁴¹⁷ Risse, “An Emerging European Public Sphere?,”³

⁴¹⁸ Jan Erik Kermer and Rolf A. Nijmeijer, “Identity and European Public Spheres in the Context of Social Media and Information Disorder,” *Media and Communication* 8, no. 4 (October, 2020): 30.

⁴¹⁹ Ruud Koopmans and Jessica Erbe, ‘Towards a European Public Sphere?: Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions of Europeanized Political Communication’, *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 17, no. 2 (June 2004): 101.

⁴²⁰ Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham, “Theoretical framework, Research Design, and Methods” in *The Making of a European Public Sphere: Media Discourse and Political Contention*, eds. Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 38.

⁴²¹ Koopmans and Statham, “Theoretical framework, Research Design, and Methods”, 38.

crucially, “develop measures to facilitate communication fluxes with civil society and the media”, according to the idea that in a democracy citizens must be informed about what government is doing.⁴²² The media, as we have seen in the first chapter, sets the agenda and frames the issues around certain models of interpretation, augmenting or diminishing public debate. As Benedict Anderson points out in his *Imagined Communities*, mass media is also a key factor in nation-building, particularly in 20th century Europe.⁴²³ Finally, civil society interacts with institutions through public debates, the internet, or campaigns to try to influence public policy.⁴²⁴ However, the examination of civil society often comprises polls and Eurobarometer questions, in order to gauge the views of the European public.⁴²⁵

As a way to explore the communication linkages between institutions and the media, Koopman, Erbe and Statham employ political claims analysis, which draws both on events protest analysis, a method that tries to measure the level of civil unrest, protest and contention, and on political discourse analysis which studies how “actors attempt to challenge dominant definitions of political reality by mobilising new interpretations – schemata or frames – of contested social relationships, and making them visible in the public sphere”.⁴²⁶ Both of these methods use news data as a primary source, precisely to explore how the debate unfolds in a shared, accessible public space. Political claims analysis uses the methods employed by event protest analysis but extends them far beyond the dynamics of protestation and contention, while drawing inspiration from political discourse analysis, which sets framing and interpretation by actors, collective or individual, as its main source. Political claims analysis, then, consists of coding “important co-variables relating to contextual actors, actions and claims within the actual process of primary data collection from the news”.⁴²⁷ Koopmans made available online his codebooks for the project Europubs, which he coordinated, and which aimed to analyse the role of public spheres and mass media in the process

⁴²² Cristiano Bee and Emanuela Bozzini, “Introduction” in *Mapping the European Public Sphere: Institutions, Media and Civil Society*, ed. Cristiano Bee and Emanuela Bozzini (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 2.

⁴²³ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 114.

⁴²⁴ Bee and Bozzini, “Introduction”, 2.

⁴²⁵ François Heinderyckx, ‘Transnational News Media and the Elusive European Public Sphere’, no. 9 (2015): 3163.

⁴²⁶ Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham, “Political Claims Analysis: Integrating Protest Event and Political Discourse Approaches”, *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 4, no. 2 (2006): 204.

⁴²⁷ Koopmans and Statham, ‘Political Claims Analysis,’ 206.

of European Integration.⁴²⁸ He and his team looked at seven countries (Germany, France, United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland) across different thematic domains (monetary policy, agriculture, immigration, troop deployment, pensions and education).⁴²⁹ Coding in this context means reading through text and filling pre-defined variables: location, identity of the claimant, to whom the claim is being addressed, how is the claim being made, what is the claim about, on behalf of or against whom is the claim being made, and why the claim is being made.⁴³⁰ Obviously not all of these variables can always be devised from a single claim, but the minimum should be the who (subject) and either on whose behalf or against which people, or entities (object actor), or what is it about (issue), or the justification (frame).⁴³¹ The categorization of claims can differ according to the purposes of the project. For example, a project on youth participation in politics in Europe published its own codebook in which the coding of the claims is adapted to the theme.⁴³² The point, however, is that these codebooks exist precisely as guidance for the coders. Although the scale of Koopmans' Europubs project is impressive, and although content was sometimes numerically coded to allow for statistical analysis,⁴³³ it remains highly qualitative as it relies on close reading. Overall, in 5 different years, across 4 newspapers per 7 countries, they coded a total of 14,305 articles.⁴³⁴ It is worth keeping in mind that this was a large collaborative project in which one of the workpackages was dedicated solely to coding the articles in print

⁴²⁸ "EUROPUB.COM - Home," Archive.org, December 6, 2004, accessed 13 December, 2022, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160115150750/http://europub.wzb.eu/Default.htm>.

⁴²⁹ The temporal emphasis was during the years between 1999 and 2002. However, whenever it was possible data was gathered for earlier years, namely, 1995, 1990, 1985 and 1980. In Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham, "The Transformation of Political Mobilisation and Communication in European Public Spheres: A Research Outline," EUROPUB.com, 18 February, 2002, accessed 13 December, 2022, <https://web.archive.org/web/20201229175434/https://europub.wzb.eu/Data/reports/Proposal.pdf>, 19.

⁴³⁰ Ruud Koopmans, "Codebook for the Analysis of Political Mobilisation and Communication in European Public Spheres," EUROPUB.com, 15 April, 2002, accessed 13 December, 2022, <https://web.archive.org/web/20201229181038/https://europub.wzb.eu/Data/Codebooks%20questionnaires/D2-1-claims-codebook.pdf>, 2/73.

⁴³¹ Koopmans, "Codebook for the Analysis of Political Mobilisation and Communication in European Public Spheres," 3/73.

⁴³² EURYKA, "Reinventing Democracy in Europe: Youth Doing Politics in Times of Increasing Inequalities: Codebook for Political Claim Analysis" (Geneva: Université de Genève, November 2017): 1-31.

⁴³³ Koopmans and Statham, "The Transformation of Political Mobilisation and Communication in European Public Spheres," 24.

⁴³⁴ "EUROPUB.COM - Project Reports," accessed 13 December 2022, <https://web.archive.org/web/20201229175222/https://europub.wzb.eu/project%20reports.en.htm>. This information can be found inside each PDF for each country.

media.⁴³⁵ In comparison, however, our own dataset comprises 60,705 articles, across a much larger period, but without any collaborative effort or crowdsourcing.

There are other methodologies. In the book *The European Public Sphere and the Media*, the authors use case studies to examine moments of crisis in the last 70 years of European History, setting the events and the media reports within their own historical and geopolitical context and political affiliation. They employ quantitative analysis by searching for topics of discourse in the texts (“two to four salient topics”) and key political actors who are mentioned together with the topics.⁴³⁶ Finally, this approach also looks for “macro-argumentation structures”, which examines how arguments are constructed through sets of *topoi*, defined here as “specific ‘structures of arguments’ which are linguistically ‘realised’ through argumentative strategies leading...to a particular (logical and intentional) conclusion intended by the author of a text”.⁴³⁷ The search for these *topoi* or topics which frame the texts’ argument is itself underpinned by the use of Koselleck’s conceptual History.⁴³⁸ Triandafyllidou, Wodak and Krzyzanowski treat discourse as a “strictly historical construct”, which is developed as a constant interplay between the use of concepts in the present and their past origin and construction.⁴³⁹

Steeg also uses a case study, in particular the debate surrounding the Haider case, which concerned Jorg Haider, an Austrian politician whose party, by means of a coalition, entered government. Haider was known for his racist and antisemitic positions, and the EU threatened Austria with sanctions should his ministers get into government. The sanctions were lifted in September 2000, only a few months after the election. The Haider case is particularly attractive to study a budding Europeanised Public Sphere given the interplay between national and European actors as well as

⁴³⁵ Koopmans and Statham, “The Transformation of Political Mobilisation and Communication in European Public Spheres,” 23.

⁴³⁶ Anna Triandafyllidou, Michal Krzyzanowski, and Ruth Wodak, ‘Introduction’ in *The European Public Sphere and the Media: Europe in Crisis*, eds., Anna Triandafyllidou, Ruth Wodak, and Michal Krzyzanowski (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009), 9.

⁴³⁷ Triandafyllidou, Krzyzanowski, and Wodak, ‘Introduction’, 9. This is also what Aristotle defined in his Rhetoric as “Topoi”, often translated as “Topics”. Aristotle defines two kinds of Topics: the general, which can be applied to all sciences no matter how different, and the specific topics which are particular to each “species or genus of things”. In Aristotle, *Rhetoric* (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1924), [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Rhetoric_\(Freese\)/Book_1](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Rhetoric_(Freese)/Book_1).

⁴³⁸ This is an approach we shall further examine in chapter 4.

⁴³⁹ What Triandafyllidou, Krzyzanowski, and Wodak call “diachronic and synchronic dimension”. In Triandafyllidou, Krzyzanowski, and Wodak, ‘Introduction’, 6.

European rules and national politics. Steeg uses frame analysis, which she defines as “an interpretative scheme employed to make sense of the world ‘out there’”.⁴⁴⁰ Framing has also been defined by Entmann as the selection of aspects of a perceived reality by making them more salient in the text in ways that define recognizable problems, establish causal relationships and offer specific interpretations and explanations.⁴⁴¹ Steeg used as “unit of analysis” the newspaper article, and to do so she coded a total of 2,160 articles from 15 different newspapers from Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, Germany and the United State. She then performed qualitative text analysis using qualitative software (Winmax) to identify a list of frames which she then coded and quantified according to the amount of emphasis newspapers put on certain frames. She then grouped them into different “dimensions”.⁴⁴² Some of the frames she identified were “Europe as a moral community” and “European legal standards”, which in turn were part of the dimension she dubbed as “Waving the European flag”.⁴⁴³

Another approach which has been used to examine the European Public Sphere is the one chosen by Trenz. Trenz selected ten newspapers (nine from Europe, one from the United States) from May to December 2000, when the Nice summit took place. His idea was to analyse the discourse around the future of Europe and European integration. To do so, he coded the articles using Atlas.ti, another qualitative analysis software, with a total sample of 128 articles.⁴⁴⁴ This approach shares obvious similarities with Koopman and Statham’s as well as with Steeg’s, although there are some interesting differences: the first is that to study the “future of Europe” is a much more comprehensive proposition than case studies based on particular events. Secondly, Trenz proposes to code not only models of European integration and policy actors, but also “conceptualisation of issues and general expressions of values and identities”.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁰ De Steeg, “Does a Public Sphere Exist in the European Union? An Analysis of the Content of the Debate on the Haider Case,” 614.

⁴⁴¹ Robert M. Entman, ‘Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm,’ 52.

⁴⁴² Accordingly to the framing definition, she coded “judgements and definitions”, and not factual statements. In De Steeg, ‘Does a Public Sphere Exist in the European Union?’, 614.

⁴⁴³ In De Steeg, ‘Does a Public Sphere Exist in the European Union?’, 617.

⁴⁴⁴ Hans-Jörg Trenz ‘Quo Vadis Europe? Quality newspapers struggling for European Unity’ in John Erik Fossum and Philip Schlesinger, eds., *The European Union and the Public Sphere: A Communicative Space in the Making?* (London: Routledge, 2007), 92-93.

⁴⁴⁵ Trenz ‘Quo Vadis Europe?’, 93. Unfortunately, Trenz has not made his codebook publicly available.

All these approaches have their issues. When it comes to political claims analysis, the emphasis remains on “purpose and public articulation of political demands, calls to actions, proposals...which affect the interests or integrity of the claimants and/or collective actors”.⁴⁴⁶ By following a linguistic structure of Subject-Predicate-Complement, claim analysis relies on media text reporting as directly and faithfully as possible what a political actor, be they collective or individual, said about a certain issue. As Statham and Gray put it, political claim analysis really is not primarily interested in “the way that the media frames events. Our focus is on the news coverage of public statements and other forms of claims making by non-media actors”.⁴⁴⁷ This strategy bypasses the nature of the source material and everything we have mentioned about framing, agenda setting and even the historical evolution of newspapers and media. In this approach, media text becomes little more than a repository for claims made by political actors and institutions. This is not our purpose in this thesis. Firstly, because we are aware that mentions of political actors are relevant in and of themselves even if they are not making a claim. Secondly, political claims analysis ignores the way news texts are often written, as claims or declarations are not always directly reported and are often not structured using the who-about-why formulation. Finally, this approach focuses particularly on political actors rather than the media. It focuses on what Statham and Gray call “interactive communicative links” between actors and institutions as a way to gauge how European integration is framed by European actors and how these actors interact with each other in the Public Sphere. The media becomes a passive medium of information, rather than an active player. This is not the point of this thesis; this research is interested in how the European Union has been mentioned and reported *in* the media and *through* the mediation of different newspapers, in the levels of penetration of European-related topics, concepts and actors in the national public spheres, and in tracing how ideas of Europe and European Unity are approached in relation to topics, concepts and people. It is not possible for us to discard the media as simply a repository, because the media is still a vital part of how the public receives and interacts with information, including the reception of the claims made by political actors.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ Paul Statham and Emily Gray, ‘The Public Sphere and Debates about Europe in Britain: Internalized and Conflict Driven?’, *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 18, no. 1 (March 2005): 66.

⁴⁴⁷ Statham and Gray, ‘The Public Sphere and Debates about Europe in Britain’, 66.

⁴⁴⁸ As mentioned by François Heinderyckx: “In the second half of the 20th century, efforts to build a unified Europe identified, early on, the importance of the media. Europeans were primarily informed about the European

The other approaches mentioned tend to focus on case studies and limited timespans. As will be seen in the fifth chapter of our thesis, we also analysed very particular topics and concepts. However, we are also interested in a wider overview of our data and the uncovering of trends throughout 16 years of coverage of the European Union. Trenz and Steeg's approach promotes the use of qualitative analysis and close reading, which given the size of our sample is very difficult to do, especially when it comes to later years. If in the early years of a given newspaper in our sample, for example 2005 in the Daily Telegraph, we have 47 mentions of "Blair", the then Prime Minister of the UK, in 2015 we already have 636 references to "Cameron". It would be impossible to look into the specific context of each one of these occurrences, especially considering that there are 8 newspapers, with several other actors being mentioned hundreds of times. Instead, as described above, what we can do is look into collocation and sometimes into the context of the words as they appear in the sentence, by looking at the words that come before and after.

Using collocations also allowed us to find pertinent parts of the text and apply close reading techniques, as the collocated words direct us to the text in AntConc. This analysis will take place primarily in Chapter 5, where we interpret the text by contextualising the mentions of historical events and characters in the corpus. This analysis will allow us to link the uses of History in the media coverage with how the media views the development of the European Union. This link is underpinned, as mentioned above, by increasingly Europeanised Public Spheres. The focus of this close reading is primarily content based, trying to uncover the meaning and the context in which events, people and concepts are employed. In this way, we are able to integrate into our analysis some of the more qualitative elements mentioned in this section, such as the corpora's use of specific topics and the analysis of discourse coming from political actors (collective or individual). We are not doing political claims analysis, but rather a closer examination of key tenets of discourse pertaining to specific topics (such as the idea of Europe and historical events), which allows us to expand on the relationship between levels of Europeanisation and the historical and ideological underpinnings of each country's relationship with the European Union. This is an approach that, while valuable and in line with the objectives of our thesis, does exclude more formal elements, such as the structure of article writing for newspapers (including article titles),

construction and its institutions and dynamics through their national media." In Heinderyckx, 'Transnational News Media and the Elusive European Public Sphere', 3164.

the difference between newspaper sections, and questions surrounding authorship, as the identity of the author is not always available or relevant for the analysis. We also do not include analysis of images or other multimedia, such as video. Rather, what is more important is how the framing of the historical event fits around the media coverage of European affairs.

The Specificities of our Categorization

It becomes obvious that one of the problems with how to make sense of our data is that Koopman, Erbe and Statham's models to study Europeanization – supranational, vertical and horizontal – were designed for qualitative analysis. Their use of coding involves getting a team of researchers to read through the text and signal the parameters previously defined, but these are, as we have seen, highly specific aspects of the text, which involve taking into account the context of each claim being coded.

There is still value in this categorization, particularly in the concepts of vertical and horizontal Europeanisation,⁴⁴⁹ but it has to be reworked towards an approach which uses distant reading methods and Natural Language Processing (NLP). Such an approach has been used by Nordheim et al, in an article published in 2021 entitled “The state of Europeanisation: between clash and convergence. A comparison of the media coverage of the 2019 European elections in seven countries”. This is the only study we know that studies Europeanisation in the media using NLP methodologies and includes Portugal as one of the countries. They employ a similar methodology to the one used in this thesis, in the sense that they also search for keywords, although they are related to the European Parliamentary elections 2019.⁴⁵⁰ They amassed a total of 57,943 articles

⁴⁴⁹ When it comes to supranational Europeanisation, Koopman and Statham admit that given that Europe is a “new type of multilevel polity”, which is very heterogenous, where different levels of political spaces interact (Extra-European, European, national and regional), supranational Europeanisation “will probably not be the most frequent type of Europeanized communication.” In Koopmans and Statham, “Theoretical framework, Research Design, and Methods”, 40.

⁴⁵⁰ Such as “EU Parliament Elections”, “EU Elections”, “European Parliament” and “EU Parliament”. In Gerret Von-Nordheim et al., ‘The State of Europeanisation: Between Clash and Convergence. A Comparison of the Media Coverage of the 2019 European Elections in Seven Countries’, *Revista Mediterránea de Comunicación* 12, no. 1 (January 2021): 104.

from May 2018 to May 2019 across seven European countries.⁴⁵¹ Then, using topic modelling, they listed the top words and labelled them according to topic (for example, “migration”, “Brexit”, “Trump”). In this process they additionally used the five top words per topic to identify what they termed as “indicator terms” for horizontal or vertical Europeanisation. They decided that mentions of European countries and foreign politicians indicated horizontal Europeanisation, whereas European Institutions, representatives, and mentions of Brussels were vertical indicators.⁴⁵² Additionally, they introduced the concept of “intersectional topics”, which are topics that, regardless of speaking of a vertical or horizontal Europeanisation, are the target of interest across several EU countries.⁴⁵³

The present methodological approach is inspired by Nordheim et al, with some significant differences. The first is that whereas their geographical scope is larger, this thesis chose to focus only on two countries but across a much wider temporal scope. This allows for a historicization of the last 16 years of the European Union by making it easier to put events and people in context. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, lists of the Top 50 Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams were used in order to make sense of the data. These lists were then subjected to a process of categorization and labelling, which included almost all Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams identified, except for those which did not fit easily into the chosen categories. These categories are:

1. Institutions and Organisations: Here the choice was to include direct references to national and international Institutions (“European Parliament”, “European Commission”, “House Commons”, “Assembleia da República”) as well as to supranational organisations (“European Union”, “United Nations”). References to other state, cultural or educational organisations, such as Universities and Police, were also included. One of the difficulties with this category is that some of the Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams are hard to categorise without further context. In the case of the single word Commission or *Comissão* it is difficult to know whether it refers to the European Commission or not. The fact that the Bi-Gram European Commission and “Comissão Europeia” are frequent leads us to believe that Commission often refers to the European Institution. However, this difficulty is one of

⁴⁵¹ UK, Germany, Portugal, Italy, Hungary, Czech Republic and Poland.

⁴⁵² Von-Nordheim et al., ‘The State of Europeanisation’, 105.

⁴⁵³ Von-Nordheim et al., ‘The State of Europeanisation’, 98.

the reasons why in this category we chose to focus exclusively on Bi-Gram analysis, as they are more concrete than Uni-Grams.

2. *Political Parties*. Initially, political parties were defined as Institutions/Organizations, but given the frequency with which they appeared and the prominence in both the English and Portuguese political systems of political parties, it was thought they merited their own category. In the top-words of the English corpus, political parties often refer to “Labour” or “Tory”, though conservative also appears.⁴⁵⁴ In the Portuguese corpus, with the exception of Bloco Esquerda,⁴⁵⁵ most parties go by their acronym (PS, PSD, CDS, etc.)
3. *Events*. The classification of what an event is posed complex questions, particularly when it comes to the Uni-Grams. In general, Events should be occurrences or actions that happened either in the past or that were happening at the moment the article was published. Some of the most common top words in this category were “elections”, “deal”, “Brexit”, “war”, “vote”, “cimeira” (summit). However, words such as “decision”, “campaign”, or “policy” were also classified as events. Their broadness often does not allow for collocation analysis on the whole corpus to be useful, and the fact that they occur very frequently throughout the corpus also makes it difficult to look at them in context in the text and retrieve valuable conclusions. The solution became to resort to the Bi-Grams for each year, which often offered clues as to the context (war often turned into world war, cimeira into ue cimeira – eu summit). Knowledge of the events of the specific year also helped a great deal. For example, mentions of treaty in 2007 are almost certainly mentions of the Treaty of Lisbon. Mentions of elections and vote often appear in the years of general or European elections.
4. *People*. This category refers both to last and first names and it can also refer to titles or famous nicknames. For instance, “dama ferro” (“iron lady”) appears in the Portuguese corpus, as “Lady Thatcher” appears in the English, in the same year where the Bi-Gram “Margaret Thatcher” also appears in the top 50. In the Uni-Grams list, first names and surnames will often appear on their own, but their first name or surname – or their composite surnames in the Portuguese corpus – will appear in the Bi-Gram list in that year.

⁴⁵⁴ Analysis in Antconc shows that Conservative clustered 3624 times as “conservative party” out of 15237 times the word features in the corpus. However, a look at the concordance tool demonstrates that the word refers to the conservative party, government, candidates, administration etc.

⁴⁵⁵ It would be Bloco de Esquerda, but the “de” was excluded in the stopword list.

For example, if Sócrates – Portuguese Prime Minister – appears as an Uni-Gram in a given year, it is very likely that the Bi-Gram José Sócrates will appear in the Bi-Gram list in the same year. One exception is “may”, which is part of the spaCy stopwords list that was used during the analysis to form the list of Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams.⁴⁵⁶ May is also the surname of the British Prime Minister, Theresa May. As mentioned earlier, because the word “may” was in the stopwords list, “Theresa May” never appeared in our Bi-Gram list. As a result, we whitelisted “may”, due to the prominence that Theresa May assumes in the later years of the corpus. However, we manually excluded the Uni-Gram “may” from all the years until 2016, when Theresa May became Prime Minister.

5. *Post-Holders*. This category arose from the frequent reference to ministers, president, and Prime minister in the corpus, and they could not reasonably be classified as people as they refer to the post the individual occupies.
6. *Places*. This category refers to any geographical locations: continents, countries, cities, streets, etc. The words “country” and “countries” were also included in this category as it was difficult to fit them into any other category (countries could fit the “collectives” category, but the same cannot be said about country). However, these were found not be very useful as data in this or any other category, given their broadness.
7. *Nationalities*. Nationalities refer to any mentions of belonging or referring to a nation (“British”, “French”, “Spanish”), regardless of what the adjective is addressing.
8. *Collectives*. The need for this category arose from the fact that sets of people or institutions often appeared in the corpus but could not conceptually fit into the other categories. States or estados, for example, which in the singular are classified as institutions, are classified as collectives. So are “members/membros” and “Europeans/Europeus”, “family/familia”, “children/crianças”.
9. *Currencies*. References to national, European, or extra-European coins (euro, dollar, pounds).
10. *Concepts*. This was the hardest category to reason through, but also the one which included more Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams. In the first place, many words which were classified as events or institutions are also concepts: for instance, we classified “state” as an institution, but it is also a political concept. So are “deal” and “elections”. Eventually, however, it was

⁴⁵⁶ “spaCy 101.”

agreed that Uni-Grams or Bi-Grams which were ideas or had a certain level of abstractness while also being part of the vocabulary of politics and economics should be cast into this category. Often, these were also words that given their level of abstractness could not reasonably be fitted into any other category. For example, the word “crisis” could be both an event and a concept, but when it appeared alone as a top Uni-Gram it was classified as a concept, as it seemed too abstract and too ideologically charged to be an event. Some linguistic subtleties are also infused in this categorization. For example, “vote leave” was classified as a concept given that it is the name and slogan for the leave campaign, whereas “leave European”, “leave eu”, “leave vote” and “voted leave” were classified as events. An interesting problem, in fact, was posed by the expression “leave eu”, which was first used in the corpus by the Daily Mirror in 2013. Now, at this junction the idea of Britain leaving the EU was just an idea, as the referendum had not even been scheduled by that point. However, the benefit of hindsight provides the fact that indeed “leave eu” would become something that happened, therefore an event. We chose to cast it as an event in order to maintain coherence. This evolution in the meaning reveals the evolution in the political landscape in Britain and as a consequence the changing nature of our corpus, which our categorization will put in evidence. It also shows that the idea of a referendum on British membership of the EU, as well as the idea that Britain might leave the EU, circulated widely at least three years before the referendum actually took place.

Some of the issues regarding categorization have to do with the fact that a simple dictionary-meaning of the word does not suffice; context was often needed in order to classify the words found within the corpus. However, given how generalised some words were, it was not always possible to understand the context in which they were employed through collocation, clusters or even when using the concordance tool in AntConc. At the same time, the meaning of the word itself, particularly when appearing alone, could not be completely disregarded, otherwise we risked losing the fundamental meaning of the word. This is notorious with the example of the word “crisis”, which is an interesting word even when devoid of the context about exactly which crisis is being talked about at that specific moment. The word “state” or “estado” might refer to the institution of the State, but it might simply refer to the state of something or someone. With Bi-

Grams, it is significantly easier, as they are more specific. “European Commission”, “House Commons”, “Home Office” are far more concrete than simply “Commission”, “Home” or “Office”. First names and surnames give us clues as to who the people are. The name José or António might appear as a single word, but they are very common Portuguese first names. The Bi-Gram José Sócrates or António Costa refer to specific, recognizable people. As such, on the whole, Bi-Grams are more useful than the Uni-Grams when it comes to Events, Concepts, People and Institutions because they provide more linguistic context. However, top Uni-Grams are still useful, particularly when it comes to Places, Nationalities, and Collectives. An additional problem of Bi-Grams is that sometimes they combined two words which belong to different categories. “President Vladimir”, for example, is both a Post-Holder and a Person. “Russian embargo”, is an event, but Russian is also a nationality. In such cases, it was decided that the Bi-Gram should be classified according to the most concrete possible meaning as well as to its contextual situation. “President Vladimir” evidently refers to Vladimir Putin, particularly if “Vladimir Putin” comes up in the same year and newspaper; as such it was classified as a Person. “Russian embargo” refers to a very specific situation which was happening in that year, and so it was classified as an event.

There is significant overlap between categories, and it was not always easy to reach a decision, given the level of subjectivity that is involved. However, it is worth noting that the point was not to enter an epistemological debate about the meaning of each word, but to create a system that allowed the exploration of the corpus in an effective manner.

Having explained the methodology, the next chapter will examine how we employed it to analyse the data and produce credible interpretations.

Chapter 4

Exploring the corpus through the lens of the European Public Sphere

In chapter 2 we offered an overview of the History of European integration and the concept of the European Public Sphere. In chapter 3 we examined the methodologies used to analyse and interpret the data. In this chapter, we are going to analyse the data and interpret the results using both the theories put forward in chapter 2 and the methodologies outlined in chapter 3. In chapter 4, the aim is to understand how the employment and interpretation of key events and concepts can be explained through the framework of horizontal and vertical Europeanization, thus expanding on the penetration of Europeanization in the English and Portuguese public spheres.

The Most Frequent Events and Concepts Across the Corpora

As discussed in chapter 3, we used N-Grams to make sense of the large corpus of newspapers created for this research. We decided that categorising the Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams was the best way to look for patterns in the corpus, as we could compare categories across newspapers and years, as well as between the English and Portuguese articles. We began our analysis by looking at both Events and Concepts, as they give a general idea of the main topics that are discussed in the 16 years of our corpus.

Figure 10 depicts the top 10 most frequent Events Bi-Grams in the English corpus. It is easy to see how Brexit became so important in the last years of the corpus, when there are more articles, that it overtakes the other events. The only Bi-Grams that appear unrelated to Brexit are “climate change”, “general elections” and “world war”. By contrast, the Portuguese corpus (figure 11) seems more balanced. There is only one direct reference to Brexit (“saída reino”/“exit kingdom”). The other Bi-Grams concern events that took place over time, such as “crise económica” (“economic crisis”), “Orçamento de Estado” (“state budget”), and “Tratado Lisboa” (“lisbon

treaty”). On the other hand, the percentage of the Brexit related Bi-Grams is higher than the others, and once again demonstrates the weight of the later part of the corpus.

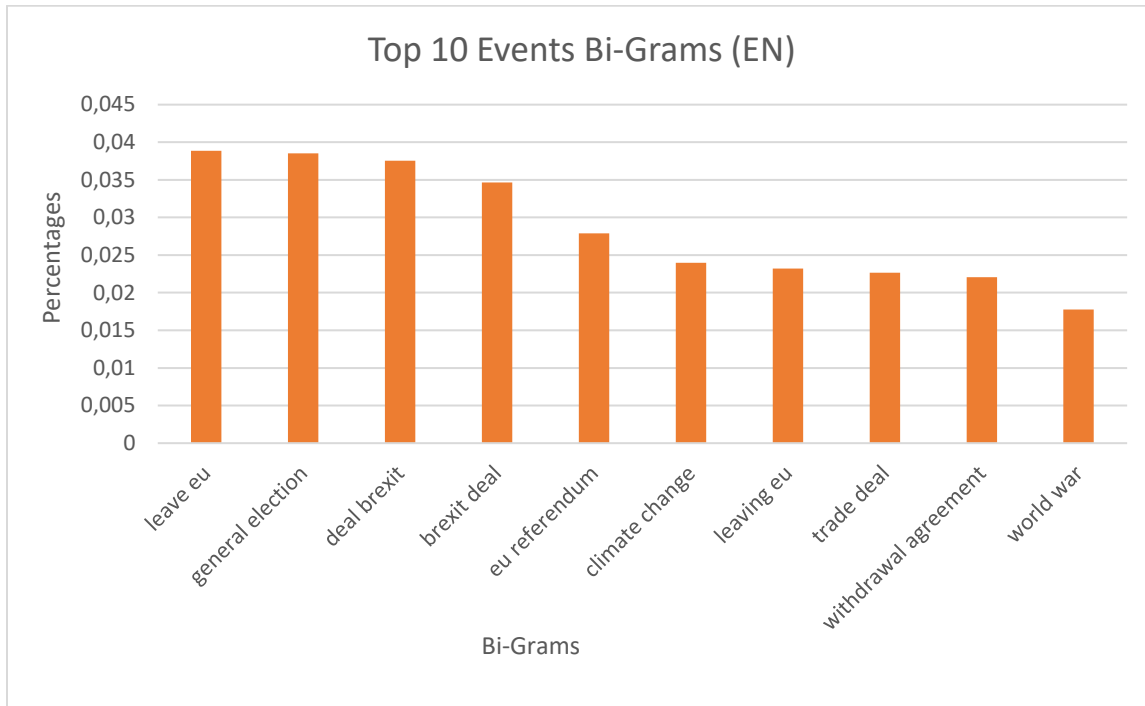


Figure 10. Top 10 Events Bi-Grams in the English corpus (2004-2019)

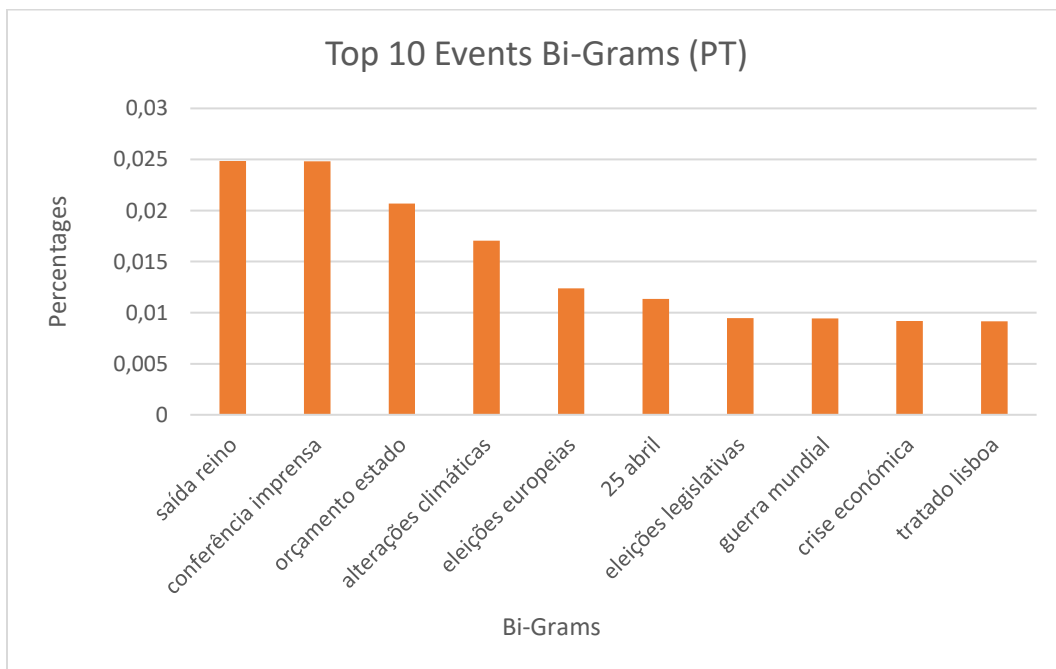


Figure 11. Top 10 Events Bi-Grams in the Portuguese corpus (2004-2019)

The top 10 Concept Bi-Grams show a similar trend. In the English corpus (Figure 12) some of the Bi-Grams are directly related to Brexit (“vote leave”, “article 50”, “second referendum”) or indirectly, being part of the vocabulary surrounding either the Brexit negotiations or membership to the EU. (“single market”, “customs union”). We can see in Figure 13 that these concepts are employed particularly during the Brexit years.

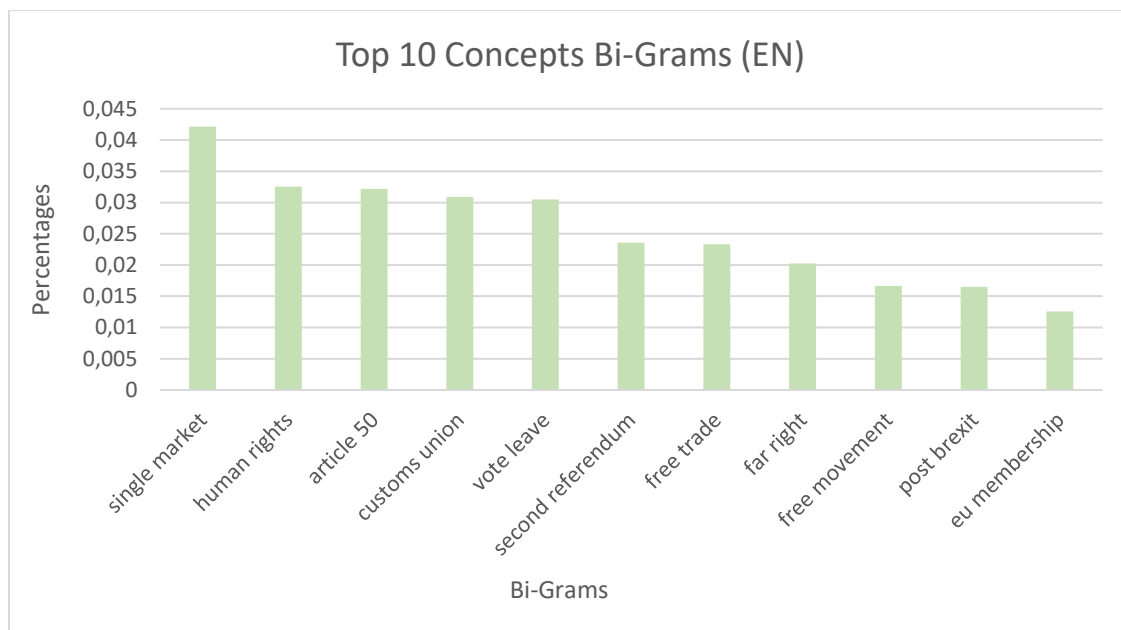


Figure 12. Top 10 concept Bi-Grams in the English corpus (2004-2019)

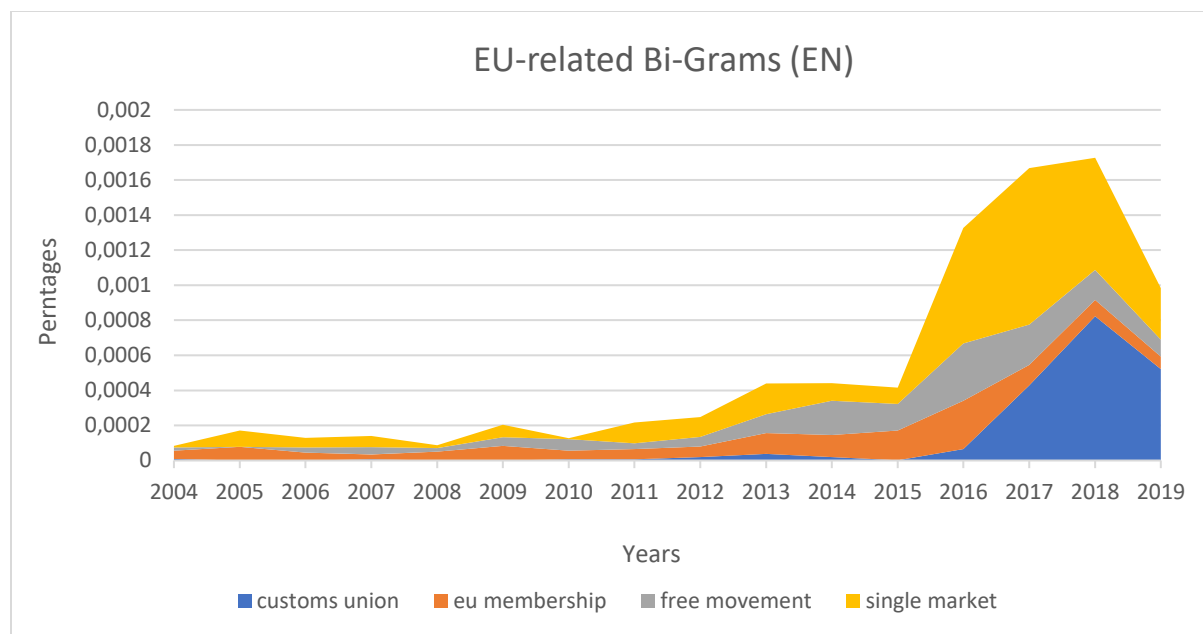


Figure 13. EU-related Bi-Grams present in the top 10 concepts (English corpus)

The top 10 Concept Bi-Grams in the Portuguese corpus, however, contain no direct allusion to Brexit (figure 14). Rather, the concepts tend towards an economic and financial lexicon. The most frequent Bi-Gram is “zona euro” (“eurozone”) and we can see the presence of “dívida pública” (“public debt”), “crescimento económico” (“economic growth”) and both “produto interno” and “interno bruto” which together make for Produto Interno Bruto or Gross Domestic Product. Only three Bi-Grams are not directly related to the economy: “ensino superior” (“higher education”), “extrema direita” (“far right”), and “direitos humanos” (“human rights”). The last 2 Bi-Grams are the only concept Bi-Grams that are present in the top 10 of both the Portuguese and the English corpus, which show that some concerns are shared between the two corpora.⁴⁵⁷ Given that the Portuguese corpus also suffers from the same size imbalance, we decided to see the distribution of some of these Bi-Grams across time. Choosing those Bi-Grams directly related to economic

⁴⁵⁷ Given the prominence that the Uni-Gram “eurozone” assumes in the Uni-Grams lists in the English corpus (which can be seen in Appendix 13), appearing in almost every English newspaper across the 16 years, it is likely that it would compare to the importance “zona euro” has in the Portuguese corpus, and which is demonstrated in figure 14. However, because we chose not to analyse in depth concepts Uni-Grams, for reasons explained above, we did not do a direct statistical comparison.

concepts, we can see how they start gaining prominence around 2009 and maintain their importance all the way to 2013 (figure 15), then resurfacing slightly in 2016 and 2018.

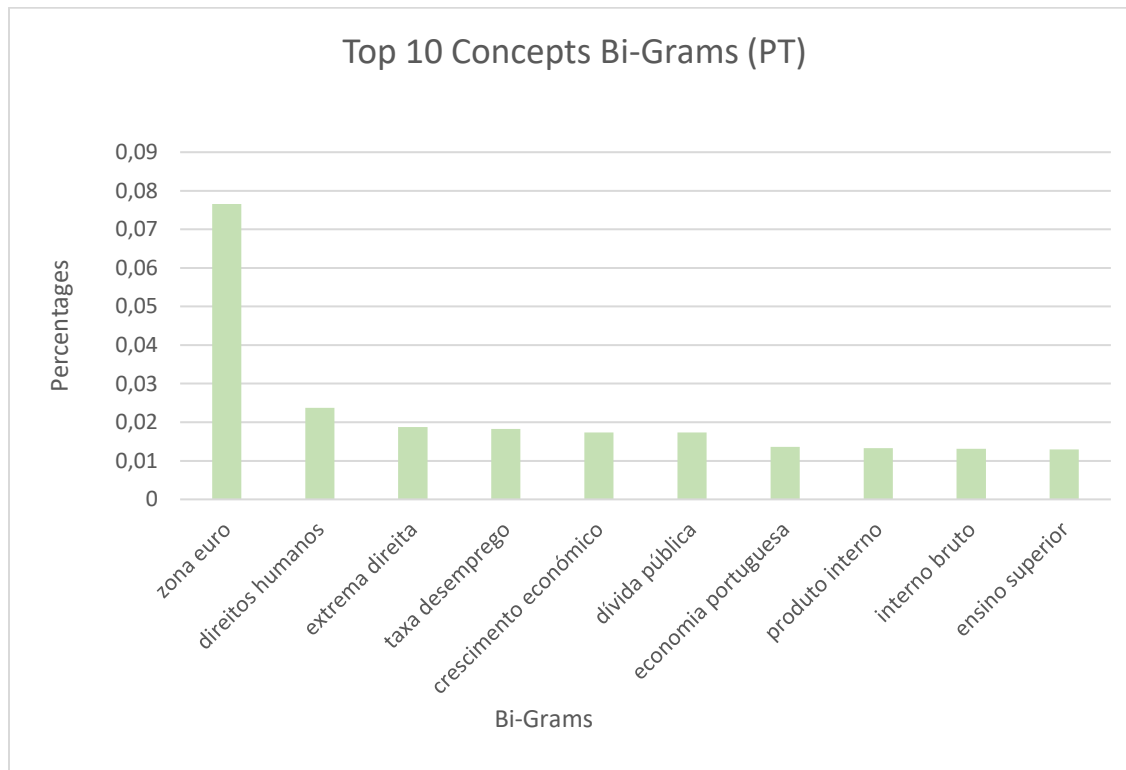


Figure 14. Top 10 concepts Bi-Grams in the Portuguese corpus (2004-2019)

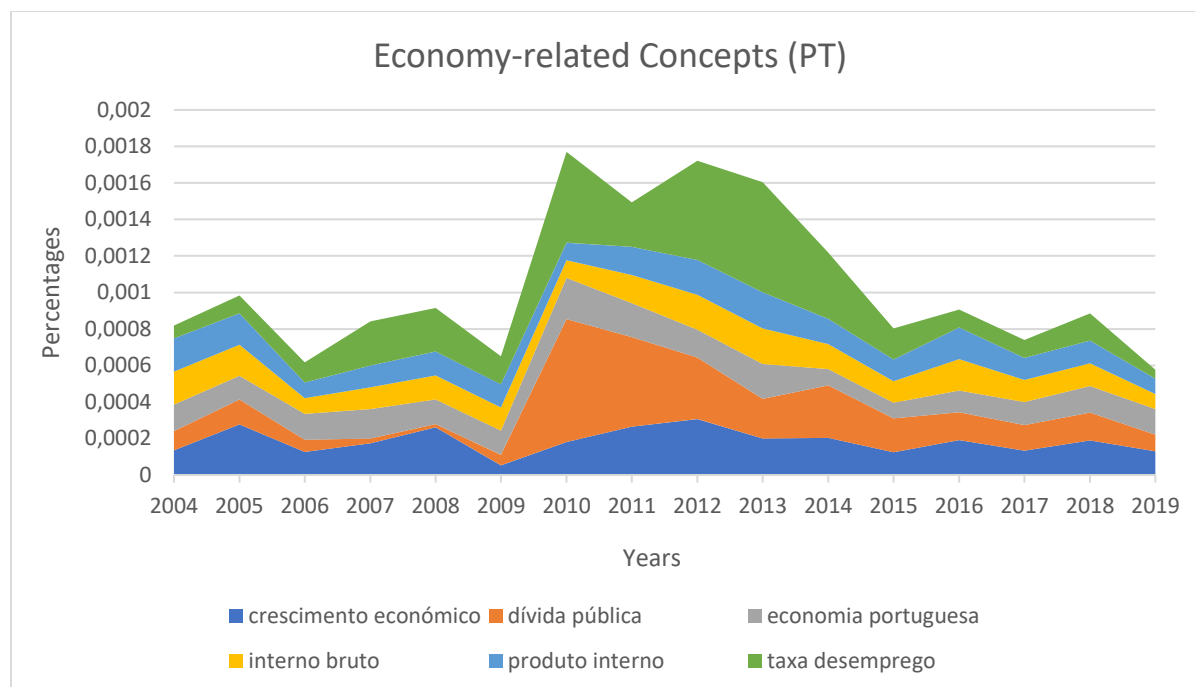


Figure 15. Economy-related Bi-Grams present in the top 10 concepts (Portuguese corpus)

An important concept that appears frequently in the English and the Portuguese corpora throughout the period is “far right” (“extrema direita”). Figure 16 shows a similar frequency trend in both corpora, especially from 2010 onwards. The change comes in 2018, when the Portuguese corpus employs the term more frequently. Collocation in the whole Portuguese corpus shows the term connected to “partido/party” (rank 8, frequency 181), “partidos/parties” (rank 19, frequency 81) and “pen” (rank 23, frequency 66).⁴⁵⁸ Close reading using the Concordance Tool on AntConc shows the latter (Marine Le Pen) as being mentioned in articles from 2017, which tells us that the smaller peak seen in 2017 likely refers to French politics – this was also the year of the French Presidential Election, where Macron and Le Pen disputed the second turn round of voting. Further close reading analysis using AntConc for 2019 in the Portuguese corpus (in which the expression surges up) shows that the term appears connected to several far right “parties” in Europe.

⁴⁵⁸ AP Far Right PT 2004-2019

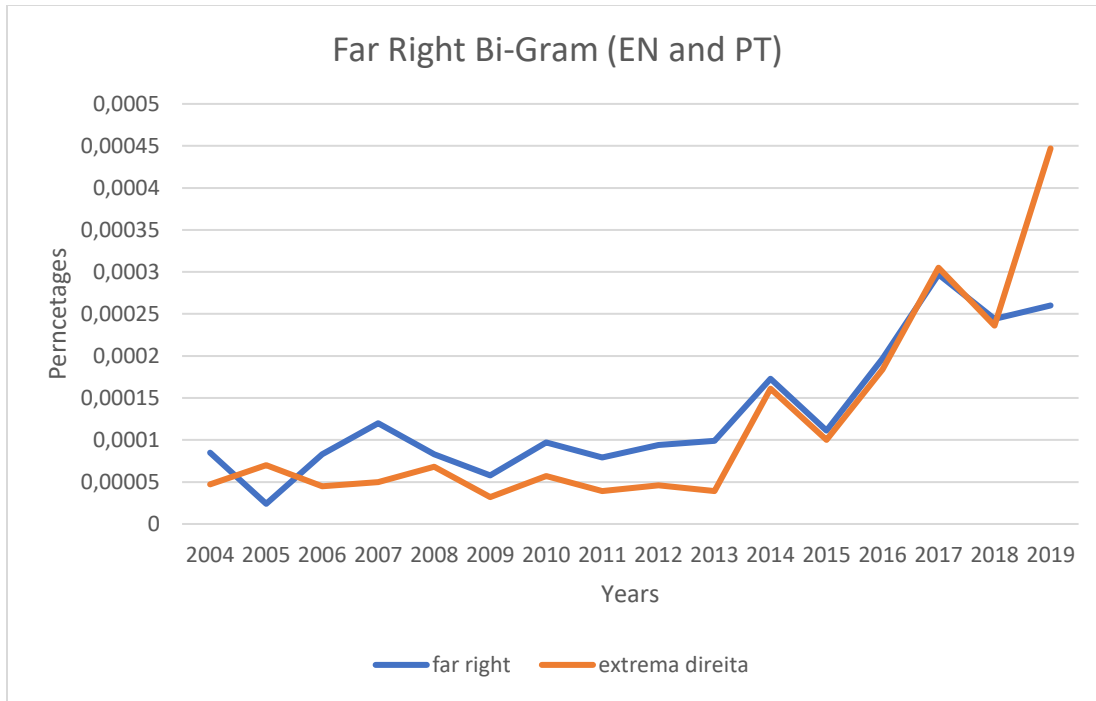


Figure 16. Far right Bi-Gram in both the English and the Portuguese corpus.

Collocation analysis done for the term “far right” on the entirety of the English corpus also ranks “party” at the 9th place with a frequency of 509 and “pen” ranks at 16 with a frequency of 221.⁴⁵⁹ Close reading analysis using AntConc shows that this too refers to Marine Le Pen, confirming the trend that is also present in the Portuguese corpus. As for the small resurgence in 2014, using the same close reading technique, we verified that the term is employed in connection to several subjects, such as the French National Front, Swedish far right parties, and the British National Party.

⁴⁵⁹ AP Far Right EN 2004-2019

Events and Concepts Across Time

Another way to combat the volume of the later years of the corpus, and to better demonstrate the diversity and quantity of the Bi-Grams categorised as Events and Concepts, we decided to create Tables depicting all the Event and Concept related Bi-Grams which appear in the top 50 for each year in both the Portuguese and the English corpus.

Tables 3 and 4 (Appendix 17) show a certain balance in the amount of Bi-Grams.⁴⁶⁰ Depending on the year, one corpus will have more distinct concepts and events than the other.⁴⁶¹ Many of the events and concepts are intimately related to each other. For instance, “world war” and “second world” are thematically close, as even if world war appears more often, they both refer to specific (possibly the same) historical events. “Climate change” and “global warming” are also intimately linked, and so are all mentions in both Portuguese and English corpora of “lisbon treaty” and “eu treaty”. When it comes to concepts, there is also a good deal of connectivity between them: “constituição europeia” (“European constitution”) is related to “futuro tratado” (“future treaty”). The introduction of the term “voting age” in the English corpus in 2004 is accompanied by the term “share vote” and “minimum voting”.

Figure 17 shows four concepts directly related to the process of European integration – some of which we approached in chapter 2 – which crop up in several years in the Portuguese corpus: “moeda unica” (“single currency”), “economica monetaria” (“economic monetary”),⁴⁶² “Integração europeia” (European integration) and “mercado único” (“single market”). We can see here two peaks in the concepts: the first in 2012, one of the years of the economic crisis, the second in 2017, already after Brexit.

⁴⁶⁰ These tables can be seen in Appendix 17 - Table 3 (Events) and Table 4 (Concepts).

⁴⁶¹ Distinct because although Bi-Grams could be repeated in several newspapers in one single year, we only included one example of the Bi-Gram per corpus.

⁴⁶²The Concordance tool on Antconc shows that this is always união Economica Monetaria (Economic Monetary Union), which was a prime feature of the economic configuration of the European Union.

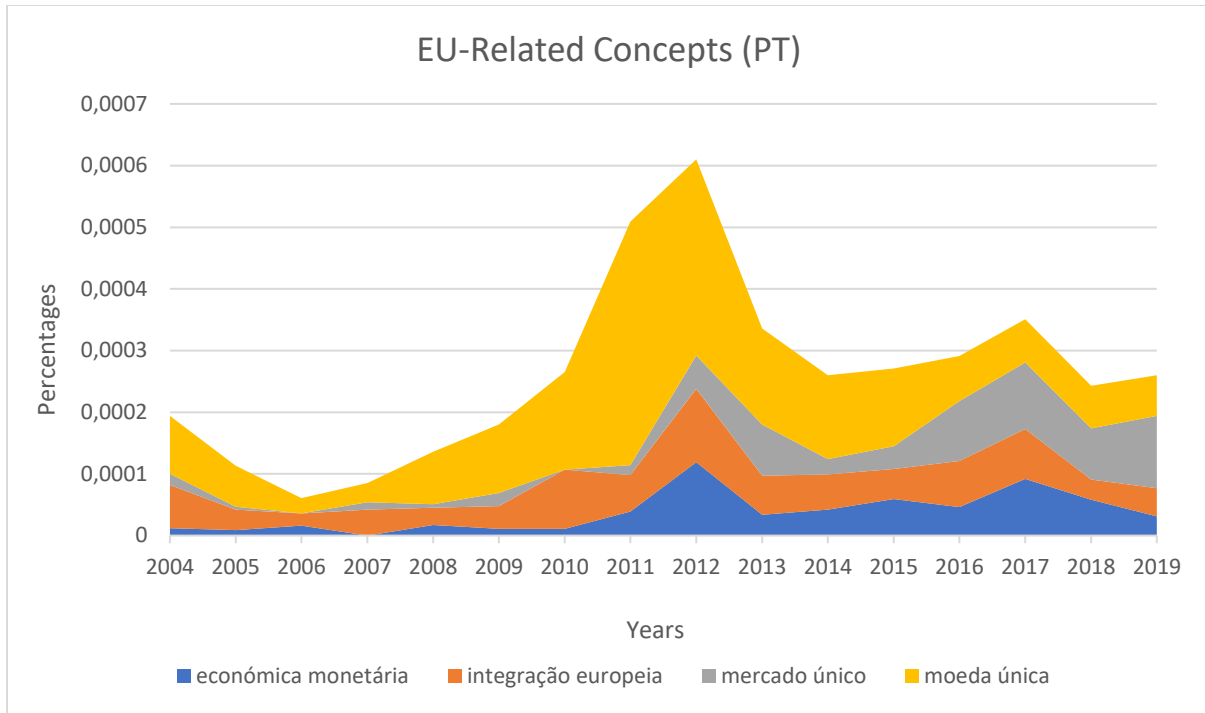


Figure 17. Concepts related to European integration in the Portuguese corpus.

Looking at Table 4 for similar concepts in the English corpus, we can see the absence from the top 50 of terms like European integration or mentions of the Economic Monetary Union. However, terms such as “single currency”, “eu membership”, “free movement”, and “single market” are common. Figure 18 shows the importance of the term “single currency” during the economic crisis, as well as the prominence of the term “single market” and “free movement” during and after 2016, the year of Brexit.

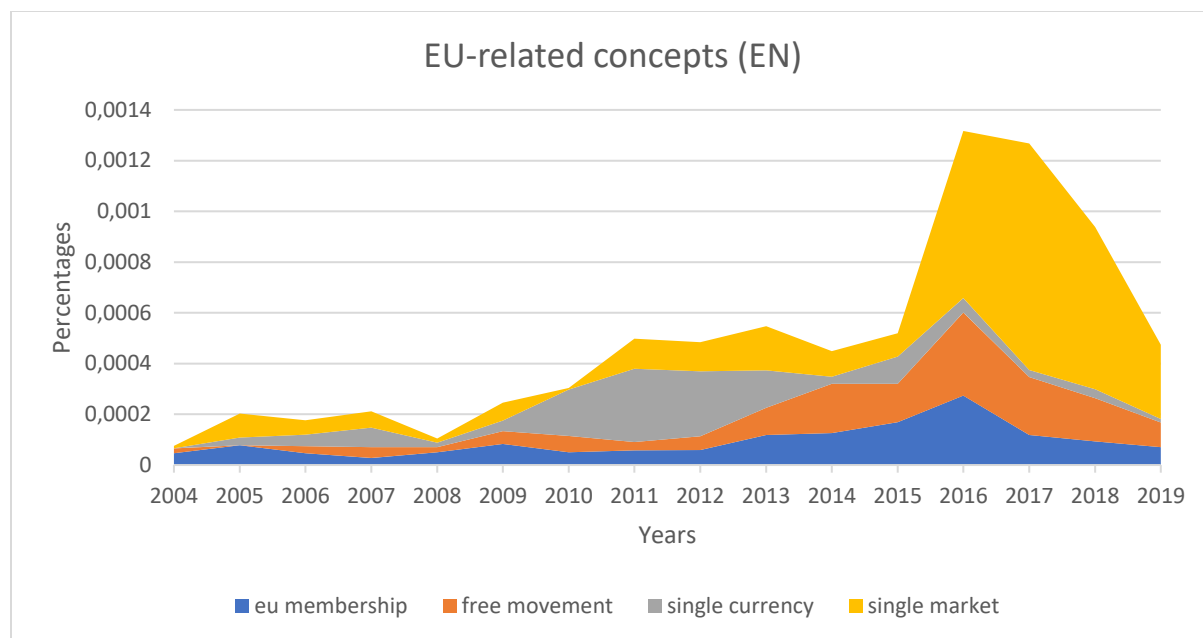


Figure 18. Concepts related to European integration in the English corpus.

Another noteworthy aspect of looking at the tables is that it is possible to see the change in years and how some events and concepts become so important that they overshadow other topics. In terms of Events (Table 3), up until 2010 there was a considerable degree of heterogeneity. In 2004, there were even mentions of the FA cup and the UEFA cup. This is due to an article in the Daily Mirror, with the title “EU can’t nick it”, which refers to how new rules enforced by UEFA would prevent the FA cup runners up from getting to the UEFA qualifiers. Here the EU is mistakenly identified with UEFA which, although a European championship, is not connected to European Institutions. In 2005, there was a reference to “conferência episcopal”, meaning “Episcopal conference”. This was the result of an interview with the Cardinal-Patriarch of Lisbon, José Policarpo, who said he would vote “yes” to a referendum on a European Constitution.⁴⁶³

In the same vein, while there are events which are mentioned in both Portuguese and English newspapers, such as the Lisbon Treaty and Bird flu, each country’s media has its own priorities. In the Portuguese media in both 2004 and 2005 attention was given to “pacto estabilidade” and

⁴⁶³ These specific references in the early years of the corpus are fairly easy to track down, given that the number of articles is lower. The contexts and reader tools in AntConc were used to identify the context of these references.

“estabilidade e crescimento”, which together make up the stability and growth pact, which was part of a package of EMU policies meant to ensure that “EU countries maintained sound finances after the single currency was introduced”.⁴⁶⁴ Going back to what we said in chapter 3 about horizontal and vertical Europeanization, we can see that national concerns were never far away from the coverage of the European Union.

The Concepts table (Table 4), on the other hand, shows that while there is some diversity, the majority of the Bi-Grams relate to economics, with expressions such as “economia portuguesa” (“Portuguese economy”), “crescimento económico” (“economic growth”), “dívida pública” (“public debt”), or “défice orçamental” (“budget deficit”). This is more pronounced in the Portuguese corpus than in the English, and it is particularly obvious from 2005 on.

Similarly, up until 2010, there are some different geopolitical concerns. In the Events table (Table 3), the Portuguese corpus mentions the Bi-Gram “libertação reféns” (“freeing hostages”), which the concordance tool in AntConc shows to be a reference to the situation in Colombia, where the FARC (“The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia”), a revolutionary guerrilla group, freed the kidnapped hostages. Interestingly enough, if we look at the complete list of the top 50 Bi-Grams in that year we see that both Alvaro Uribe, president of Colombia, and Hugo Chavez, president of Venezuela, are part of the top 50 Bi-Grams in *Jornal de Notícias*. In 2008, there is also a reference to “independência kosovo” (“Kosovo Independence”) which finds no correspondence in the English corpus. The English corpus on the other hand, mentions the Iraq War in two different years (2005 and 2007) as well as 11 September (2007).⁴⁶⁵

Although these events show up because the European Union or its officials reacted to them, we can infer the connection between Portugal and South America, given its cultural and linguistic ties to Brazil, as well as the fact that Venezuela is home to a significant number of Portuguese immigrants, who migrated there from the middle of the 20th century.⁴⁶⁶ The importance given to the Iraq War in the English corpus, which is completely absent from the Portuguese corpus, can

⁴⁶⁴ “Stability and Growth Pact,” EUR-Lex, accessed 5 January 2023, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/glossary/stability-and-growth-pact.html>.

⁴⁶⁵ A complete list of the yearly Bi-Grams can be found in Appendix 13.

⁴⁶⁶ Ramnyra Gabriela da Silva Isturiz, “Roots Migration: The Post-Return Experiences of Second-Generation Venezuelan-Portuguese Migrants” (Master Diss, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2021), 11-16. <https://run.unl.pt/handle/10362/118910>.

perhaps be explained by the level, and contested nature, of British involvement in the war, which was significantly higher than the Portuguese.

Up until 2010, both the English and the Portuguese corpora highlight the Lisbon treaty. Here the concepts table (Table 4) becomes very useful, as terms like “eu constitution” and “constituição europeia” (“European constitution”) appear in 2004, 2005 and 2007 in both languages. In 2007, references to the subject also appears as an event as “eu treaty” and “tratado lisboa” (“Lisbon treaty”). This is noteworthy because initially the Lisbon Treaty was supposed to be a Constitution for the EU – which is why it first appears as part of the concepts category, as we classified constitution as a concept. However, this constitution was rejected by referendums in France and Netherlands, and the amended version became the Lisbon Treaty, which was classified as an event.

From 2009 to 2014, the dominant subject is the financial and economic crisis, but this is particularly striking in the Portuguese corpus, where there is less diversity in terms of topics, and a lot of the events are related to the details of the crisis and the process of solving it. Bi-Grams referring to Events (Table 3) such as “estabilidade crescimento” (“stability growth”), “programa estabilidade” (stability program), “crise dívida” (“debt crisis”), “ajuda externa”, (“external help”), “ajuda financeira” (“financial help”) “pacto orçamental”, (“budget agreement”) all point to the impact the crisis had in Portugal, but above all to the political links between the external intervention and Portuguese policies. This external intervention referred to the request for help by the Portuguese government to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which in turn would define measures to improve the Portuguese economy. These measures would be defined not only by the IMF, but also by the European Commission and the European Central Bank. The Bi-Gram “memorando entendimento” (“understanding memoranda”), which appears in 2012, refers to the document that was the result of the rescue of the Portuguese economy, and which included the measures that should be taken in order to recover from the crisis. Two memoranda were signed, the first with the IMF and the second with the European Commission and the European Central Bank.⁴⁶⁷ As shall be shortly seen, the table of Concepts will expand on the economic vocabulary.

The English corpus also contains several references to the crisis, with Bi-Grams such as “financial crisis”, “debt crisis” and “economic crisis” appearing practically every year from 2009 to 2013

⁴⁶⁷ “Memorando da troika anotado,” *Público*, accessed 5 January 2023, <https://www.publico.pt/economia/memorando-da-troika-anotado>

(Table 3). Although the financial crisis remains a major event during this period, with several Bi-Grams making reference to it, there is also space for other events. In 2012, both the English and the Portuguese corpora contain references to the Nobel prize attributed to the EU that year “for over six decades contributed to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe”.⁴⁶⁸ In 2014, the Bi-Grams shown on Table 3 contain references to the invasion of Crimea by Russia. The Portuguese corpus contains events such as “embargo russo” (“Russian embargo”) and “separatistas-pró” (“pro separatists”) while the English corpus contains “sanctions russia” and “ukraine crisis”. On the other hand, “scottish independence” appears only in the English corpus, but finds no correspondence in the Portuguese.

In terms of Concepts (Table 4), if in pre-2010 the tendency towards economic concepts was already strong, they become predominant once the financial crisis results in the external intervention by the IMF in the Portuguese economy. In 2011, the year the memorandum was signed, most of the Bi-Grams are related to economics and finance, and the one that is not directly connected is “integração europeia” (“European integration”). This is also the first time the expression “reestruturação dívida” (“debt restructuring”) made the list. Analysis of the context of these Bi-Grams using AntConc shows that most of the time this refers to the restructuring of the Greek debt. This was a contentious decision, which placed the European Commission and the Greek government in opposition. For months in 2011, European leaders and policymakers rejected the idea of “sovereign defaults”, which had not happened in Europe since before World War II. Still, “the Greek debt exchange” went ahead, setting in fact a new world record for “restructured debt volume and aggregate creditor loses”.⁴⁶⁹ Going briefly back to the Events Table (Table 3), we note that “medidas austeridade” and “austerity measures” were used for the first time in both the English and Portuguese corpora in 2011, as they were part of the packages of solutions to address the crisis and were adopted in both countries. In terms of concepts, this tendency towards economy and finance also occurs in the English corpus. The main difference is that the English corpus includes more direct references to the “eu”: “eu laws” (2010), “eu budget”, “eu membership” (2013, 2014) and “eu rules” (2014). In addition, the Portuguese corpus seems to show a greater concern with

⁴⁶⁸ “The Nobel Peace Prize 2012,” NobelPrize.org, accessed 5 January 2023, <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2012/summary/>.

⁴⁶⁹ Jeromin Zettelmeyer, Christoph Trebesch, and Mitu Gulati, ‘The Greek Debt Restructuring: An Autopsy’, *Economic Policy* 28, no. 75 (1 July 2013): 515-516.

the social consequences of the crisis. “taxa desemprego” (“unemployment rate”) features in almost every year from 2007 to 2014 (except for 2009). This concern for unemployment is particularly obvious in 2013, with Bi-Grams such as “desemprego jovem” (“youth unemployment”) and “emprego jovem” (youth employment”). In the English corpus, on the other hand, references to unemployment are significantly scarcer, appearing only once in 2013. In the same vein, the expression “risco pobreza” (“risk of poverty”) and “taxa pobreza” (“poverty rate”) appears in the Portuguese corpus from 2012 to 2015, whereas in the English corpus the only comparable term would be “cost living” which appears only in 2006 and 2009. In this vein, we also see in the Events Table that the only reference to “greve geral” (“general strike”) in the top 50 Bi-Grams appears in the Portuguese corpus in 2012. Concordance analysis on AntConc shows this refers to a strike against austerity measures, which took place in that year in Portugal.

Figure 19 predictably shows the “economic crisis” Bi-Gram reaching a peak between 2009 and 2010, but this trend is more accentuated in the Portuguese corpus. The Bi-Gram “financial crisis” (figure 20) exists in both corpora, but the Portuguese corpus employs the term more often throughout the 16 years. The conceptual difference between an “economic” crisis and a “financial” crisis is also worth pointing out. An economic crisis is a situation “in which the economy of a country passes through a sudden decrease of its force, decrease usually brought about by a financial crisis”.⁴⁷⁰ An economic crisis might therefore be more closely related to the social consequences of the crisis whereas mentions of financial crisis might refer to more global, economic concerns.

⁴⁷⁰ Doinita Cazan Zafiu and Alina Florentina Cucos Saracu, ‘The Economic Crisis – Meanings and Significations Causes and Solutions’, *Annals of Dunarea de Jos University. Fascicle 1: Economics and Applied Informatics*, no. 2 (1 August 2013): 21–24.

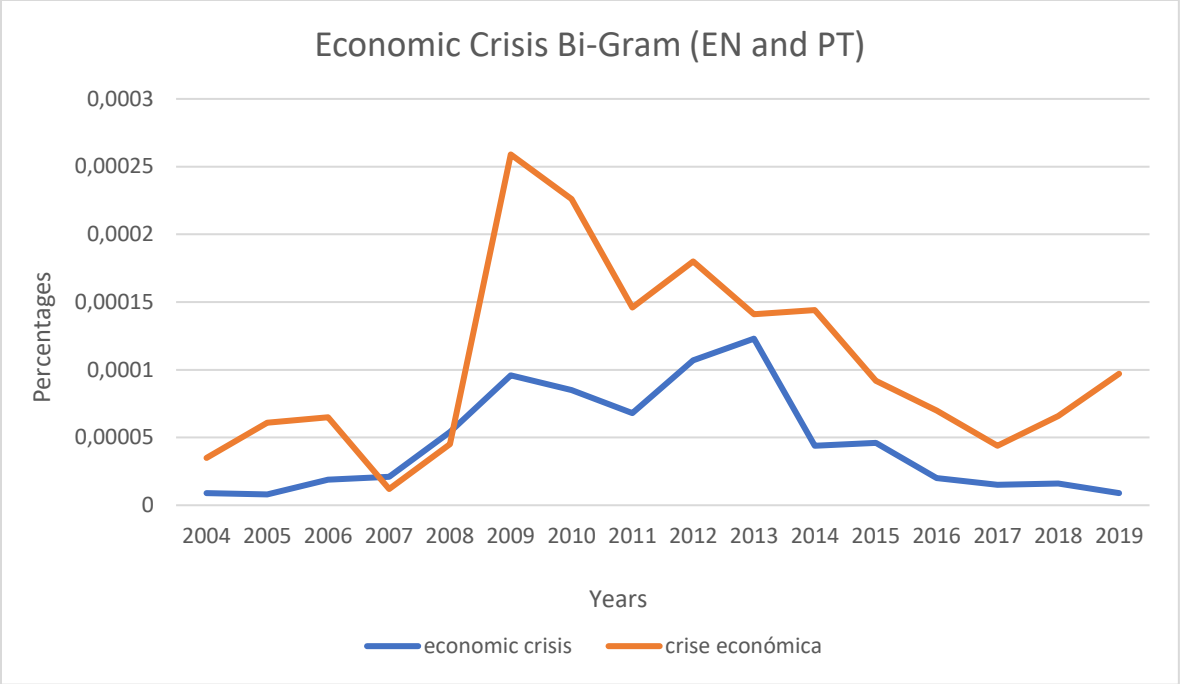


Figure 19. The Bi-Gram “economic crisis” in the English and Portuguese corpora

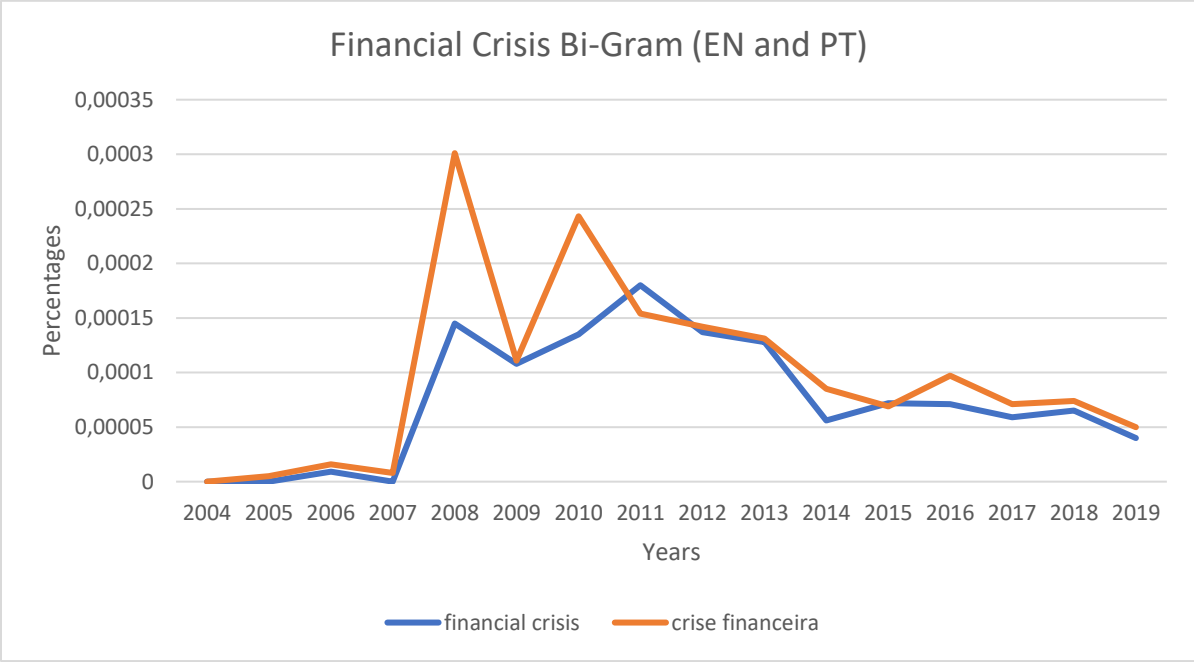


Figure 20. The Bi-Gram “financial crisis” in the English and Portuguese corpora

2015 is an interesting year in terms of events (Table 3), because the economic crisis is abandoned and replaced of the attacks on the newspaper Charlie Hebdo in Paris, which provoked a wave of solidarity particularly amongst European leaders, and the refugee crisis, both referenced in the Portuguese and English corpus. The refugee crisis (“crise refugiados”) is mentioned in the Portuguese corpus in 2016 again, but by then the English corpus has become completely monopolized by Brexit, a trend which continued until 2019.

From 2016 to 2019, the English coverage recurrently mentions the referendum, the stages of the negotiations, the trade deals, and even the possibility of a second referendum (Table 3). What is particularly interesting in terms of concepts (Table 4) is that Brexit seems to introduce a series of concepts which were rarely used earlier in the corpus, but that had always been part of the workings of the European Union: “single market”, “free trade”, “market customs”, and “customs union”. This is a trend supported by what we have already remarked upon in Figure 4 (“EU-related Bi-Grams in the English corpus”). Perhaps somewhat ironically the conceptual world of the European Union and its mechanisms were never employed as much in these 16 years as during the years of Brexit.

Brexit as an event (Table 3) is also mentioned in the Portuguese corpus. Every year from 2016 to 2019 contains the Bi-Gram “saída reino” (“exit kingdom”) and both in 2018 and 2019 “acordo Brexit” (Brexit deal) and “acordo saída” (“exit deal”) are mentioned. However, it does not dominate the coverage as it does in the British newspapers. “Crise refugiados” (“refugee crisis”) is mentioned in 2016 and “crise financeira” (“financial crisis”) is mentioned in 2017; concordance analysis using AntConc shows that it still refers mostly to the financial crisis of 2008 and its consequences. Still, both in 2018 and 2019 several of the Bi-Grams present in the Events Table are related to Brexit and the exit deal.⁴⁷¹

When it comes to concepts (table 4) in the period from 2016 to 2019, the Portuguese corpus remains dominated by the vocabulary of economics, although some of these terms might have been influenced by Brexit. For example, “mercado único” (“single market”) appeared for the first time in 2016 and it appeared again in 2019. On the other hand, “défice excessivo” (“excessive deficit”)

⁴⁷¹ These are linguistic variations of the exit deal and Brexit deal, such as “saída reino” (“exit kingdom”) acordo saída (“deal exit”) saída acordo (“exit deal”), brexit acordo (“brexit deal”) and “acordo Brexit” (“deal Brexit”).

which appeared in 2016 and 2017, refers to the Portuguese deficit, according to the Concordance Tool in AntConc.

Political Differences Between the Two Corpora

Given these observations, it seems that generally the Portuguese corpus is more outward looking when it comes to events, with more mentions of foreign countries and events which are not directly related to the Portuguese political context. The references to international events are more diversified, as has been demonstrated. The references to European Elections are also more common than in the British corpus. Figure 21 shows the differences in the use of the Bi-Gram “European elections”. The peaks occur in the years of the elections (2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019), but the difference between the Portuguese and the English corpus is quite accentuated. There is a rise of the Bi-Gram in the English corpus in 2018-2019, which is still not enough to surpass the mentions in the Portuguese corpus. By then it is easy to suppose that the coverage of the European elections, in which the British still voted, was very related to Brexit.

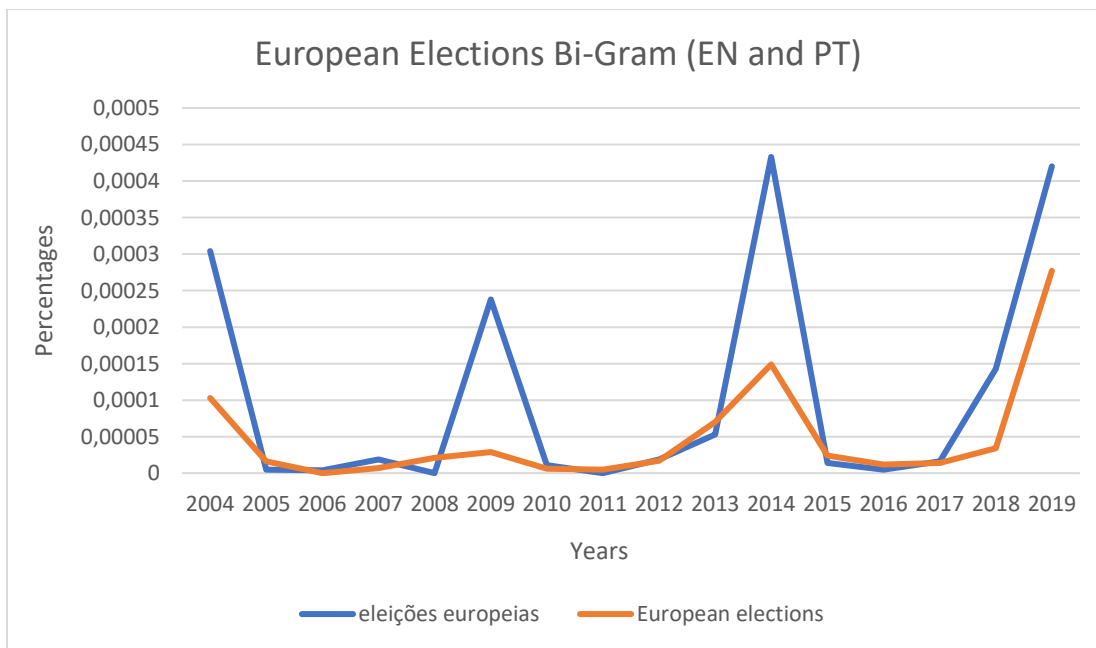


Figure 21. The Bi-Gram “european elections” in the English and Portuguese corpora.

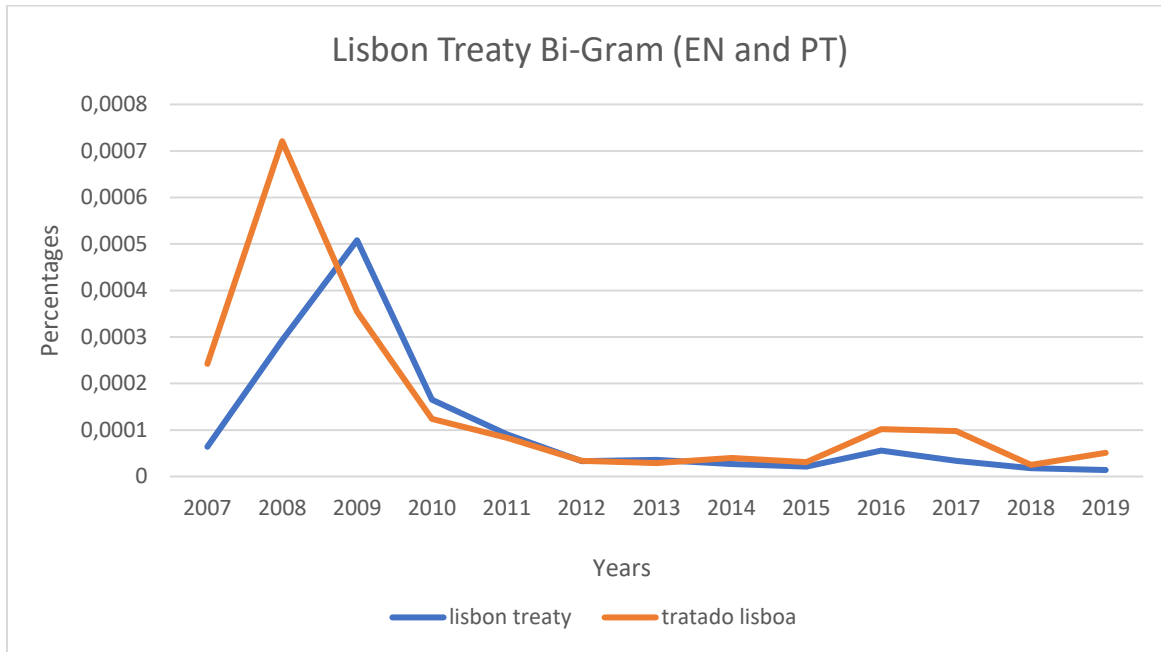


Figure 22. The Bi-Gram “Lisbon Treaty” in the English and Portuguese corpora.

At the same time, mentions of the “lisbon treaty/tratado lisboa” are more mixed (figure 22). If in the year of the signing of the treaty (2007), the Portuguese corpus had more mentions than in the English, this changed in 2009, the year the treaty became effective. Mentions of the treaty see a modest revival in 2016 and an even smaller one in 2019, but this happens mostly in the Portuguese corpus.

When it comes to the economic and financial crisis, two of the topics that dominates the media coverage in both corpora, we decided to do collocation analysis using AntConc so as to provide a context for the use of the terms.

The Portuguese corpus between the years 2008 and 2014 (when we searched for the term “crise económica”) shows that “Portugal” is the first most relevant term appearing on the list (rank 22, frequency 17), followed by “social” (rank 24, frequency 16) and by the words “mundial” (“world”) and “grave” (“serious”). “Europeia” ranks in 35th position with a frequency of 9.⁴⁷² On the other hand, the term “crise financeira”, collocates frequently with “international” (rank 14, frequency

⁴⁷² AP Crise Economica PT 2008-2014. “mundial” ranks at 28 with a frequency of 12 and “grave” ranks at 29 with a frequency of 12.

22) and “europaia” (“european”, rank 24, frequency 13). It is noteworthy that in this case, Greece appears on the collocation list in a higher position than Portugal.⁴⁷³

The same analysis performed on the English corpus shows that “economic crisis” collocates more frequently with “global” (rank 17, frequency 22), “Europe” (rank 19, frequency 19) and “worst” (rank 21, frequency 17). “Greece” (rank 30, frequency 13) appears well ahead of any mentions to the UK.⁴⁷⁴ The term “financial crisis” collocates frequently with “global” (rank 8, frequency 59), “European” (rank 31, frequency 16), and “Europe” (rank 33, frequency 15).⁴⁷⁵

From this, we can infer that when it comes to the economic crisis, the Portuguese press relates it more to the Portuguese internal situation, whereas the UK press views the crisis as an event which is not strictly linked to European affairs. When it comes to the financial crisis, both corpora position it as a global and European affair, which goes in line with the idea previously mentioned that an economic crisis in a country results from a financial crisis, which is a transnational event.

Risse argued that one of the consequences of the Euro-crisis was a strengthening of the “European demos”, given how politicised and visible issues related to European policies became in the public sphere, even when they were not always portrayed in a positive light.⁴⁷⁶ The euro-crisis is indeed a turning point in this dataset, and this can be seen both in terms of events and concepts. However, this is particularly obvious in the Portuguese corpus, especially from 2010 onwards. Furthermore, when it comes to concepts, this tendency follows a trend of associating the media coverage of the EU with financial and economic concepts, which already existed prior to 2010. Nonetheless, events and concepts by themselves are not enough to evaluate the levels of penetration of Europe and other European countries in the national public spheres. To do so, we must look into People, Places and Nationalities.

⁴⁷³ AP Crise Financeira PT 2008-2014. Greece ranks on the 45th place with a frequency of 7, whereas Portugal only appears on the 160th position, with a frequency of 2.

⁴⁷⁴ AP Economic Crise EN 2008-2014. “Britain” ranks on the 138th position, with a frequency of 3.

⁴⁷⁵ AP Financial Crisis EN 2008-2014.

⁴⁷⁶ Thomas Risse, ‘No Demos? Identities and Public Spheres in the Euro Crisis’, *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 52, no. 6 (2014): 1212-1213.

Places

When it comes to Places, we looked at using both Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams. Uni-Grams correspond, naturally, to one word places and Bi-Grams tend to correspond to two or more word places, but whose meaning is intelligible with only two words. In Bi-Grams we also find places that often appear together such as “Portugal Espanha” (“Portugal Spain”) or “France Germany”, which are the result of those two entities appearing together in the text with some frequency.⁴⁷⁷ However, when analysing the Bi-Grams, we will not be considering these instances because our interest here lies in the individual places and countries, rather than the relationship between them.

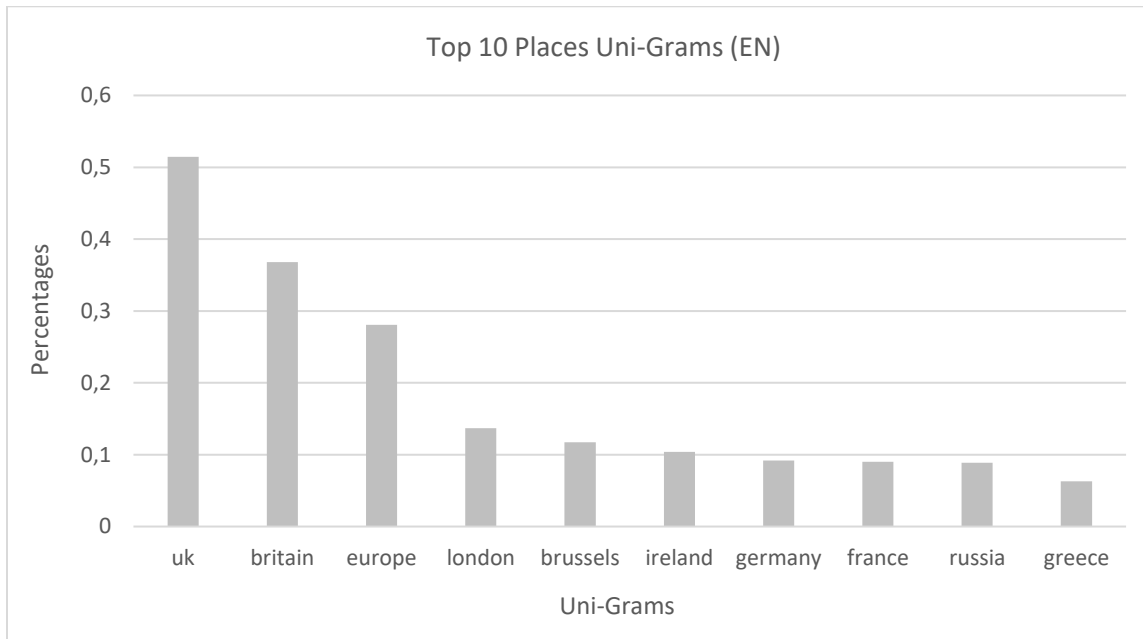


Figure 23. Top 10 places Uni-Grams in the English corpus (2004-2019)

⁴⁷⁷ Separated by a stopword. For example: “Portugal e Espanha” or “France and Germany”. The conjunction “and” is a stopword.

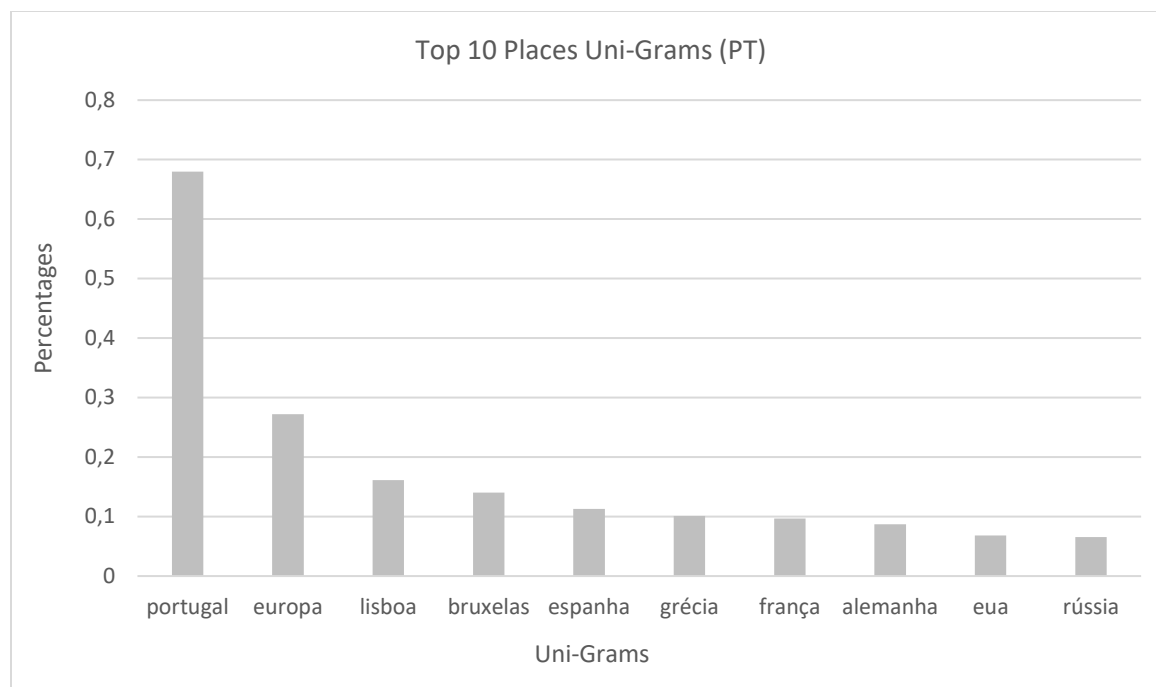


Figure 24. Top 10 places Uni-Grams in the Portuguese corpus (2004-2019)

A similarity between the Portuguese and English top 10 Uni-Grams is the overwhelming presence of mentions of the respective countries (Figures 23 and 24): “Portugal” in the Portuguese corpus and “UK” and “Britain” in the English corpus, as well as mentions of the respective national capitals, “Lisbon” and “London”. However, the figures show other noteworthy similarities. Both the Portuguese and the English corpora share five places in common: “Europe/Europa”, “Brussels/Bruxelas”, “Greece/Grécia”, “France/França”, “Alemanha/Germany”, and “Russia”. Brussels and Europe are easily explained by the fact that the corpus was built and organised around the European Union. In the same sense, the presence of France and Germany points to what was already hinted at in chapter 2, which is the historical and political prominence of these two countries in European politics. Figure 25 shows that the mentions of France and Germany in both corpora are somewhat consistent, with nonetheless interesting differences between them. In the English corpus, France begins with slightly more mentions than Germany, only to be overtaken by Germany around 2010, a tendency which is maintained until 2016, when France returns to prominence. In the Portuguese corpus, the difference between France and Germany is not so accentuated, although Germany only gains more mentions precisely around the years of the

financial and economic crisis, a likely sign of the importance that Germany and its government would assume during those years.

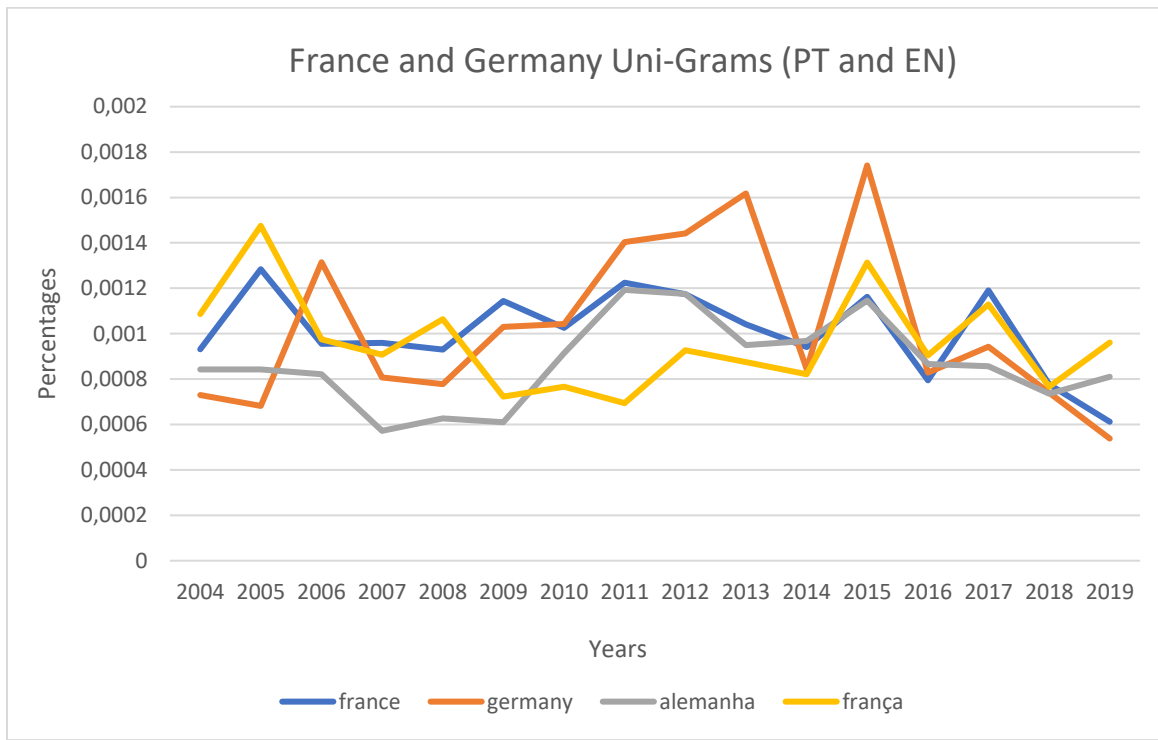


Figure 25. The Uni-Grams “France” and “Germany” in the English and Portuguese corpora.

When we look at the words “Europe/Europa” and “Brussels/Bruxelas” (Figure 26), we observe a trend already present in figure 14: a slight inversion towards the end of the dataset, as the Uni-Gram “Europe” gains more mentions in the Portuguese corpus than in the English, contradicting the trend of the previous years. The Uni-Gram “Bruxelas”, on the other hand, had always had more mentions throughout the years in the Portuguese corpus, with the exception of 2009 and 2018. Given how wide the noun “Europe” is, it cannot simply be defined as a synonym for European Union. In the English corpus, “Europe” collocates frequently with “Britain” (rank 21, frequency 2263), “uk” (rank 38, frequency 1274) and “eastern” (rank 39, frequency 1231), which can indicate both a political, but also a geographical definition.⁴⁷⁸ At the same time, Brussels collocates frequently with “eu” (rank 13, frequency 1741), “summit” (rank 25, frequency 921) and

⁴⁷⁸ AP Europe EN 2004-2019.

“European” (rank 26, frequency 856), which shows that Brussels is not so much the capital of Belgium, but rather the place where the EU operates.⁴⁷⁹ The Portuguese corpus follows this trend, with “Europa” collocating with “países” (“countries”, rank 23, frequency 821), “Portugal” (rank 26, frequency 720) and “Europeia” (“European”, rank 39, frequency 419).⁴⁸⁰ Bruxelas collocates with “europeia” (rank 19, frequency 627), “Portugal” (rank 27, frequency 362), and “acordo” (“deal”, rank 29 frequency 341).⁴⁸¹

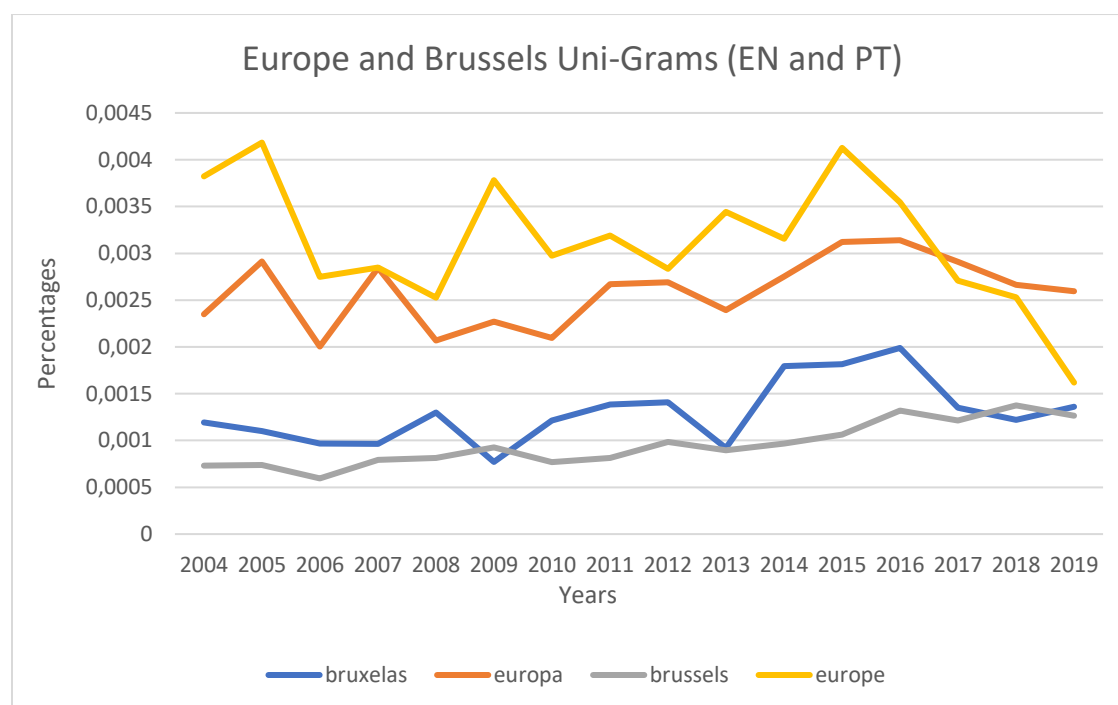


Figure 26. The Uni-Grams “France” and “Germany” in the English and Portuguese corpus.

When we looked into the collocations for France and Germany in both corpora, we verified that in the Portuguese case, some of the most high-ranked collocations for Alemanha (Germany) were other European countries, such as France, United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, Portugal and the

⁴⁷⁹ AP Brussels EN 2004-2019.

⁴⁸⁰ AP Europa PT 2004-2019.

⁴⁸¹ AP Bruxelas PT 2004-2019.

Netherlands.⁴⁸² The “França” Uni-Gram followed suit, collocating more frequently with Germany, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.⁴⁸³ In the English corpus, Germany also frequently collocated with other European countries, such as France, Britain, UK, Spain and Netherlands, whereas France collocated with Italy, Britain, UK, Spain, Netherlands, and Belgium.⁴⁸⁴ One noteworthy difference between the two corpora is that mentions of people, particularly heads of state, are more frequently collocated with countries in the English corpus than in the Portuguese. Merkel appears collocated more frequently with Germany, and Macron with France, in the English corpus than in the Portuguese corpus. In the Portuguese corpus several European countries rank first in terms of frequencies, and only after those countries come a first mention of Merkel or Hollande and Macron.⁴⁸⁵ Generally, we can say that countries tend to be mentioned together with other countries rather than with people.

When it comes to Greece and Russia, we can easily hypothesise that these mentions occur as a result of a specific conjuncture, namely the Greek debt crisis which, as mentioned, contributed to the financial crisis in Europe, the refugee crisis which affected Greece directly, and Russia’s invasion of both Georgia in 2008 and Ukraine in 2014. Figure 27 speaks to this latter hypothesis, with Russia occupying a smaller peak in 2008 and then a much larger one in 2014.

⁴⁸² These are by order of frequency in the collocation list on AntConc, which can be seen in AP Alemanha PT 2004-2019.

⁴⁸³ By order of frequency. AP França PT 2004-2019.

⁴⁸⁴ AP Germany EN 2004-2019 and AP France EN 2004-2019.

⁴⁸⁵ For Merkel see AP Germany EN 2004-2019 and AP Alemanha PT 2004-2019. For Macron see AP France EN 2004-2019 and AP França PT 2004-2019.

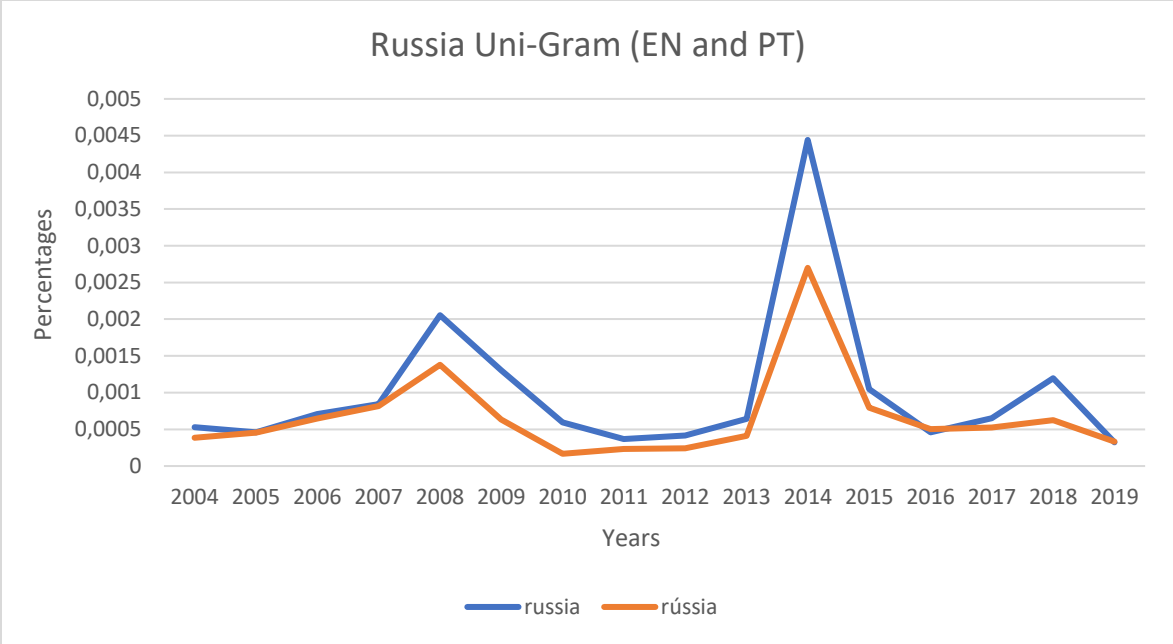


Figure 27. The Uni-Gram “Russia” in the English and Portuguese corpora

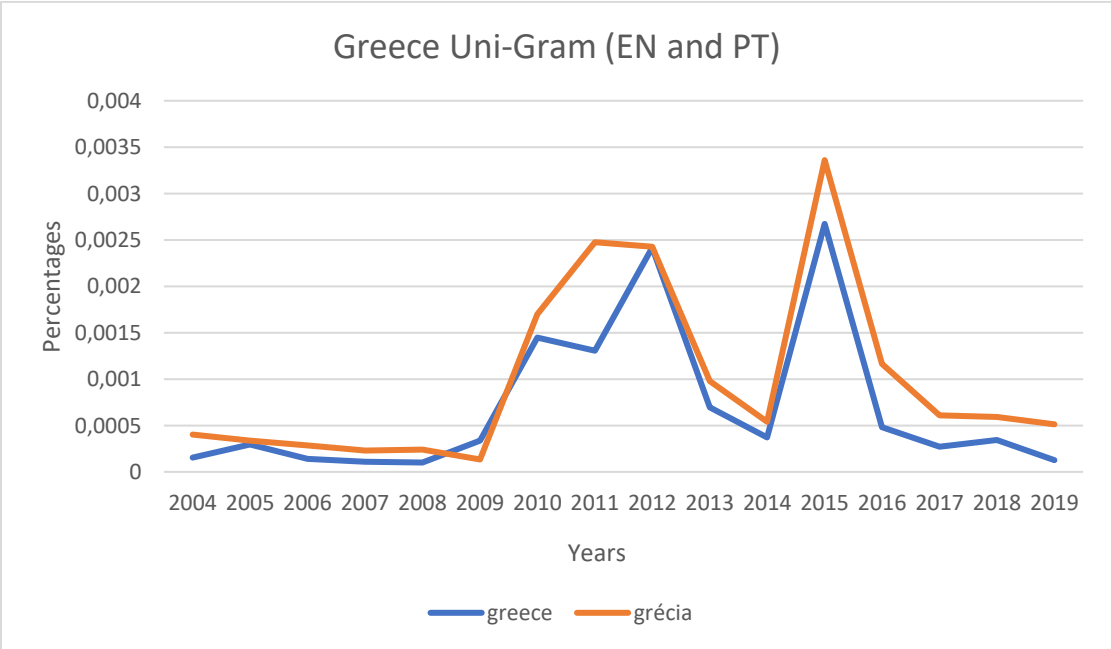


Figure 28. The Uni-Gram “Greece” in the English and Portuguese corpora.

The Greece hypothesis is also confirmed by Figure 28, which build on the idea we put forward in the last section (Events and Concepts) that the Portuguese media paid a little more attention to the situation in Greece than the English media, as the economic and social situation in Greece shared similarities with the Portuguese.

Collocation for the Greece Uni-Gram in the Portuguese corpus show that it appears frequently with other European countries, including Italy, Portugal and Spain (and following the trend of countries being mentioned together). As we shall see in next chapter, it is no coincidence that Southern European countries are often mentioned together. However, the Uni-Grams “refugees” and “migrants” also appear (ranked 43th and 55st respectively), whereas the world “regaste” (“rescue”), referring to the Greek debt crisis, ranks in 56th place.⁴⁸⁶ In the English corpus, Greece collocates frequently with countries such as Italy, Spain and Portugal. The Uni-Gram “debt” appears ranked in 26th place and “crisis” in 37th, while “Bailout” ranks at 50th. “Migrants” and “refugees” appear a little lower in the list (57th and 68th, respectively).⁴⁸⁷ This accounts for the peak we see in figure 15 in 2015, at the height of the refugee crisis, in which Greece figured prominently, as many of the refugees arrived by sea to Greek shores. This gives a hint as to the importance of this event, as Greece is mentioned even more during 2015 than during the years of the economic/financial crisis which, as we demonstrated before, is one of the other events that dominates the dataset.

⁴⁸⁶ Refugees has a frequency of 162, migrants of 142, and rescue of 140. AP Grécia PT 2004-2019.

⁴⁸⁷ Debt has a frequency of 410, crisis of 302, bailout of 257, migrants of 218 and refugees of 182. AP Greece EN 2004-2019.

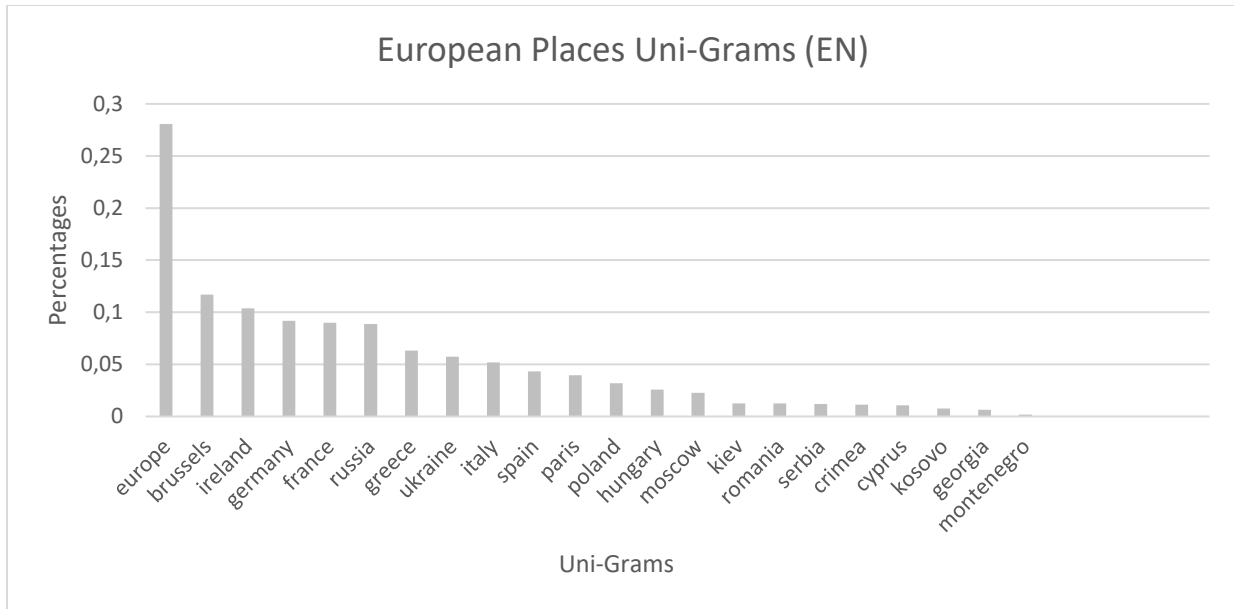


Figure 29. All the Uni-Grams for European places that appear on the top 50 lists in the English corpus (2004-2019).

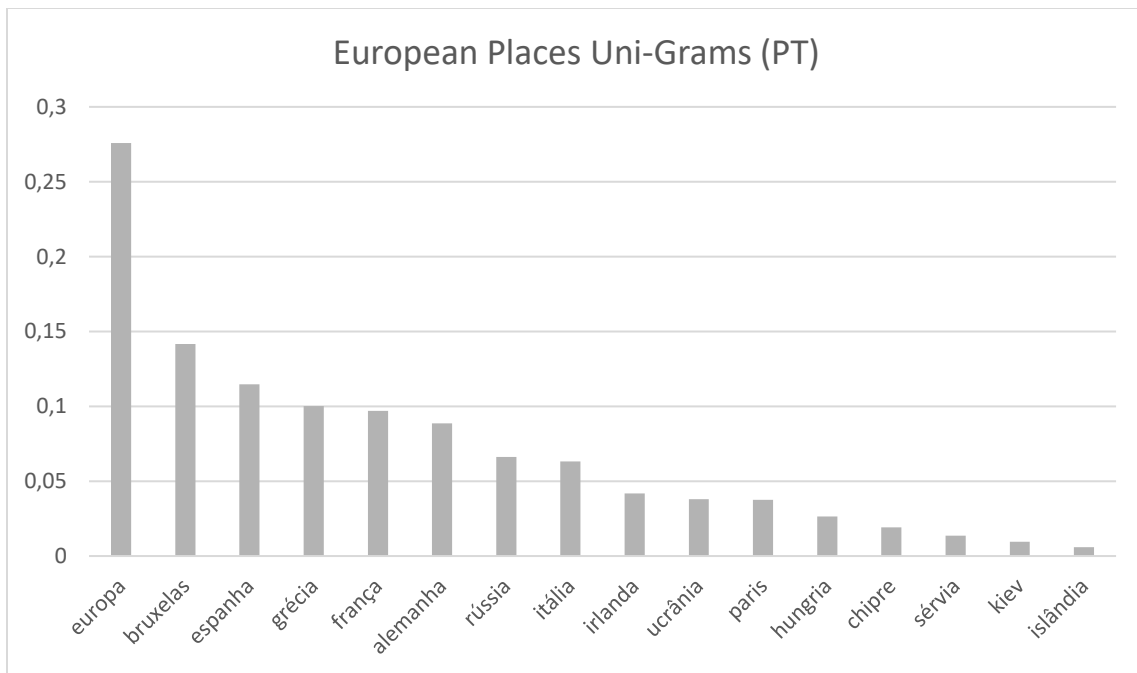


Figure 30. All the Uni-Grams for European places that appear on the top 50 lists in the Portuguese corpus (2004-2019).

Figures 29 and 30 show all the European places that are mentioned in the top 50 Uni-Grams in the Portuguese and English corpus at any point during our chronology.⁴⁸⁸ It is easy to see that the English corpus is more diverse, as it has more Uni-Grams referring to European places. However, most of the locations that are mentioned in the English corpus but find no correspondence in the Portuguese are situated in Eastern Europe (Poland, Romania and Montenegro). An additional point is the presence of Crimea and Moscow in the English corpus, which again are not present in the Portuguese's top 50 Uni-Grams at any point. This, perhaps, indicates the depth of the coverage of the Russian invasion in the English media.

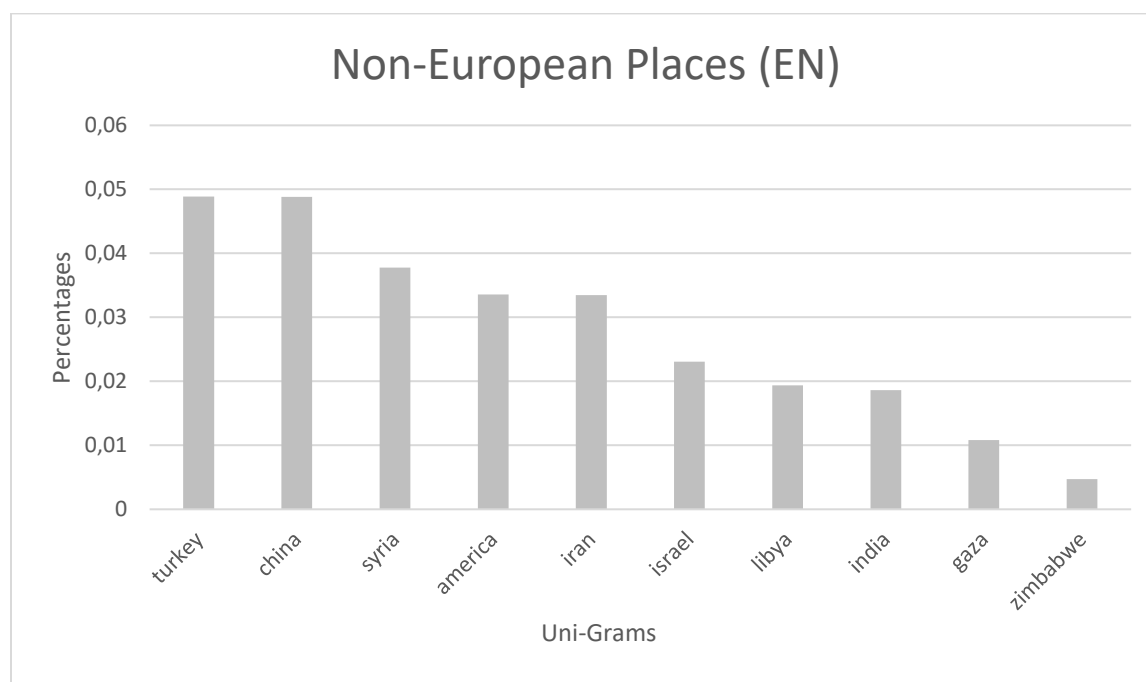


Figure 31. All the Uni-Grams for non-European places that appear on the top 50 lists in the English corpus (2004-2019).

⁴⁸⁸ Excluding mentions of places inside Portugal and the UK, including cities and nations, such as Scotland and Wales.

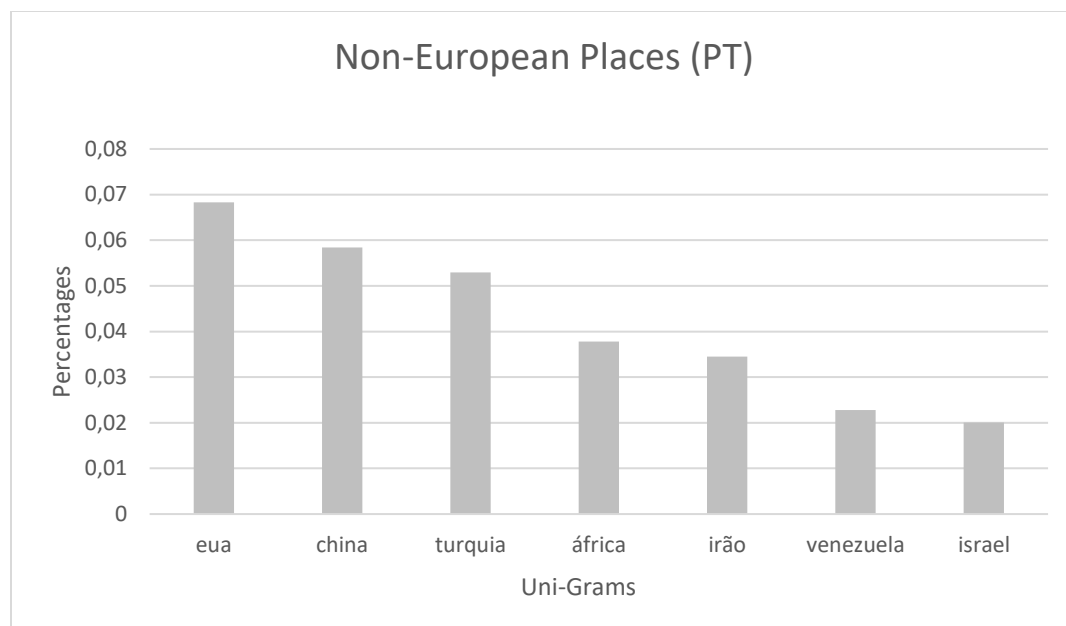


Figure 32. All the Uni-Grams for non-European places that appear on the top 50 lists in the Portuguese corpus (2004-2019).

Figures 31 and 32 show the mention of non-European places in the top 50 Uni-Grams throughout the Portuguese and English corpora. These also have something of an imbalance in terms of diversity, though it is not as accentuated as for the European places. They are also more similar: both corpora mention “China”, “Turkey/Turquia”, “Iran/Irão” and “Israel”. The Portuguese corpus contain the Uni-Gram “eua” (USA), whereas the English corpus contains the Uni-Gram “america” which might refer to both the country and the continent. The AntConc Concordance tool shows that most of the mentions are of the United States with a good number referring to Central, Latin and South America, which, in any case, are not European places. Their mention in the articles might reflect the extent to which the EU developed diplomatic ties with different parts of the world and how the EU as an institution acts as a political actor in the world stage.

Turkey is an interesting case as one of the long-standing questions when it comes to the European Union is Turkey’s entry. In the English corpus, collocation shows the word “join” ranking 54th with a frequency of 170 and “joining” ranks 69th with a frequency of 149.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁹ AP Turkey EN 2004-2019.

On the other hand, close reading analysis using AntConc showed us that mentions of Israel in both corpora have to do with the conflict between Israel and Palestine in the Middle East and the response from the EU and several European countries to the conflict. In the English corpus this is reinforced by the presence of the Uni-Gram “Gaza”. Similar analysis done on “Iran” in the English corpus shows that many of the mentions occur in the later years of the corpus, from the presidency of Trump onwards, when relations between the US and Iran soured and sanctions against Iran were reinstated.

The Uni-Gram “Libya” is interesting. Libya and the UK have a shared history: the British were involved in toppling Gaddafi’s regime and there were tensions between both governments during the Libyan civil war in the 1980s, with protesters and one British policewoman being killed by Embassy staff outside the Libyan Embassy in London following protests. Collocation analysis on AntConc shows that Libya, like Syria, is connected to the refugee crisis and to the arrival of refugees to Europe.⁴⁹⁰

Close reading analysis done on the Portuguese corpus shows that there are several mentions of “Africa” in 2007, a trend confirmed by how the Uni-Gram “Africa” and the Bi-Gram “Continento Africano” appear in the top 50 lists in 2007.⁴⁹¹ This is on occasion of the Europe-Africa summit, which took place in Lisbon in that year. Venezuela on the other hand, collocates frequently with “presidente” (rank 8, frequency 198), “crise” (“crisis”, rank 17, frequency 94) and “guaido” (rank 20, frequency 84), which takes us to the context of Venezuela in 2019, when Juan Guaido, then President of the National Assembly, self-declared as President, after refusing to recognize the legitimacy of the election of Nicolas Maduro.⁴⁹² Portugal and the EU recognized Guaido as the legitimate president of Venezuela.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹⁰ In the case of Syria, “refugees” ranks in the 31th position with a frequency of 200. AP Syria EN 2004-2019. In the case of Libya, “migrants” ranks at 16 with a frequency of 189. AP Libya EN 2004-2019.

⁴⁹¹ Appendix 13 – Complete Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams lists (2007 Top Words).

⁴⁹² AP Venezuela PT 2004-2019.

⁴⁹³ “Guaidó diz que ajuda humanitária começa a chegar nos ‘próximos dias,’” *Correio da Manhã*, 10 February 2019, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/mundo/detalhe/guaido-diz-que-ajuda-humanitaria-comeca-a-chegar-nos-proximos-dias>.

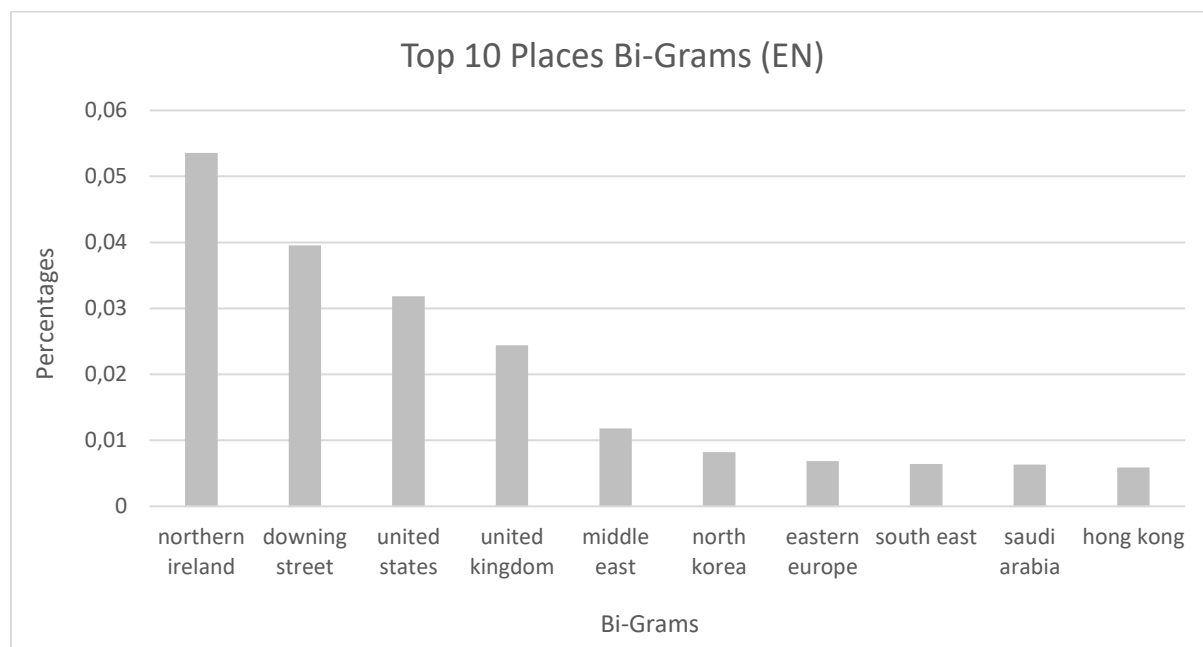


Figure 33. Top 10 places Bi-Grams in the English corpus (2004-2019)

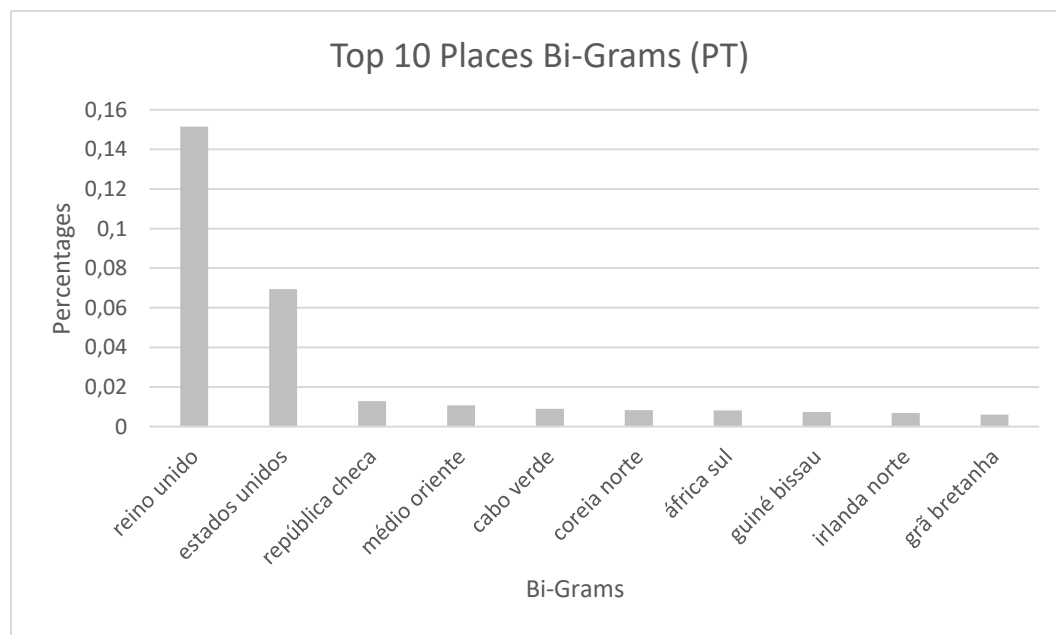


Figure 34. Top 10 places Bi-Grams in the Portuguese corpus (2004-2019)

Figures 33 and 34 show the top 10 place Bi-Grams, excluding the composite Bi-Grams joining two places (France Germany, Portugal Espanha) we mentioned at the beginning of this section. There are some similarities, which point to the weight of the later years of the corpus, particularly through the prominence of Northern Ireland/Irlanda Norte. As Figure 35 shows, the Bi-Gram “Northern Ireland” was relatively insignificant until the Brexit years, during which it rose to prominence, given the political importance of the land frontier between the UK and the EU, situated in Northern Ireland. In the Portuguese corpus, we can also see how the Bi-Gram Reino Unido (United Kingdom) became very important from 2016 onwards (figure 36). It is worth repeating that although the weight of these Bi-Grams in the overall corpus is inflated by the size of the later years of the corpus, it is important not to overlook the significance of the event – Brexit – around which these Bi-Grams revolve. Even if all the years of the corpus had exactly the same amount of words, Brexit would still be a very important event in the last 4 years.

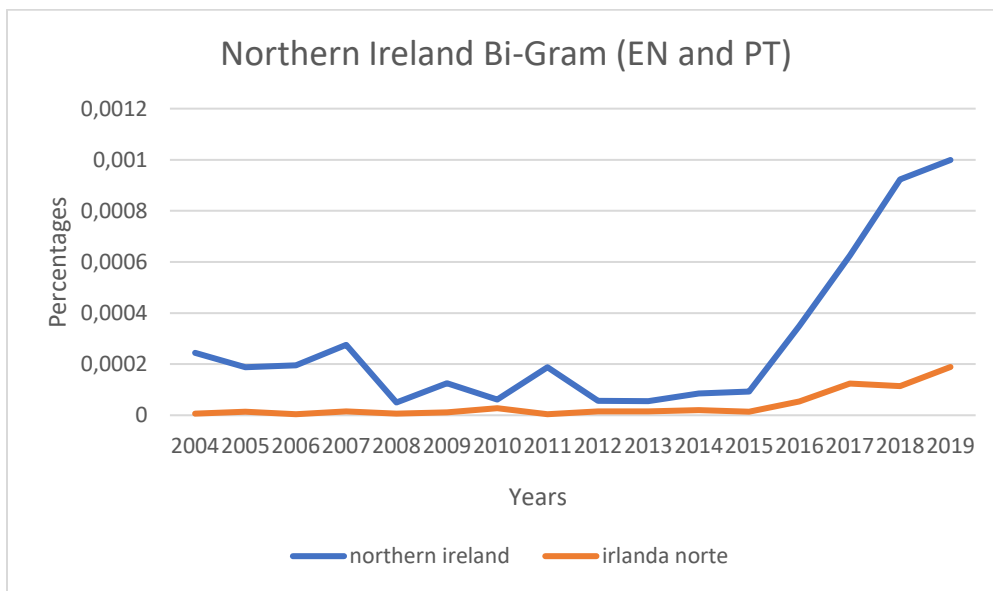


Figure 35. The Bi-Gram “Northern Ireland” in both the English and the Portuguese corpora.

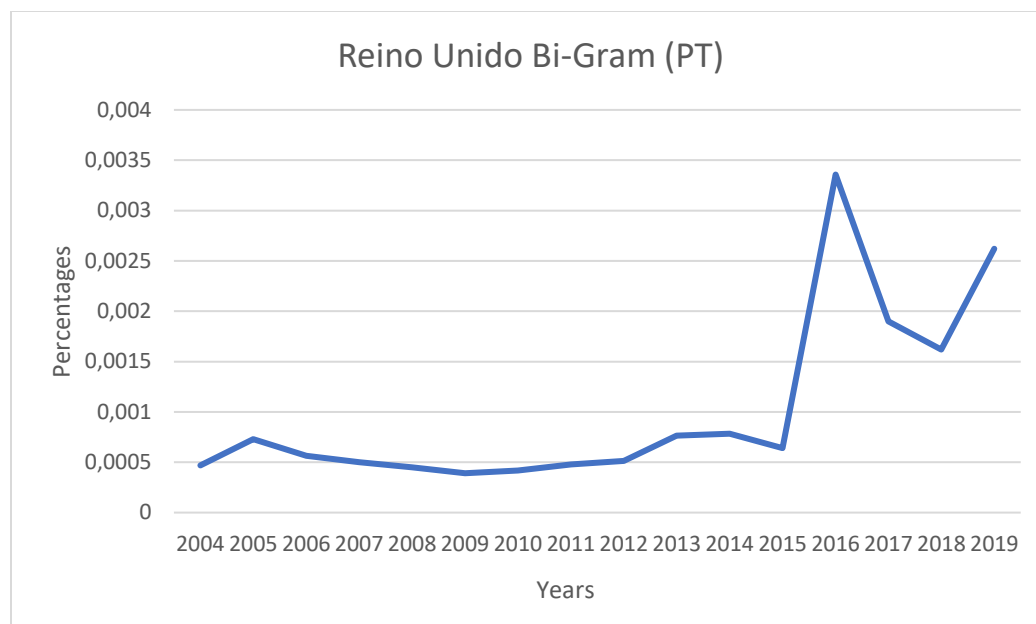


Figure 36. The Bi-Gram “Reino Unido” in the Portuguese corpus.

Other than “Northern Ireland”/ “Irlanda Norte” and “United Kingdom”/ “Reino Unido, both corpora share the Bi-Gram “Middle East” / “Medio Oriente” and “United States” / “Estados Unidos”. Collocation analysis using Antconc shows that in the English corpus “United States” collocates frequently with “president” (ranked 12th), “Europe” (15th), “Trump” (30st) and also with “Russia” (33th).⁴⁹⁴ “Middle East” collocates often with Africa (6th), peace (14th), Europe (17th), Asia (19th) and war (21st).⁴⁹⁵

In the Portuguese corpus, on the other hand, “Estados Unidos” collocates often with “Europeia” (“European”) and “união” (“Union”) (ranked in 11th and 12th place respectively), and also with “Presidente” (17th) and “Trump” (29th).⁴⁹⁶ “Médio Oriente” collocates frequently with “Africa” (9th), “paz” (peace, 14th) and “Europa” (16th).⁴⁹⁷ Although collocation analysis also reveals the weight of the later years of the corpus (the mentions of Trump can only occur in the later part of the dataset), there are similar concerns between the corpora: in the case of “middle east”, the fact

⁴⁹⁴ AP United States EN 2004-2019.

⁴⁹⁵ AP Middle East EN 2004-2019.

⁴⁹⁶ AP Estados Unidos PT 2004-2019.

⁴⁹⁷ AP Médio Oriente PT 2004-2019

that war and peace are words that appear frequently reveal a concern about the fragile political situation in the Middle East. Concordance analysis as well as collocation analysis show that this relates to the EU both in an indirect way – as a consequence of the conflicts in the Middle East, Europe receives refugees ⁴⁹⁸– and directly, with EU institutions or politicians connected either to EU institutions or to major European governments commenting on the political situation in the region.⁴⁹⁹ In the case of the United States, this analysis reveals the close political ties between Europe and the United States.

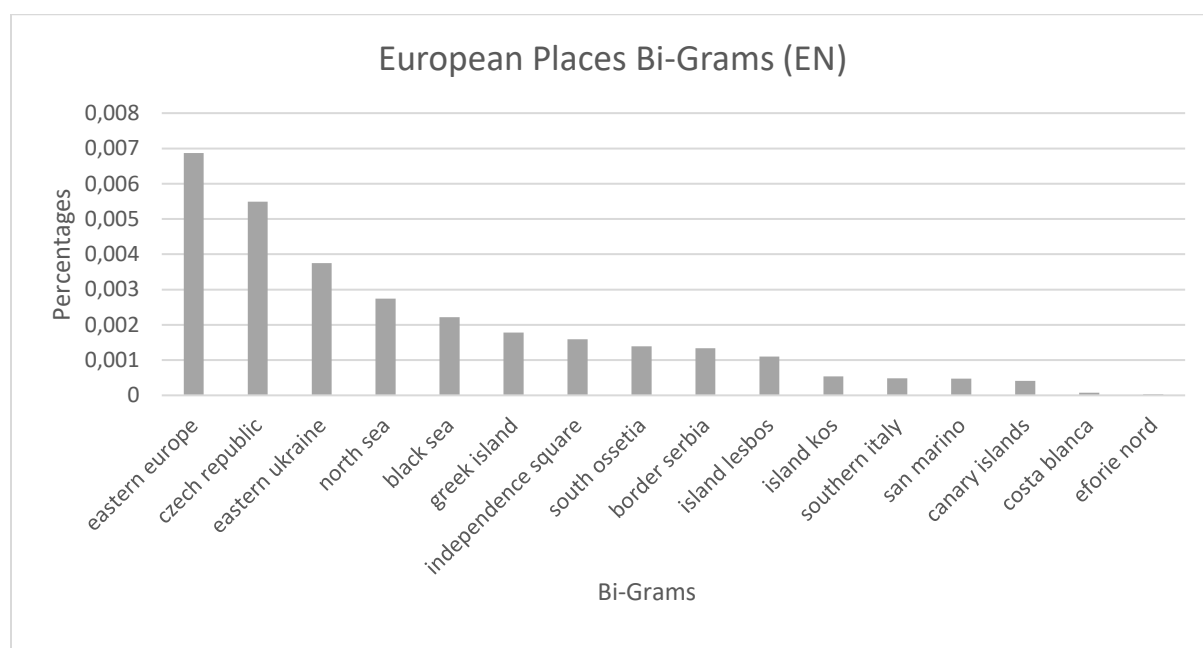


Figure 37. All the Bi-Grams for European places that appear on the top 50 lists in the English corpus (2004-2019)

⁴⁹⁸ Collocation analysis done on the entirety of the English corpus shows the Bi-Gram “middle east” collocating with “migrants” (rank 32, frequency 57) and “refugees” (rank 41, frequency 43). In AP Middle East EN 2004-2019. In the Portuguese corpus, “medio oriente” is collocated with “refugiados” (rank 44, frequency 15). Migrantes appears much lower on the list (ranked 901, frequency 1). In AP Médio Oriente PT 2004-2019.

⁴⁹⁹ An illustrative example is an article from the Guardian from 2019 on the Israeli settlements in the West Bank, where Federica Mogherini “the European Union’s foreign policy chief” comments on the EU position on the settlements. In Julian Borger and Oliver Holmes, “US Says Israeli Settlements No Longer Considered Illegal in Dramatic Shift,” *The Guardian*, 18 November 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/nov/18/us-israeli-settlements-no-longer-considered-illegal-palestinian-land-mike-pompeo>.

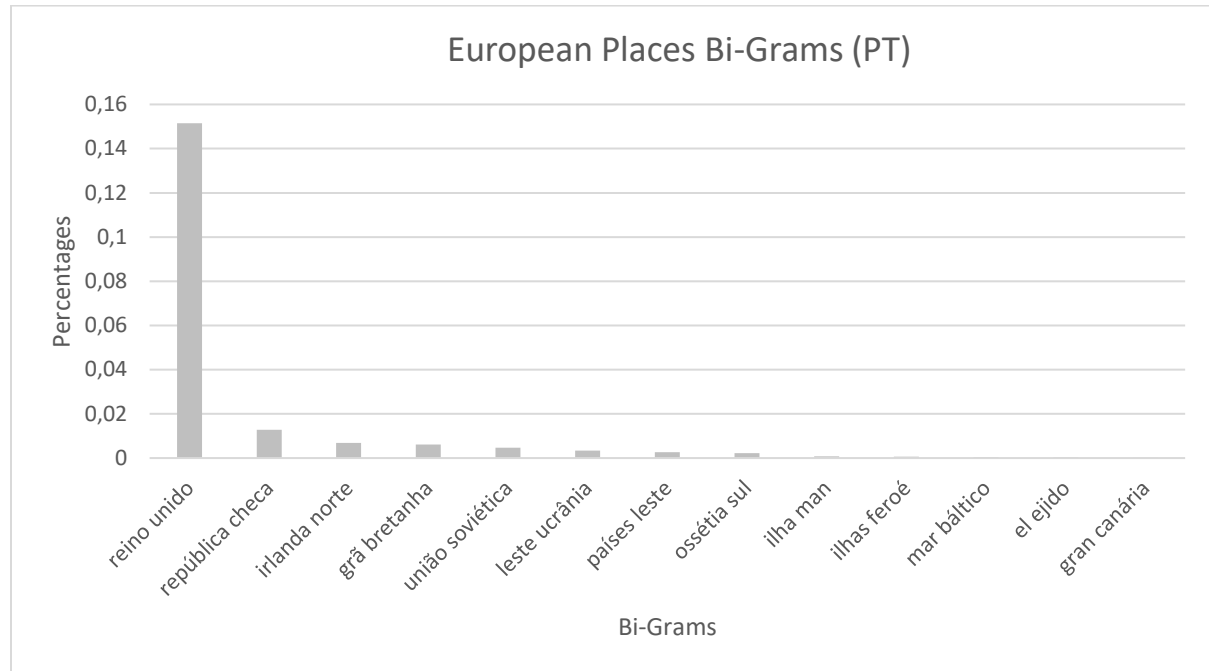


Figure 38. All the Bi-Grams for European places that appear on the top 50 lists in the Portuguese corpus (2004-2019)

Figures 37 and 38 show the Bi-Grams for European places, excluding those which refer to locations inside each country. There are two noteworthy similarities: first, the presence of Soviet Union/união Soviética and second, the Bi-Gram “Eastern Europe”, which finds equivalence in the Portuguese Bi-Gram “países leste” (“Eastern countries”). Figure 39 shows the evolution of the latter in both corpora.

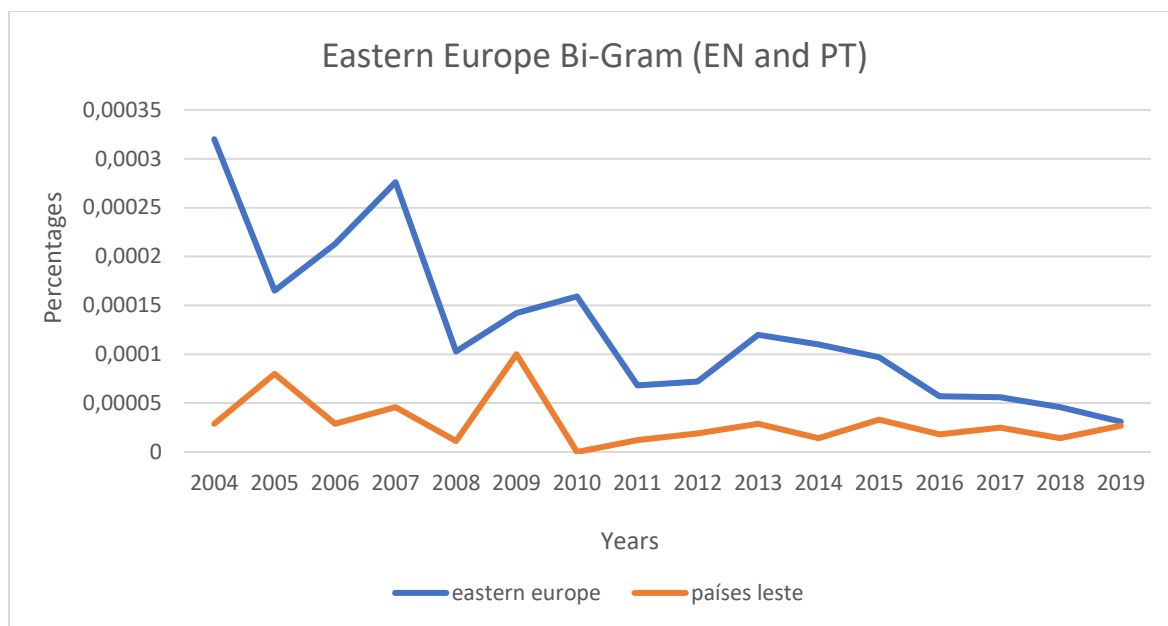


Figure 39. The Bi-Gram “Eastern Europe” in both the English and the Portuguese corpora.

Eastern Europe is then always higher in the English corpus, though it suffers quite abrupt changes in the early years of the corpus, which might be explained by the small number of articles and words, which means that even comparatively few references to Eastern Europe will appear when quantified according to each year’s number of words. Interestingly, however, there is no particular rise during the years immediately before Brexit, where immigration from Eastern European countries was a hotly debated subject.⁵⁰⁰ However, regardless of the chronology, collocation analysis using AntConc demonstrates that “Eastern Europe” collocates with “immigration” (rank 27, frequency 39) and “migration” (rank: 30, frequency 36).⁵⁰¹ In the Portuguese corpus, we were unable to do collocation analysis as “países do Leste” are three words and AntConc was unable to produce results for a three-word phrase. Instead, we searched for “do leste” and we used the Concordance Tool to perform close reading analysis on the articles where the term “países do Leste” appeared. We verified that immigration from Eastern European countries to Portugal is also a present issue, such as articles on human trafficking in which the victims are Eastern Europeans⁵⁰² and on how HIV disproportionately affects an immigrant population coming from Eastern

⁵⁰⁰ Jakob-Moritz Eberl et al., ‘The European Media Discourse on Immigration and Its Effects: A Literature Review’, *Annals of the International Communication Association* 42, no. 3 (July 2018): 212.

⁵⁰¹ AP Eastern Europe EN 2004-2019.

⁵⁰² “Muitos menores são traficados para receber subsídios em países ricos,” *Correio da Manhã*, 31 March 2019, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/portugal/detalhe/muitos-menores-sao-trafficados-para-receber-subsidios-em-paises-ricos>.

Europe,⁵⁰³ as well as articles on the opposition from Eastern European countries to the European policy on refugees.⁵⁰⁴

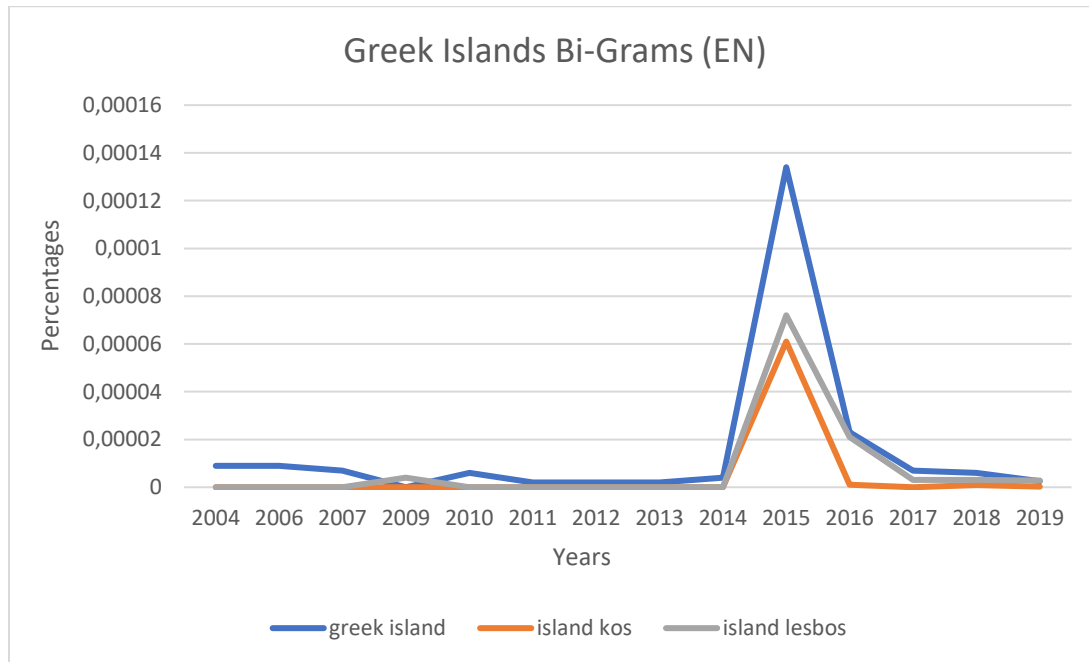


Figure 40. The Bi-Grams related to Greek islands in the English corpus.

Figure 40 hints that these references are explained by the refugee crisis, to which we have previously alluded, as these islands were often the first point of arrival for refugees coming in boats from the Mediterranean.

⁵⁰³ Margarida David Cardoso, “Mais de um terço dos novos diagnosticados com VIH são imigrantes,” *Público*, 21 January 2019, <https://www.publico.pt/2019/01/21/sociedade/noticia/terco-novos-diagnosticados-vih-sao-migrantes-1858818>.

⁵⁰⁴ “Eslovaquia-prefere-violar-regras-da-ue-do-que-aceitar-quotas-de-refugiados-4792802,” *Jornal de Notícias*, 22 September 2015, <https://www.jn.pt/tag/eslovaquia-prefere-violar-regras-da-ue-do-que-aceitar-quotas-de-refugiados-4792802.html/>.

“Líderes da UE reúnem-se em Bruxelas em cimeira de emergência,” *Correio da Manhã*, 23 September 2015, https://www.cmjornal.pt/mundo/detalhe/lideres_da_ue_reunem_se_em_bruxelas_em_cimeira_de_emergencia.

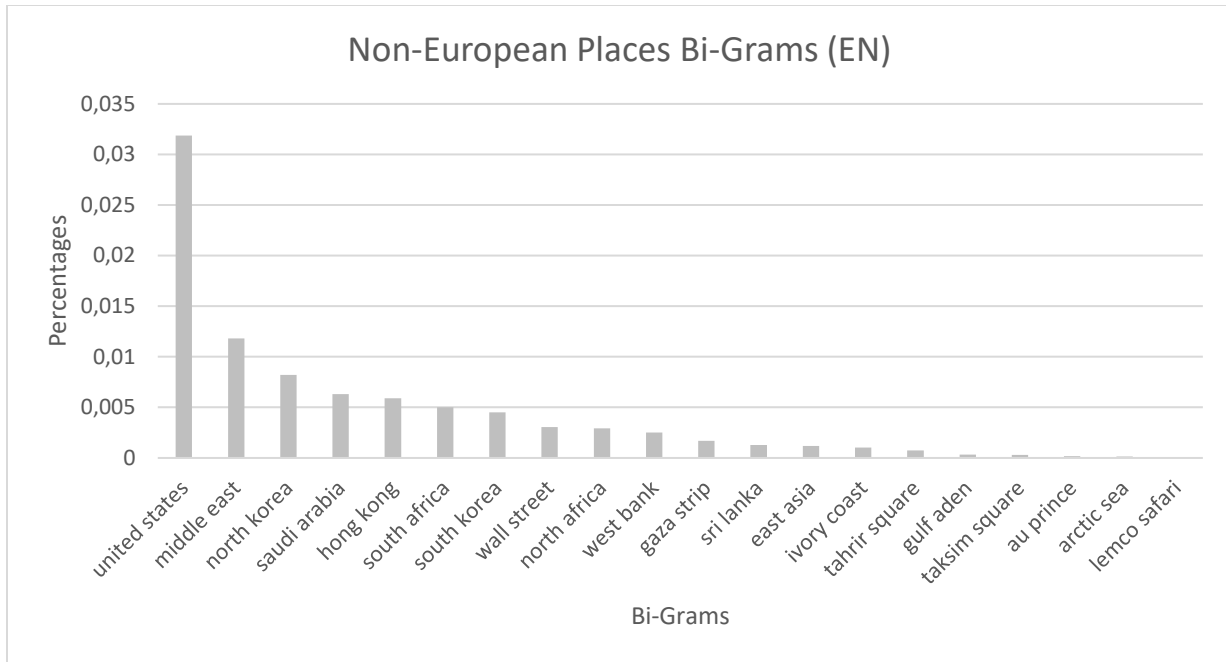


Figure 41. All the Bi-Grams for non-European places that appear on the top 50 lists in the English corpus (2004-2019).

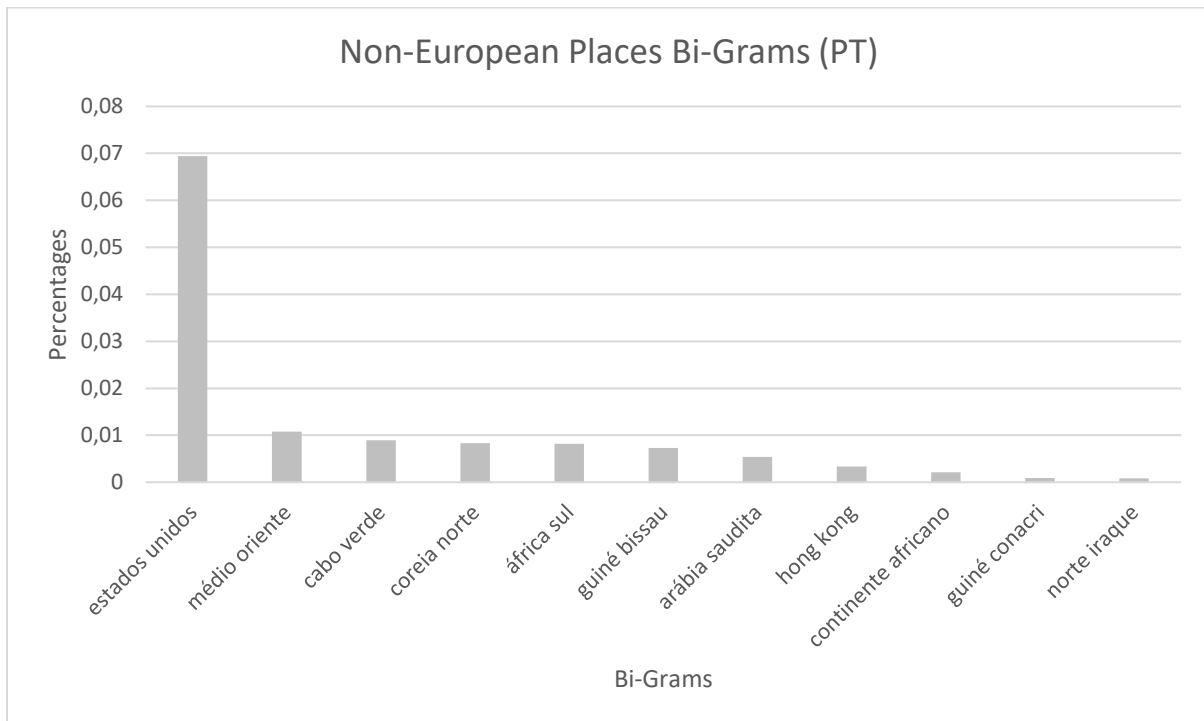


Figure 42. All the Bi-Grams for non-European places that appear on the top 50 lists in the Portuguese corpus (2004-2019).

Finally, figures 41 and 42 show again the stark differences in the diversity of the Bi-Grams, just as with the Uni-Grams. There are, nonetheless, similarities. Apart from the Bi-Grams United States and Middle East, both corpora contain the Bi-Grams “North Korea”/“Coreia Norte”, “Saudi Arabia”/“Arabia Saudita” and “Hong Kong”. However, it is possible to see in the Portuguese corpus an emphasis on Africa, with “Cabo Verde” (“Cape Vert”), “Guine-Bissau” (“Guinea-Bissau”), “Guine-Conacri” (“Guinea-Conacri”) and “Continente Africano” (“African Continent”). What the first two countries in the list have in common is that they are former Portuguese colonies, and they have Portuguese as their official language.

Given the diversity of the English corpus in terms of place Bi-Grams, it is difficult to discern a trend; however, the references to Tahrir Square and Taksim Square (in Egypt and Turkey) are of particular interest. The concordance tool in Antconc shows that Taksim Square is a reference to anti-Erdogan protests that took place in 2013, and Tahrir Square refers to the demonstrations that took place on that location during the Egyptian Revolution. In these cases, the EU is mentioned as a political institution reacting to the protests.⁵⁰⁵

Additionally, if we examine appendix 13 which contains all the Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams in the top 50 lists, we note the presence of several places within the interior of each country. In the English corpus we find London, Wales, Scotland and specific places in London such as Edgware Road or King’s Cross. In the Portuguese corpus, we find places such as Lisbon, Porto, Vila Real and Tras-os-Montes. We decided to include them only if they appeared in the top 10 most frequent

⁵⁰⁵ This article highlights how “The ferocity of the police response in Istanbul has drawn rebukes from the United States, European Union and international rights groups.” In Suzannah Hills and Kerry Mcdermott, “Twenty-Year-Old Protester KILLED in Turkey as Taxi Mows down Demonstrators on Fourth Day of Violence over Growing Islamic Influence,” *Daily Mail*, 3 June 2013, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2334989/Turkey-protests-Twenty-year-old-protester-KILLED-Turkey-taxi-mows-demonstrators-fourth-day-violence-growing-Islamic-influence.html>. Another article, this time on the Guardian, quotes Van Rompuy: “the EU president, Herman van Rompuy, said the European Union was “deeply troubled” by the spiral of violence in Egypt.” In David Batty, “Egypt Protests - as They Happened,” *The Guardian*, 29 January 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/29/egypt-protests-government-live-blog>.

words throughout the years (figure 33 and 34), which meant that both capital cities were present (Lisbon and London are so frequent that they appeared in the top 10 most frequent Uni-Grams). In the English case, we also included Northern Ireland given the political prominence it assumes in the later year of the corpus. However, we did not include the remaining Uni-Grams or Bi-Grams referring to places within each country in our European Places figure, because we considered that the emphasis on the country itself was already demonstrated by the weight of Uni-Grams such as Portugal, UK and Britain.

Nationalities

When it comes to nationalities Uni-Grams, our dataset shows less variety than for the places category. For this reason, we have been able to fit them all in the figures, without the need to split them between European and non-European nationalities.

Figure 43 and 44 show a trend already seen with places, which is that the English corpus seems to have more variety in terms of the Uni-Grams that crop up. The Uni-Grams “Irish”, “Turkish”, “Ukrainian”, “Polish”, “Israeli” and “Georgian” find no equivalence in the top 50 of the Portuguese corpus throughout our chronology. It is indeed surprising that when it comes to nationalities, which here means addressing something or someone by a noun referring to a nation, the Portuguese corpus is quite sparse. For instance, although the country “Espanha” (“Spain”) is an important Bi-Gram in the Portuguese corpus, appearing in the top 10 Uni-Grams places (figure 30), the noun “Spanish” does not have enough mentions throughout the 16 years of the corpus to reach a top 50. However, if we look back at figure 30, we see that “Espanha” is the most frequently mentioned European country in the Portuguese corpus after Portugal itself. As such, nationalities have to be considered carefully, and in conjunction with other categories.

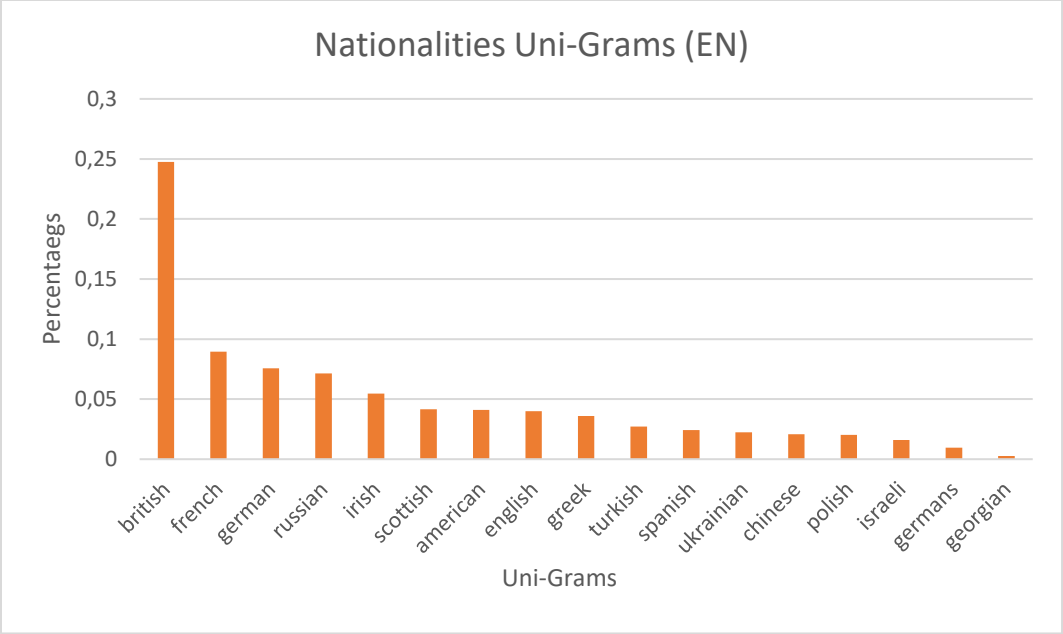


Figure 43. Uni-Grams for nationalities in the English corpus. 2004-2019.

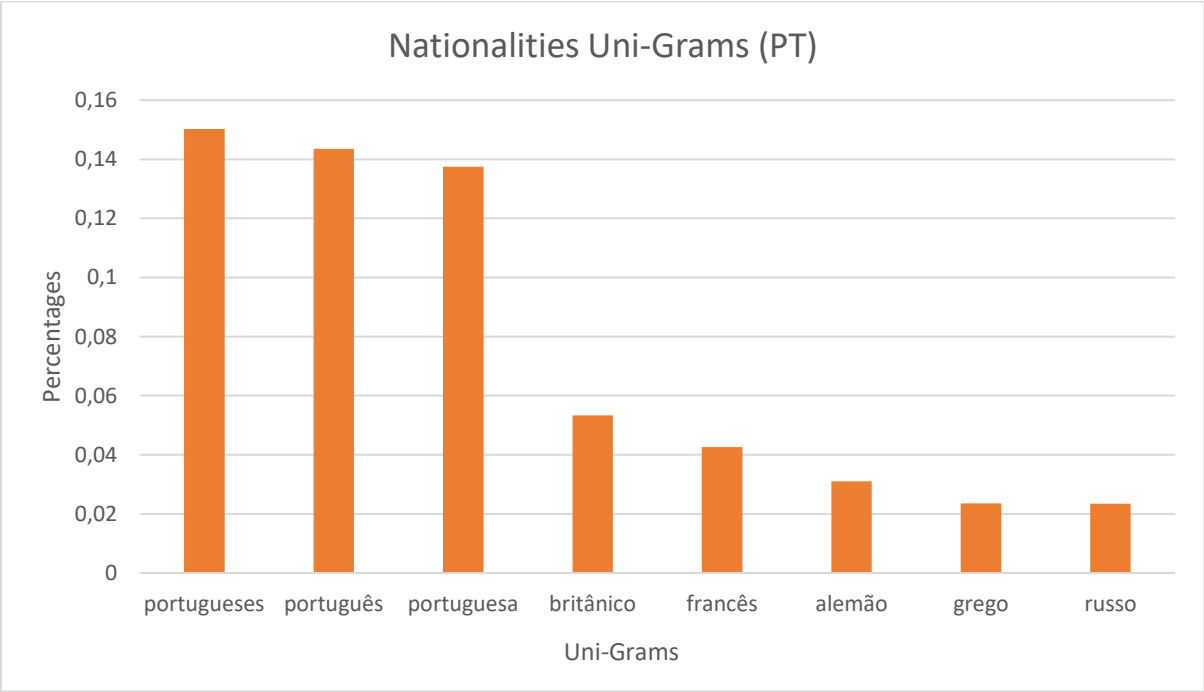


Figure 44. Uni-Grams for nationalities in the Portuguese corpus. 2004-2019.

On the other hand, the Uni-Grams that do appear in the top 50s, in both corpora, show a correspondence with the places. A point which becomes quite obvious in the Portuguese corpus (figure 44) is the overwhelming presence of references to Portuguese nationality. The three highest Uni-Grams “portugueses”, “português” and “portuguesa” all refer to Portuguese nationality (“Portugueses” is the plural, “português” is the singular” and “portuguesa” is the feminine). We could very easily argue that in the English corpus (figure 43) all these are condensed into the word “British”, which can be both singular and plural, masculine and feminine. Furthermore, the English corpus contains the Uni-Gram “Scottish”, “English” and “Irish”. The first two are part of Great Britain, but “Irish” can refer to both Northern Ireland or the Republic of Ireland. The Concordance tool in Antconc shows that out of 8560 mentions of Irish, 1619 refer to “Irish border” and an additional 744 to “Irish backstop” – both of these naturally occur as a consequence of Brexit. The same method shows that when we look at concordance made on the left side of the word, 515 out of those mentions belong to “Northern Irish”.⁵⁰⁶

An interesting point is that both the English and the Portuguese corpora share the Uni-Grams “French”, “German”, “Russian” and “Greek”, which mirror the trend in the Places category and relate as well to what we found in the Events and Concepts category.

When it comes to Bi-Grams, the dataset offers a more complex picture, although one still very much connected to what we have seen in the Places section. As with the Uni-Grams, we have also been able to plot them all in one figure, according to language.

⁵⁰⁶ We arrived at these numbers simply by adding up the number of mentions presented in AntConc’s Concordance tool.

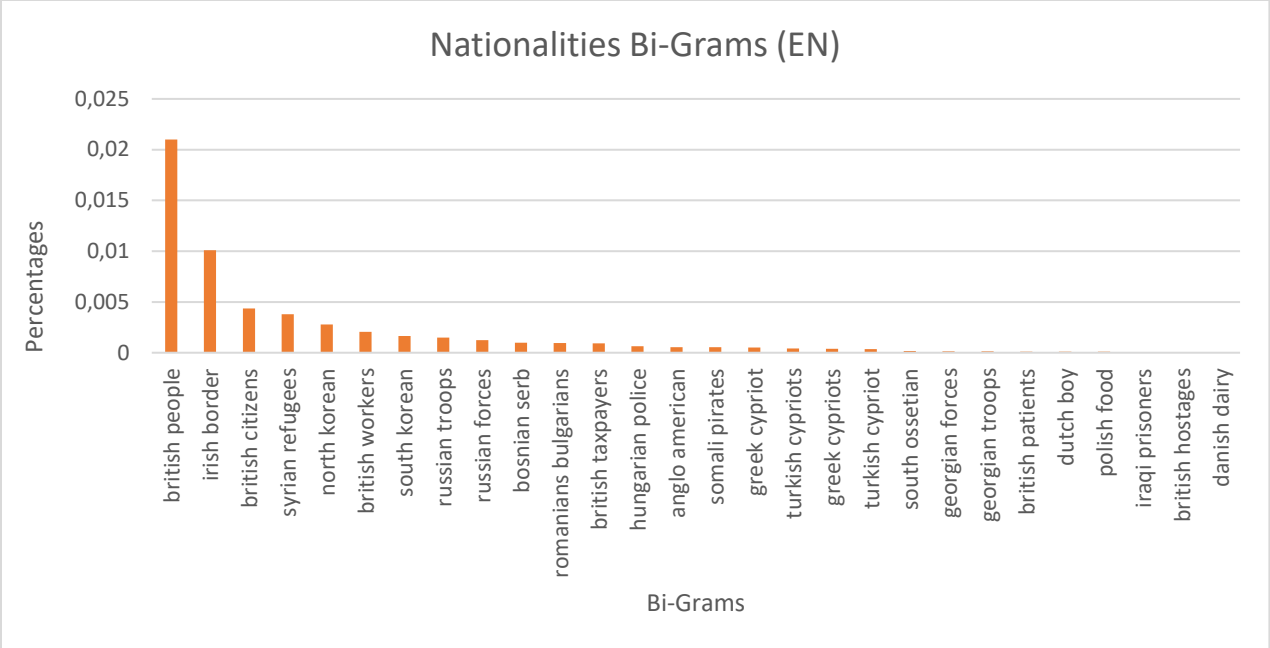


Figure 45. Bi-Grams for nationalities in the English corpus. 2004-2019.

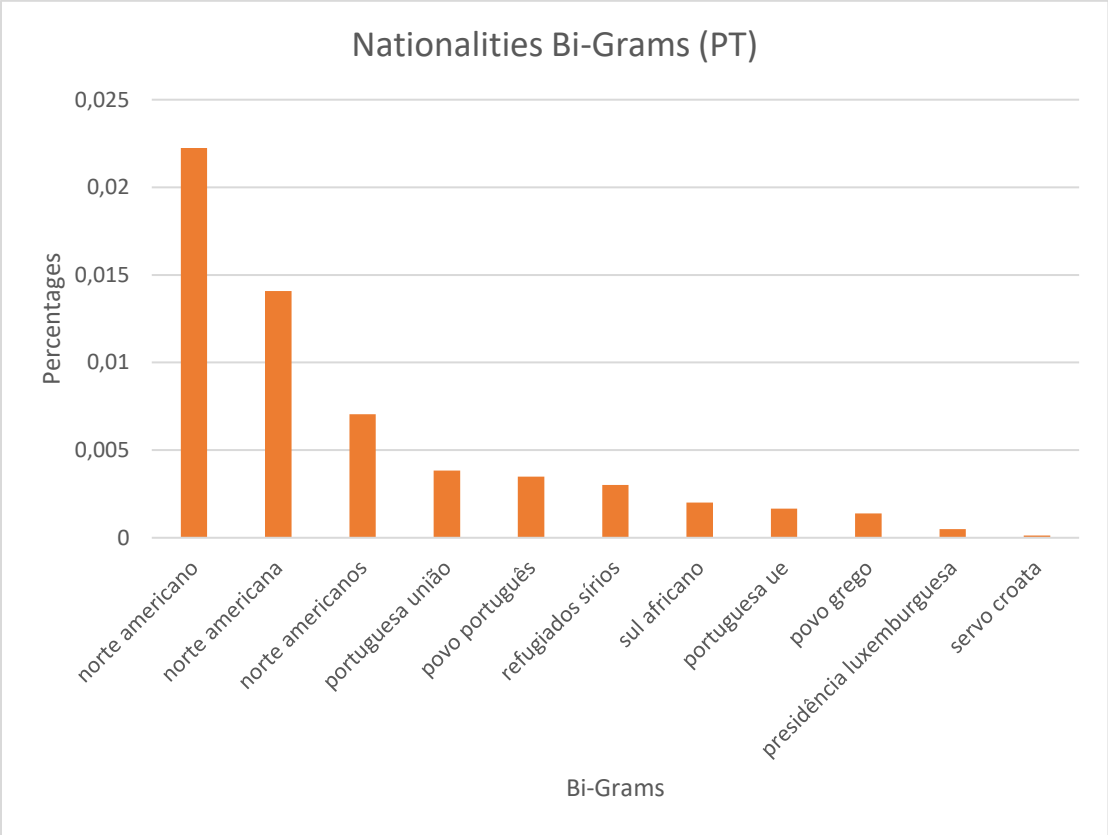


Figure 46. Bi-Grams for nationalities in the Portuguese corpus. 2004-2019

Figure 46 shows that in the Portuguese corpus there are far fewer Bi-Grams containing nationalities than in the English corpus (figure 45), and those that exist suffer some repetition. “Norte americano”, “norte americana”, “norte americanos” and “norte americanas” are all grammatical variations of north american, which in the English corpus finds an equivalence in the Uni-Gram “American”.⁵⁰⁷ On the other hand, “portuguesa união” and “portuguesa ue” are Bi-Grams which join both Portuguese and the EU. The remaining two Bi-Grams stand out: sul africano (“south african”), which the concordance tool in Antconc shows derives mostly from 2013 on the occasion of Nelson Mandela’s death, and the subsequent reaction from Portuguese and EU leaders.⁵⁰⁸ “refugiados sirios/Syrian refugees” is the only nationality Bi-Gram that the Portuguese corpus has in common with the English. In the English corpus, actually, “Syrian refugees” is the fourth highest Bi-Gram. Figure 47, which compares the two terms, shows that the English corpus employs it much more often around the height of the refugee crisis (2014 – 2016), although there are then variations in the subsequent years.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁷ As in the case of the Uni-Gram “America”, concordance on antconc shows that “American” refers mostly to the United States.

⁵⁰⁸ “Cavaco lembra que Portugal defendeu libertação de Mandela,” *Correio da Manhã*, 12 October, 2013, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/politica/detalhe/cavaco-lembra-que-portugal-defendeu-libertacao-de-mandela>. This is a good example of one such article, in which Cavaco Silva, the Portuguese President, says Portugal defended before international institutions, such as the EU, Mandela’s release from prison.

⁵⁰⁹ The issue of the refugees will be addressed more in depth in the Collectives section.

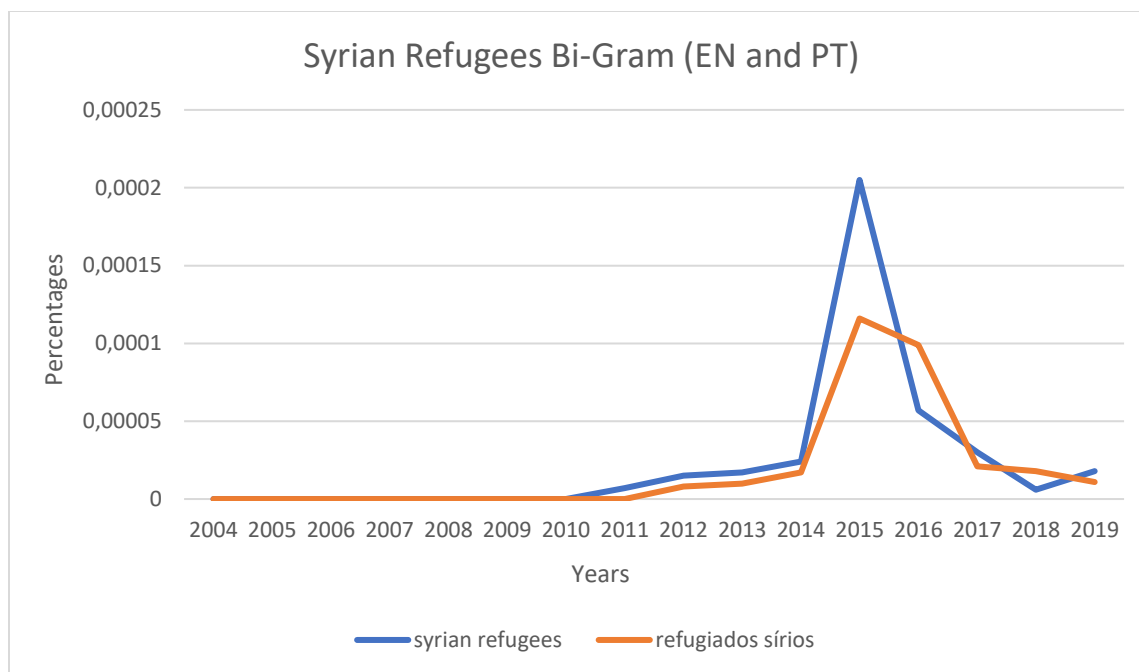


Figure 47. The Bi-Gram Syrian Refugees in the English and the Portuguese corpora

The English corpus also uses the term “British people”, “British taxpayers”, “British workers” and “British patients” and “British hostages” (figure 48). Some of these takes us to very specific circumstances. “British hostages”, for example, refers to an article in the Daily Mail from 2005 which retells the story of a group of 33 British people taken hostage in Iraq during the Gulf War, who were released through the intervention of Edward Heath.⁵¹⁰ “British patients” refers to articles in the Daily Mail from 2009 on the NHS waiting lists for organ transplants. In this case, the EU is mentioned because, according to the article, the waiting list is caused by EU patients travelling to the UK to receive treatment. “British people”, “British taxpayers” and “British workers” are more spread out in terms of mentions, and harder to pinpoint the exact context, as can be seen from figure 48, although “British people” remains higher than the other two, and has its peak in the year of Brexit, which goes in line with the rhetoric around the referendum.⁵¹¹

⁵¹⁰ “The Incredible Sulk,” *Daily Mail*, 18 July, 2005, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-356140/The-Incredible-Sulk.html>.

⁵¹¹ Judi Atkins argues that “the nation” and “British people” are concepts that have been “(re)defined since 2016” and that a good portion of the Eurosceptic narrative depicted the EU as a “threat to national identity” and placed the Conservative party as a “defender of the British people”. In Judi Atkins, ‘Rhetoric and Audience Reception: An Analysis of Theresa May’s Vision of Britain and Britishness after Brexit’, *Politics* 42, no. 2 (May 2022): 217 and 224.

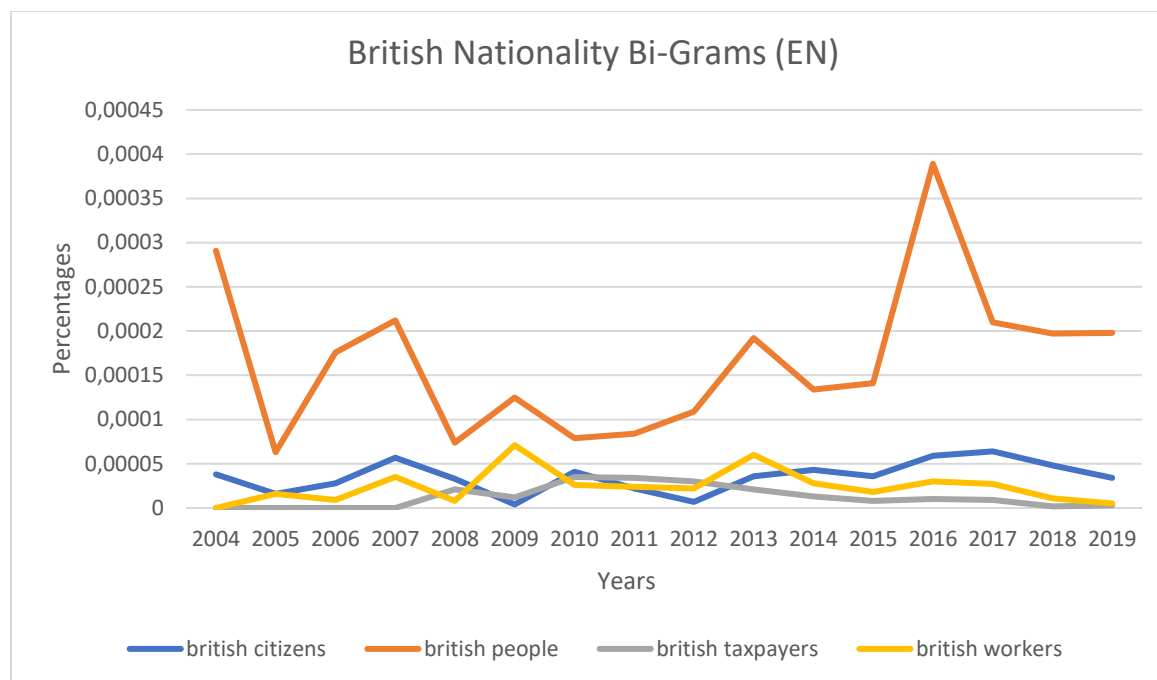


Figure 48. Bi-Grams for British nationality groups in the English corpus.

As for the Bi-Grams “russian troops”, “russian forces”, “georgian troops” and “georgian forces”,⁵¹² they all refer to Russian aggression in the Caucasus and Eastern Europe, a theme which had cropped up both in events and places. Another set of Bi-Grams we believe worth highlighting for its connection to the EU are “Turkish Cypriots” and “Greek Cypriots”, which come from a Guardian film review from 2004 on the political situation in Cyprus and its historical roots. The European Union is mentioned when it is explained that the island’s population demanded EU membership together with the opening of the border separating North and Southern Cyprus.⁵¹³ In the same vein, the Bi-Gram “Bosnian Serb” is employed in several different years, and collocation analysis reveals that it collocates frequently with Karadzic (rank: 6, frequency 28) and Mladic (rank: 14, frequency 20).⁵¹⁴ Both Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić were convicted for genocide and crimes against Humanity by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in 2017 and 2016, respectively, events naturally close to the European Union as the Bosnian genocide took place in the 1990s, when the European Union was already established.

⁵¹² As seen in Figure 33.

⁵¹³ Fiachra Gibbons, “‘We Know We Can Live Together,’” *The Guardian*, 30 April, 2004, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2004/may/01/books.featuresreviews>.

⁵¹⁴ AP Bosnian Serb EN 2004-2019.

On the other hand, the Portuguese corpus contains the Bi-Grams “povo português” (“Portuguese people”) and “povo grego” (“Greek people”). If we look at the collocations for the latter, the word “solidariedade” (solidarity) ranks 12th with a frequency of 8, and close reading analysis shows that this term is often employed by European politicians, including members of the European Commission, who attempted to express solidarity with the Greek people during the crisis.⁵¹⁵ Interestingly, the same term is also employed when we looked at the collocations for “povo português”. Solidarity appears collocated in 28th position with a frequency of 9.⁵¹⁶ The context, however, is slightly different, as some of the mentions refer to response from European politicians to the fires that destroyed parts of the Portuguese forest in 2017. There is also a mention of the MEPs from the Left in the European Parliament (GUE/NGL) who in 2015 expressed “solidarity” with the “workers and the Portuguese people” as a result of social and economic problems the country had been facing.⁵¹⁷

People

When it comes to people, we worked only with Bi-Grams and chose to do an analysis in which the quantification is done both according to the number of articles and to the amount of words, as explained in chapter 3. We divided the names that appeared in the top 50 Bi-Grams from 2004 to 2019 into three categories: national actors, European actors and international actors, and chose only one version of their name, even though they might be referred to by different versions of their name in the same article.⁵¹⁸

Figures 49 and 50 show some differences between the Portuguese and the English corpora. In both corpora there is always more mention of national actors; in the English corpus, this is a tendency

⁵¹⁵ AP Povo Grego PT 2004-2019.

⁵¹⁶ AP Povo Português PT 2004-2019.

⁵¹⁷ “Governo. Esquerda Unitária condena ‘pressões e ingerências’ da direita europeia,” *Jornal Expresso*, 29 October, 2015, <https://expresso.pt/politica/2015-10-29-Governo.-Esquerda-Unitaria-condena-pessoes-e-ingerencias-da-direita-europeia>.

⁵¹⁸ We used Antconc and close reading to reach a definitive version of the name.

which becomes more and more accentuated from 2015 onwards. In the Portuguese corpus, on the other hand, the difference between national and European and International actors is always very steep, with the national actors positioned well above the other two; however, mentions of national and European actors start to converge towards the last years of the corpus.⁵¹⁹ This is worth highlighting because an observational approach for each year's top 50 Bi-Gram list will show that there is more diversity⁵²⁰ – in the sense that there are more different names – in terms of the Portuguese people who appear in the Bi-Grams than those from a European or non-European background, and so the list of those Portuguese names is actually significantly larger than the European names.

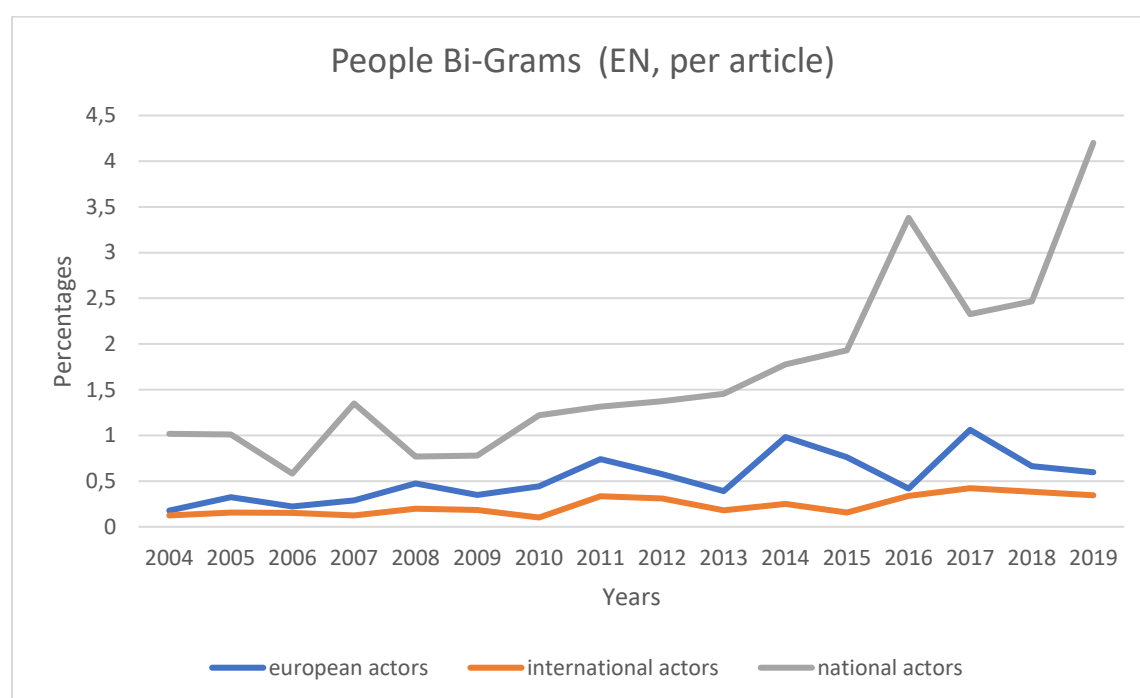


Figure 49. Bi-Grams for different categories of people (national, European, international) in the English Corpus, quantified according to the number of articles in the corpus.

⁵¹⁹ It is worth noting that the datasets contain references to Russian, Georgian and Chechen people. We decided to include them in the European actors category, given that the last two are within the Russian sphere of influence.

⁵²⁰ This can be seen, too, in Appendix 17 - Table 5 which, similarly to what we did with Events and Concepts, shows every single People Bi-Gram per year in each corpus.

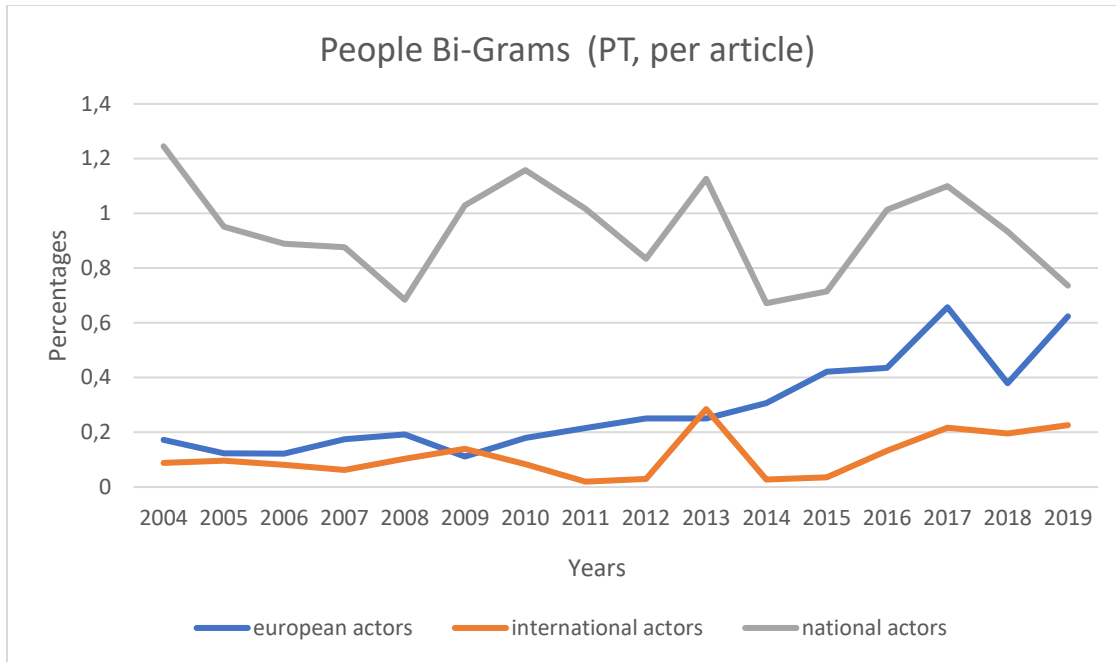


Figure 50. Bi-Grams for different categories of people (national, European, international) in the Portuguese Corpus, quantified according to the number of articles in the corpus.

Before these results, we thought it useful to do an analysis per word, which was the strategy used in the previous sections, in order to see if the two quantification methods coincide. As can be seen in Figures 51 and 52, the main trends are generally maintained. We can see clearly how in the Portuguese corpus there are moments in which the international actors – by which we mean non-European actors – come close to and even surpass the mentions of European actors (2009 and 2013). In the English corpus, this trend briefly happens in the early years of the corpus, but from 2007 on there is a clear demarcation between the two lines, although they remain fairly close throughout the whole corpus, with some exceptions between the years of 2013 to 2016 and then 2016 to 2018. In the Portuguese corpus, however, the mentions of European actors grows in relation to the mentions of international actors from 2014 onwards.

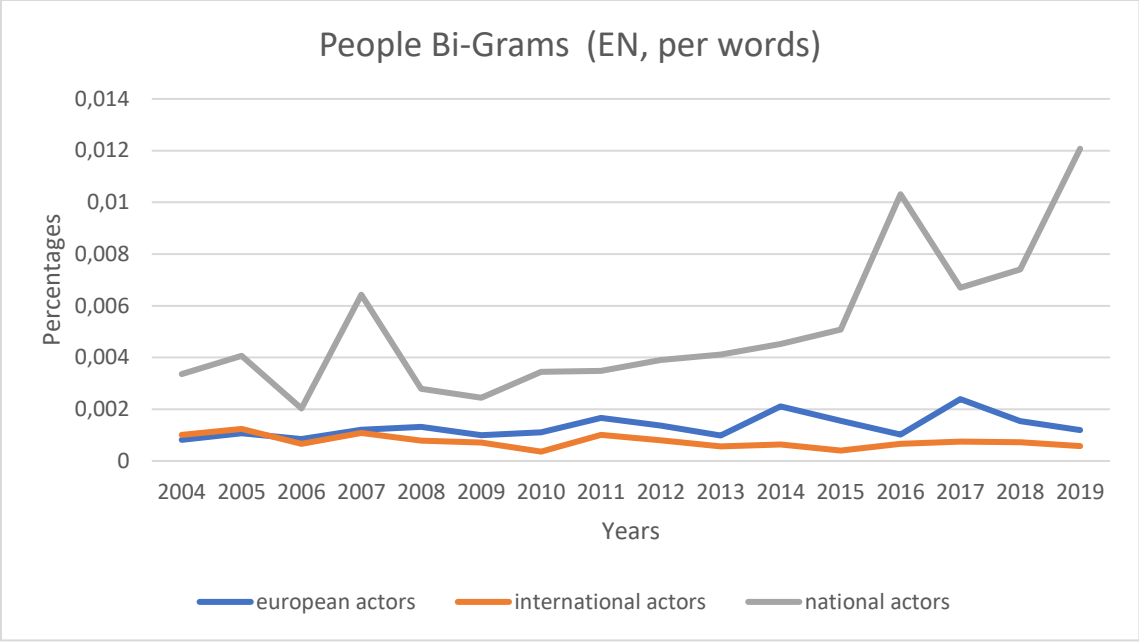


Figure 51. Bi-Grams for different categories of people (national, European, international) in the English Corpus, quantified according to the number of words in the corpus.

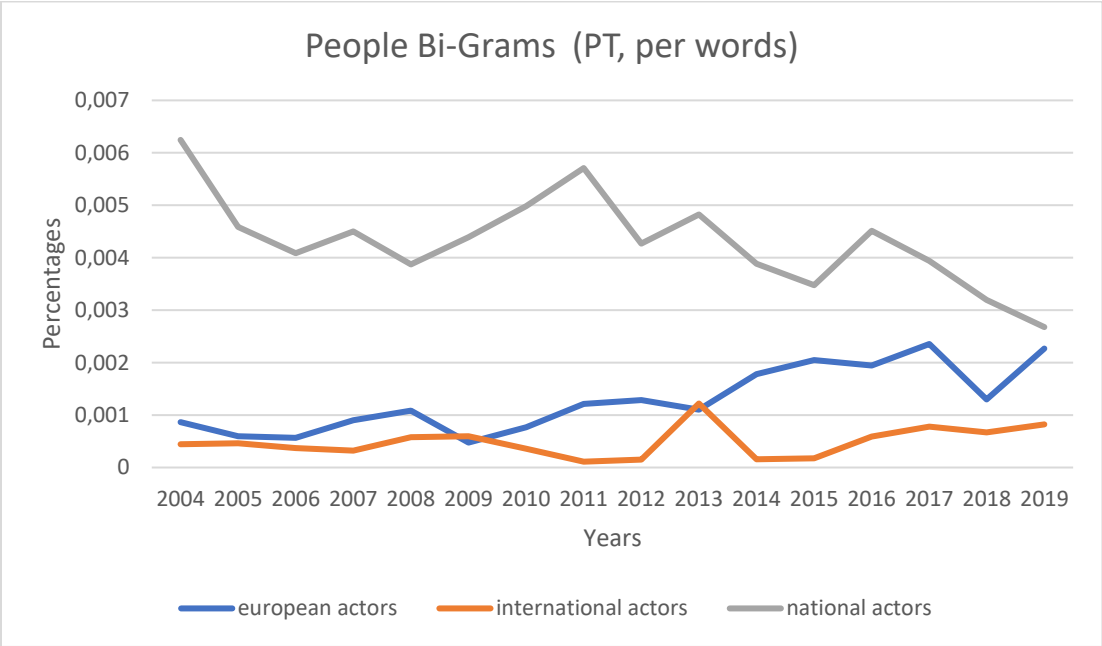


Figure 52. Bi-Grams for different categories of people (national, European, international) in the Portuguese Corpus, quantified according to the number of words in the corpus.

When explaining their coding process, Medrano and Gray in Koopmans and Statham's "The Making of a European Public Sphere" define "nonmedia political actors" as "individuals or organizations representing state institutions and political parties, interest groups or civil society".⁵²¹ For our purposes in this section, we are particularly interested in looking at those political actors who represent state institutions and political parties, because those are the more frequent and consistent names that appear throughout our dataset. We also want to look at the comparison between national political leaders and leaders of the European institutions, as this is a good way to gauge the penetration of European institutional actors in the national public spheres.

From 2004 to 2014, Durão Barroso was president of the European Commission, having previously been Prime Minister of Portugal. In the English corpus, Durão Barroso never appears in the top 50 Bi-Grams, so we are unable to count him in. To compare the presence of politicians connected to European institutions in the early years of the corpus, we are only left with Jean-Claude Juncker, who was president of the Eurogroup from 2005 to 2013, and Herman Van Rompuy, president of the European Council from 2009 to 2014. Equally, during this first period (2004-2014), Britain had three prime-ministers, Tony Blair, Gordon Brown, and David Cameron. When we plot these actors together in a visualisation, both the quantification per article and frequency show the same trend (Figures 53 and 54). The Prime Minister in power always receives more mentions than the leader of the European institution, and this becomes very striking towards 2014.

⁵²¹ Juan Diez Medrano and Emily Gray, 'Framing the European Union in National spheres' in *The Making of a European Public Sphere: Media Discourse and Political Contention*, eds. Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham (Cambridge: University Press, 2010), 199.

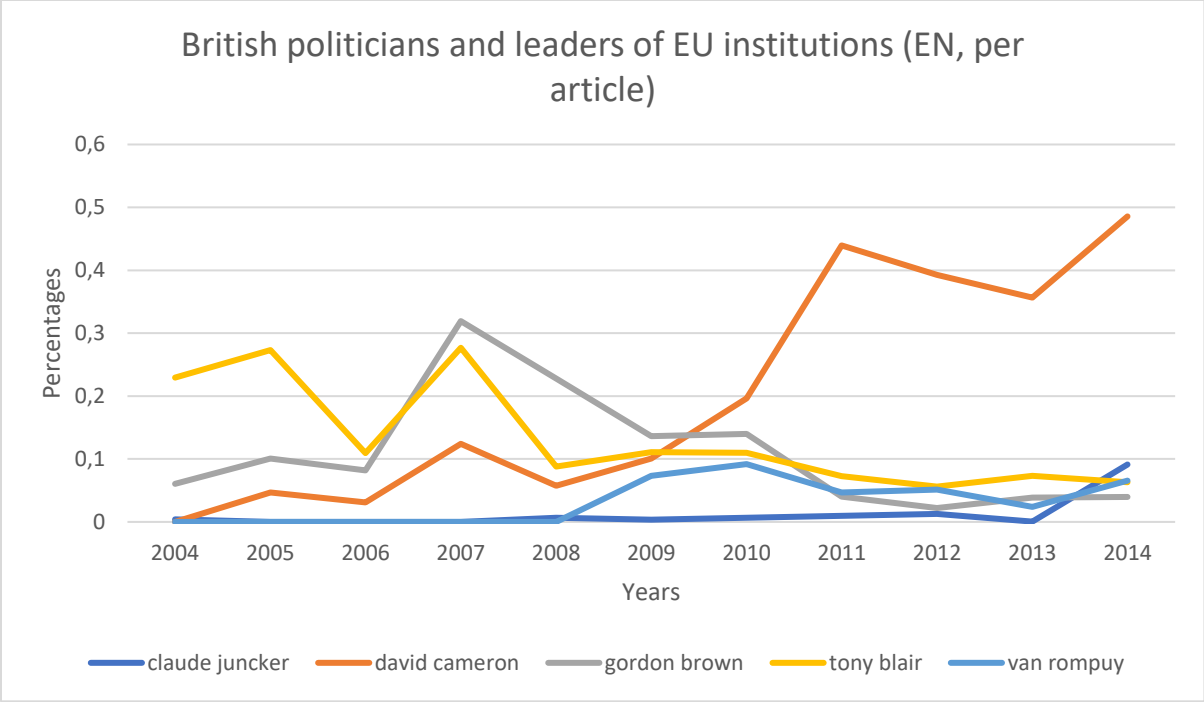


Figure 53. Bi-Grams for British Prime-Ministers and leaders of European Institutions in the English corpus (2004 – 2014), quantified according to the number of articles in the corpus.

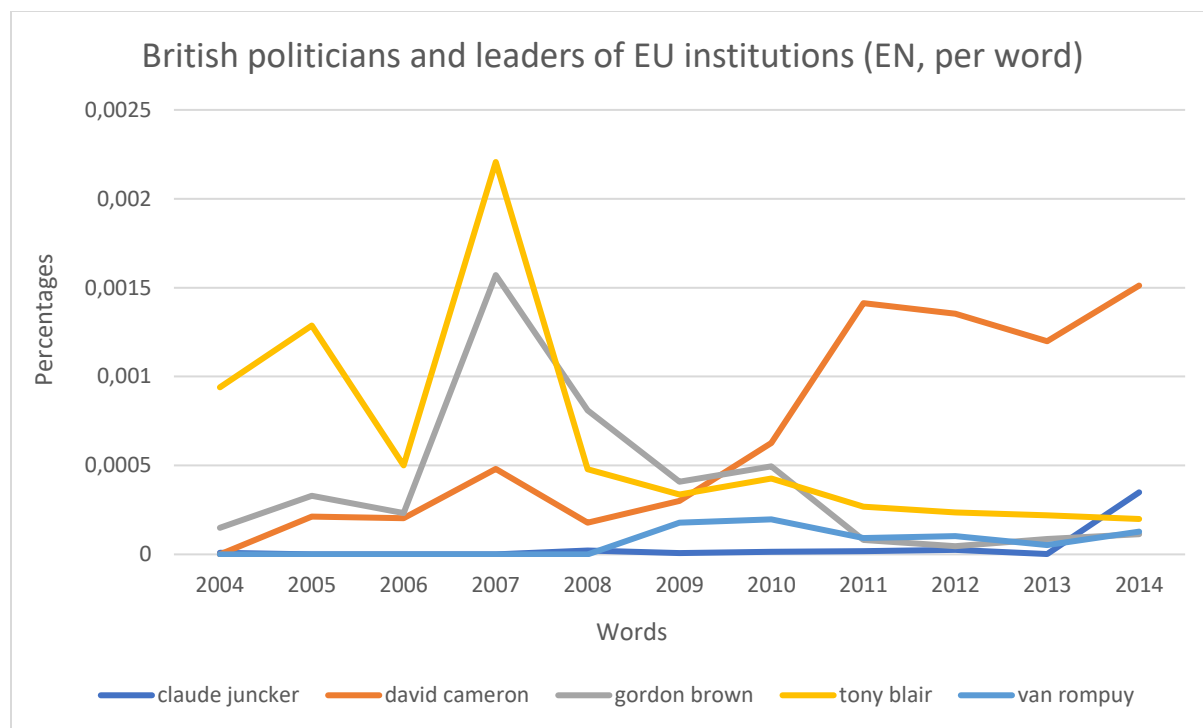


Figure 54. Bi-Grams for British Prime-Ministers and leaders of European Institutions in the English corpus (2004 – 2014), quantified according to the number of words in the corpus.

During this same period (2004 – 2014), Portugal had four prime-Ministers (Durão Barroso, Santana Lopes, José Sócrates, Passos Coelho⁵²²) and two Presidents of the Republic (Jorge Sampaio and Cavaco Silva). As in the English corpus, Van Rompuy and Claude Juncker are present. Durão Barroso is naturally present as well, as he was both Prime-Minister of Portugal and President of the European Commission during this period. Figures 55 and 56 show that the prime ministers (José Sócrates from 2004 to 2010 and Passos Coelho from 2010 to 2015) remain on top during their time in power. Durão Barroso’s evolution is rather interesting, as he is very important in 2004, the year in which he resigned as Prime Minister precisely to become President of the European Commission. He then regains some importance around 2008 and returns to prominence at the end of the corpus, during the period when his succession was being discussed. Barroso’s importance in the Portuguese corpus is made obvious when we observe that in both quantification methods he gains more mentions than the Portuguese President himself (Cavaco Silva) from 2011

⁵²² We excluded Santana Lopes, as he was only Prime Minister for 6 months.

to 2014. It is also noteworthy that in 2014, as shown in figures 55 and 56, Barroso gains more mentions than Passos Coelho, who was the acting Prime Minister. It is likely that the media interest in Barroso stems at least partly from the fact that he was Portuguese.

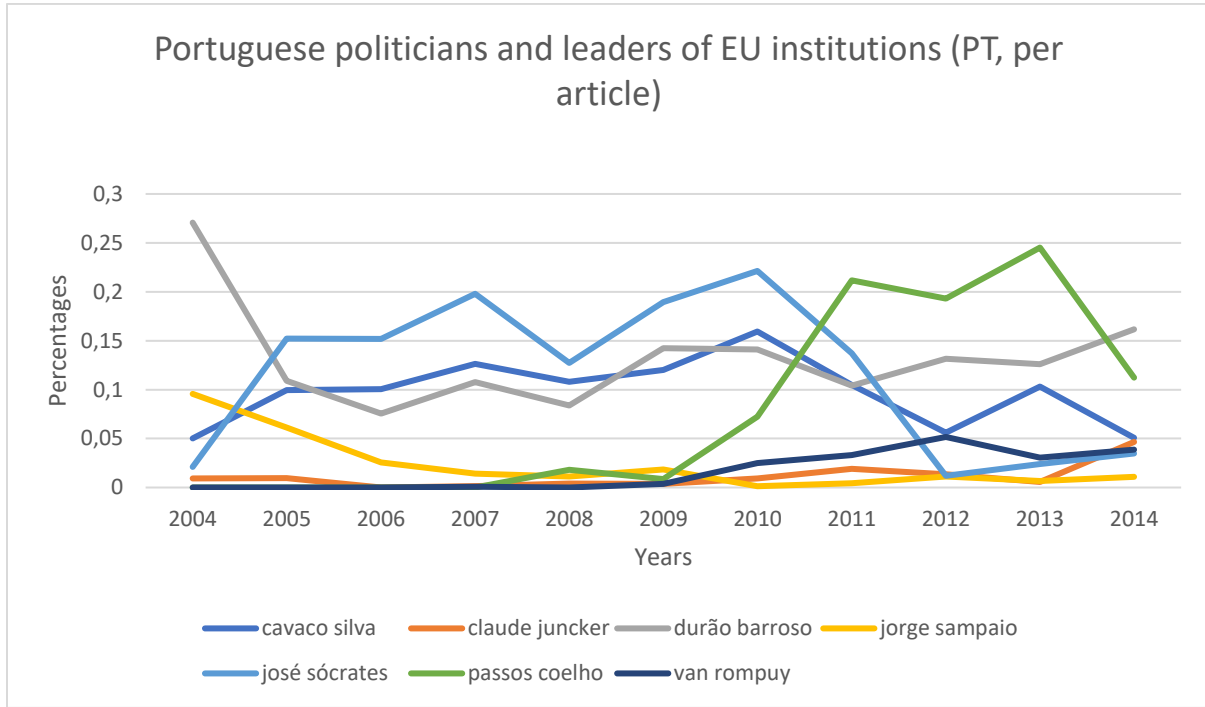


Figure 55. Bi-Grams for Portuguese Prime-Ministers and Presidents as well as leaders of European Institutions in the Portuguese corpus (2004 – 2014). Quantified according to the number of articles in the corpus.

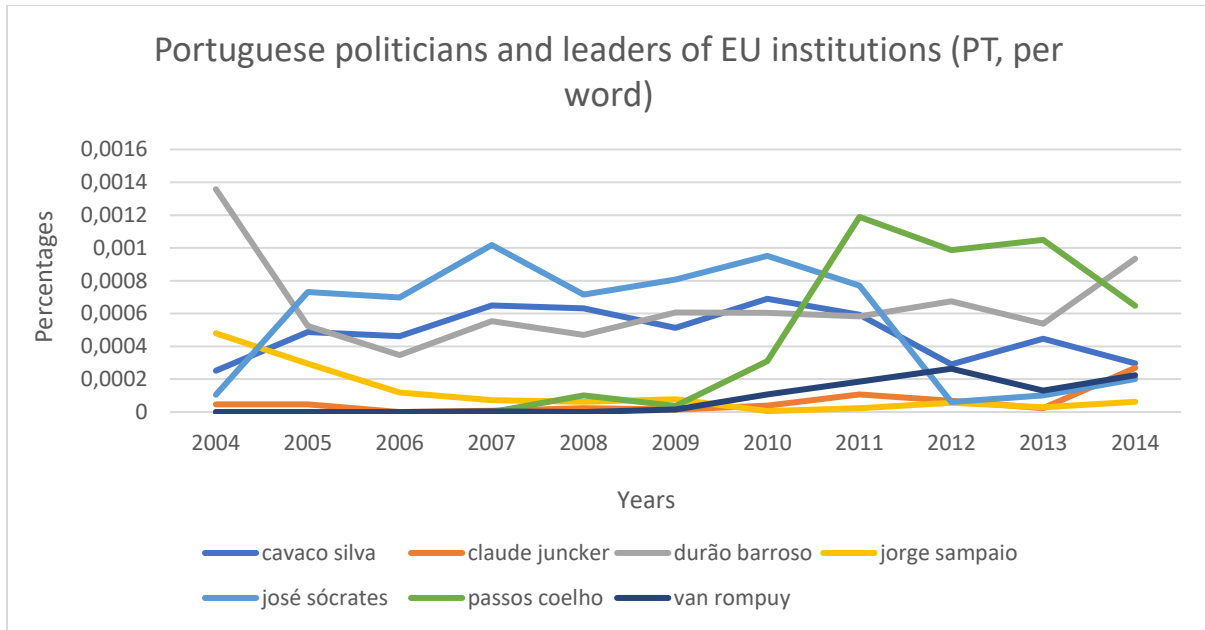


Figure 56. Bi-Grams for Portuguese Prime-Ministers and Presidents as well as leaders of European Institutions in the Portuguese corpus (2004 – 2014), quantified according to the number of words in the corpus.

In the other remaining years of the corpus (2015-2019), the panorama has changed considerably (figures 57 and 58). During these years, the UK had three prime ministers, David Cameron, Theresa May and Boris Johnson, but the number of politicians connected to European Institutions mentioned in the corpus was higher than in previous years, with the presence not only of the President of the European Commission, Ursula Van der Leyen, but also Donald Tusk, President of the European Council, and Michel Barnier, who became Brexit’s chief negotiator for the EU.

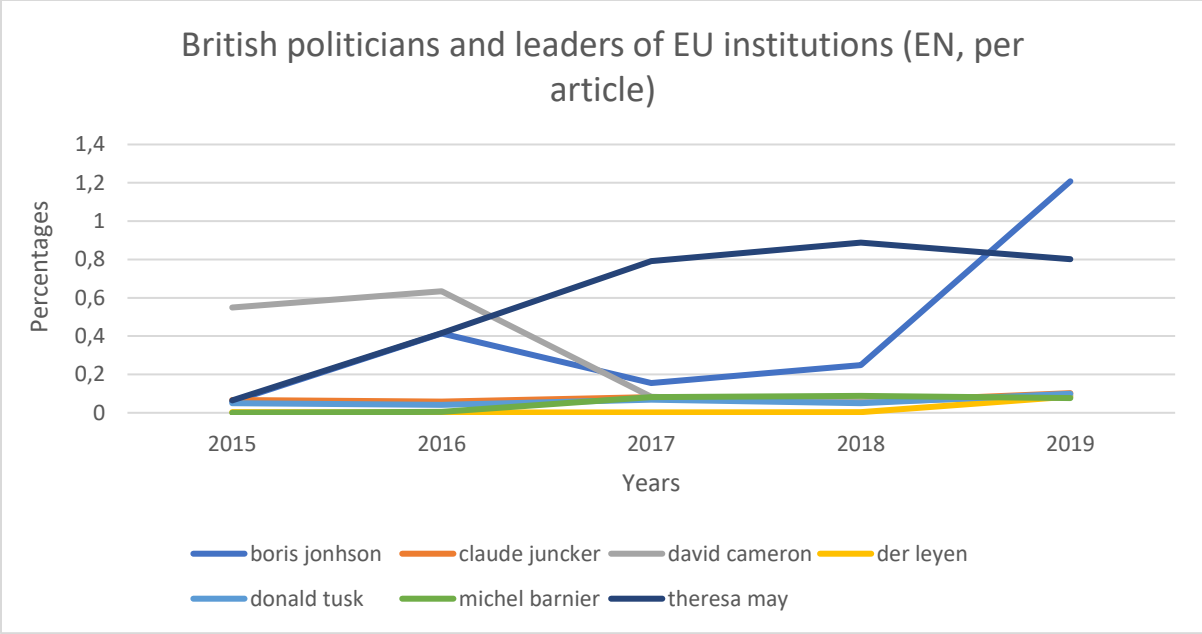


Figure 57. Bi-Grams for British Prime-Ministers and leaders of European Institutions in the English corpus (2015 – 2019), quantified according to the number of articles in the corpus.

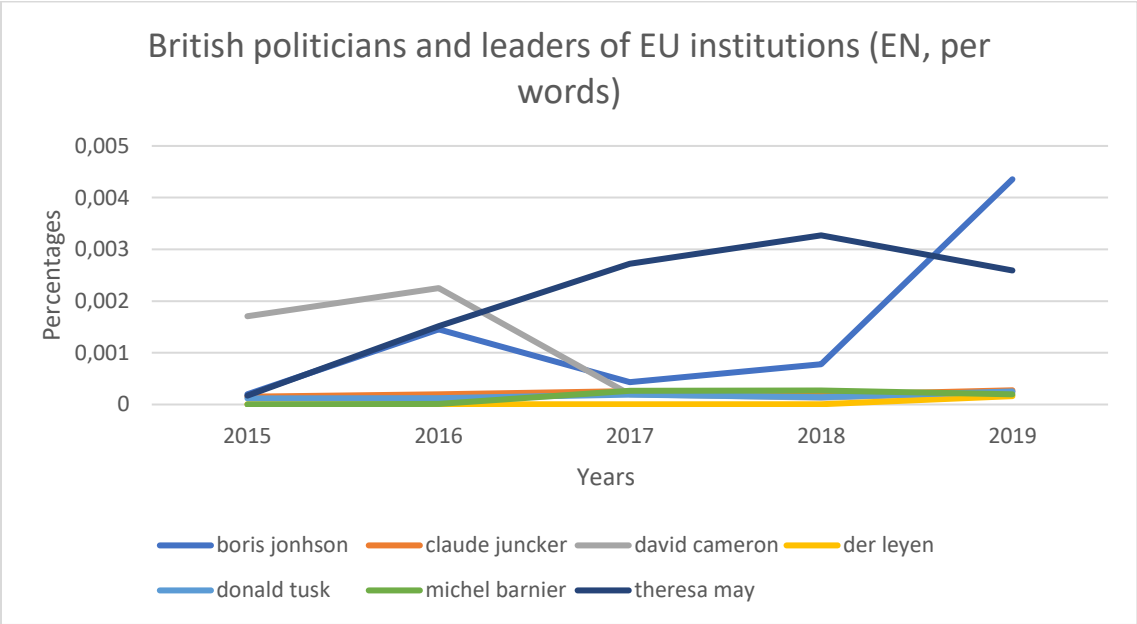


Figure 58. Bi-Grams for British Prime-Ministers and leaders of European Institutions in the English corpus (2015 – 2019), quantified according to the number of words in the corpus.

In the Portuguese corpus (figures 59 and 60) in both quantification methods, António Costa looms over all the other Bi-Grams. Perhaps an equally important trend is that both in the normalisation per article and per word the Bi-Gram “Rebello Sousa”, referring to the Portuguese president elected in 2016 (a year where mentions of his Bi-Gram peak), decreases in mentions towards the end of the corpus, and is surpassed by “der leyen” in 2019. The role of the President of the Republic in Portuguese politics is an impartial one, and he should not, in principle, have a say in the business of government. Still, “Rebello Sousa” was an important Bi-Gram in 2016, surpassing all other European actors, which shows that Portuguese Presidents can still be important in the media coverage despite their official role. This remains an important sign that media coverage of the EU in Portugal is not completely dominated by national politicians.

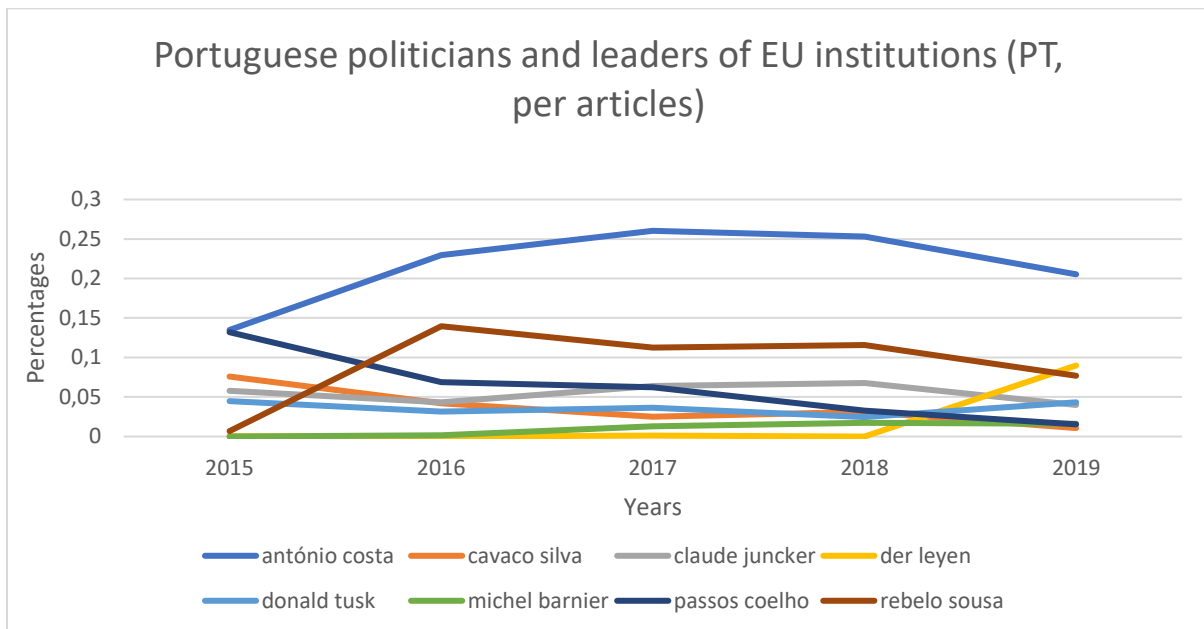


Figure 59. Bi-Grams for Portuguese Prime-Ministers and Presidents as well as leaders of European Institutions in the Portuguese corpus (2015 – 2019) quantified according to the number of articles in the corpus.

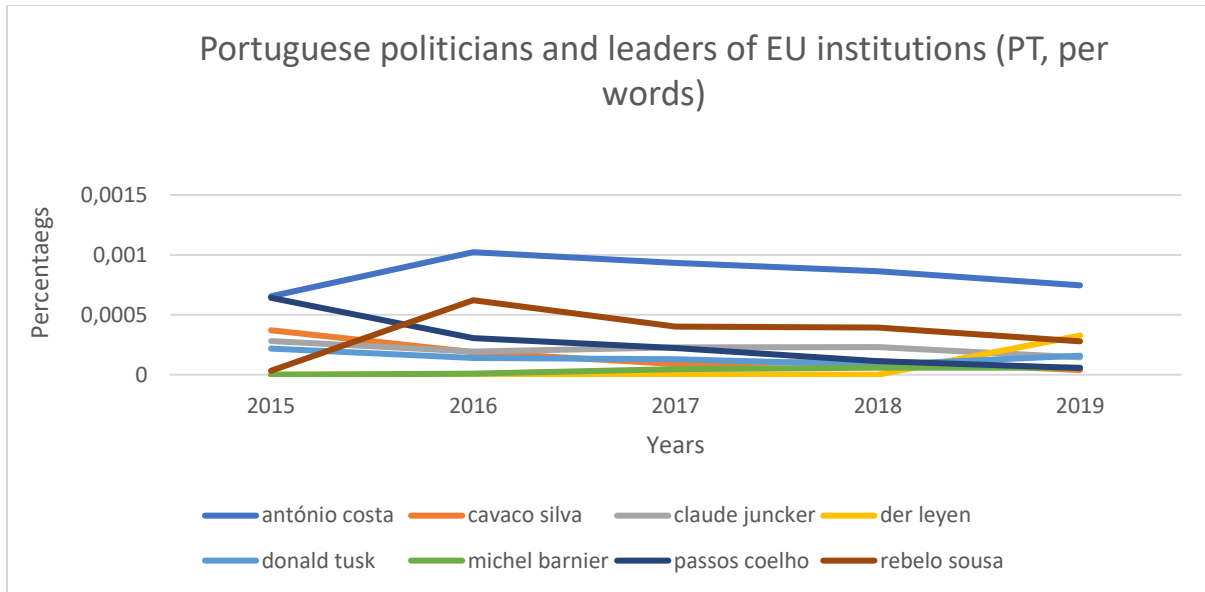


Figure 60. Bi-Grams for Portuguese Prime-Ministers and Presidents as well as leaders of European Institutions in the Portuguese corpus (2015 – 2019), quantified according to the number of words in the corpus.

Finally, we thought it useful to compare heads of state and government from Europe to national heads of state. We chose key figures of European politics during these years, from France, Germany, Greece and Russia and compared them to British Prime Ministers. France and Germany are, as we have seen in chapter 2, the countries that are at the centre of European decision-making. Russia and Greece have been central to European politics due to specific events that surrounded those countries and that acquired a significant level of importance in our corpus. In the case of France and Germany (figure 61 and 62), we see once more that at no point, both in the quantification per article or per word, does an acting president of France or chancellor of Germany surpass an acting British prime minister in terms of mentions.

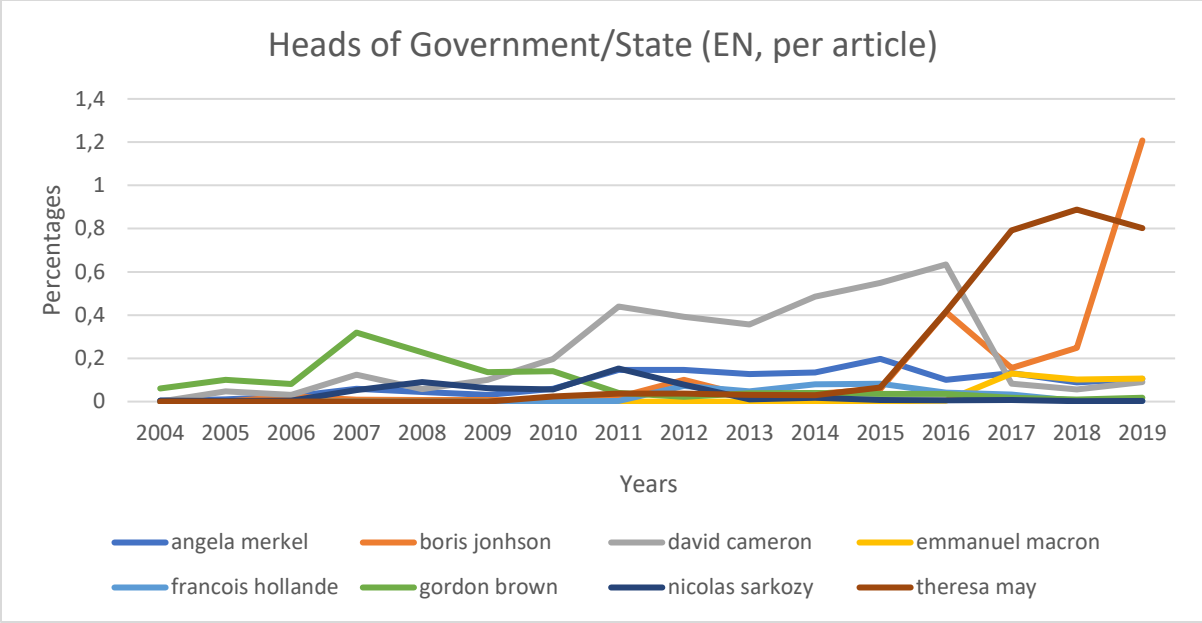


Figure 61. Bi-Grams for English Prime-Ministers and for the heads of state of Germany and France in the English corpus quantified according to the number of articles in the corpus.

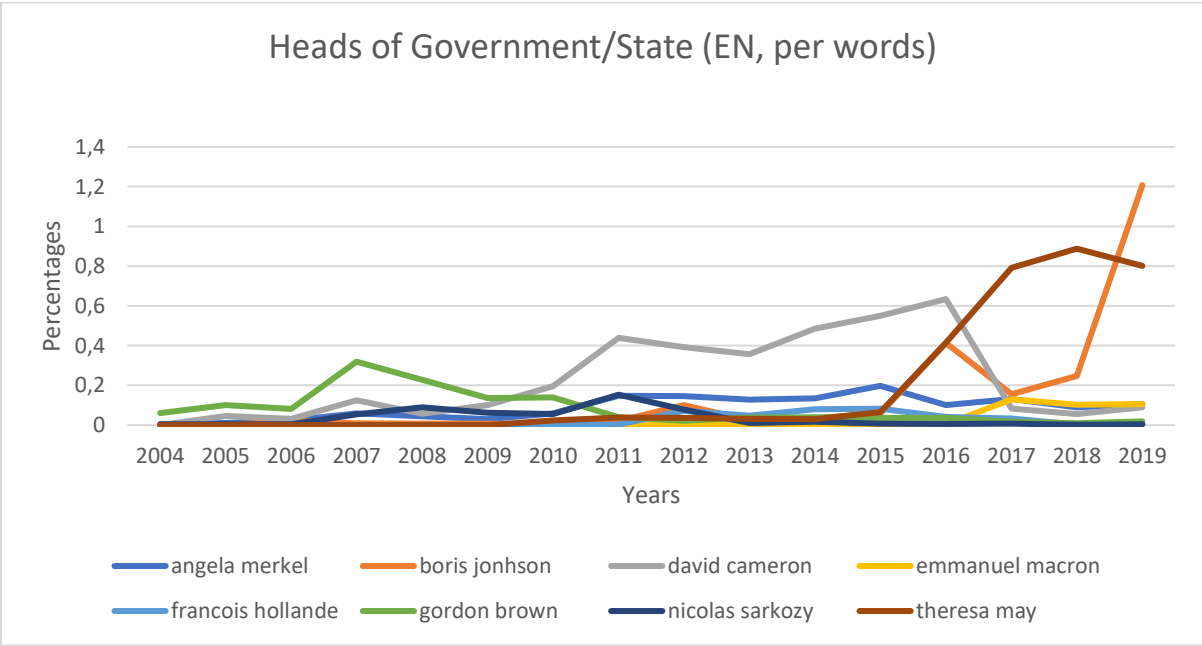


Figure 62. Bi-Grams for English Prime-Ministers and for the heads of state of Germany and France in the English corpus, quantified according to the number of words in the corpus.

In the Portuguese corpus (figures 63 and 64), because we have more Portuguese politicians (as we included the Presidents of the Republic) we decided that a bar chart would be easier to read than a line chart. As with the English corpus, there are no French or German politicians who surpass the Portuguese politicians in their frequency in the corpus. The importance of Angela Merkel in 2011 and 2012 is noteworthy, however, signalling the importance she assumed in the media during the financial crisis years.

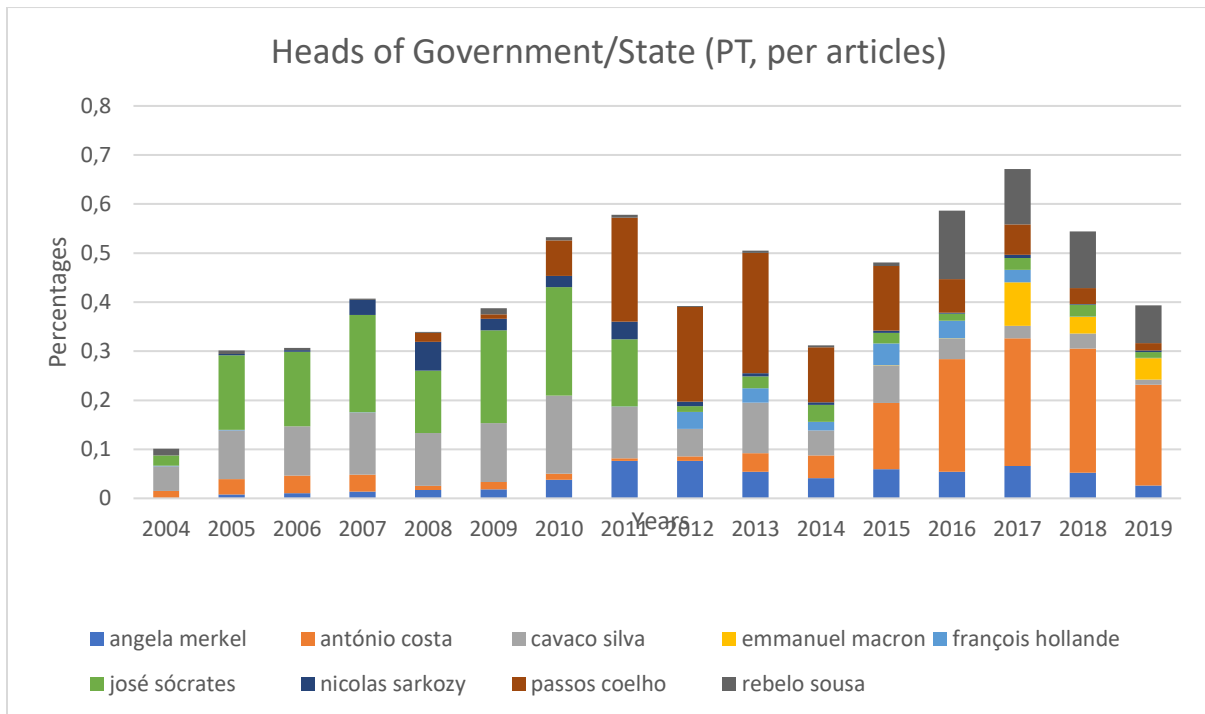


Figure 63. Bi-Grams for Portuguese Prime-Ministers and Presidents of the Republic as well as the heads of state of Germany and France in the Portuguese corpus, quantified according to the number of articles in the corpus.

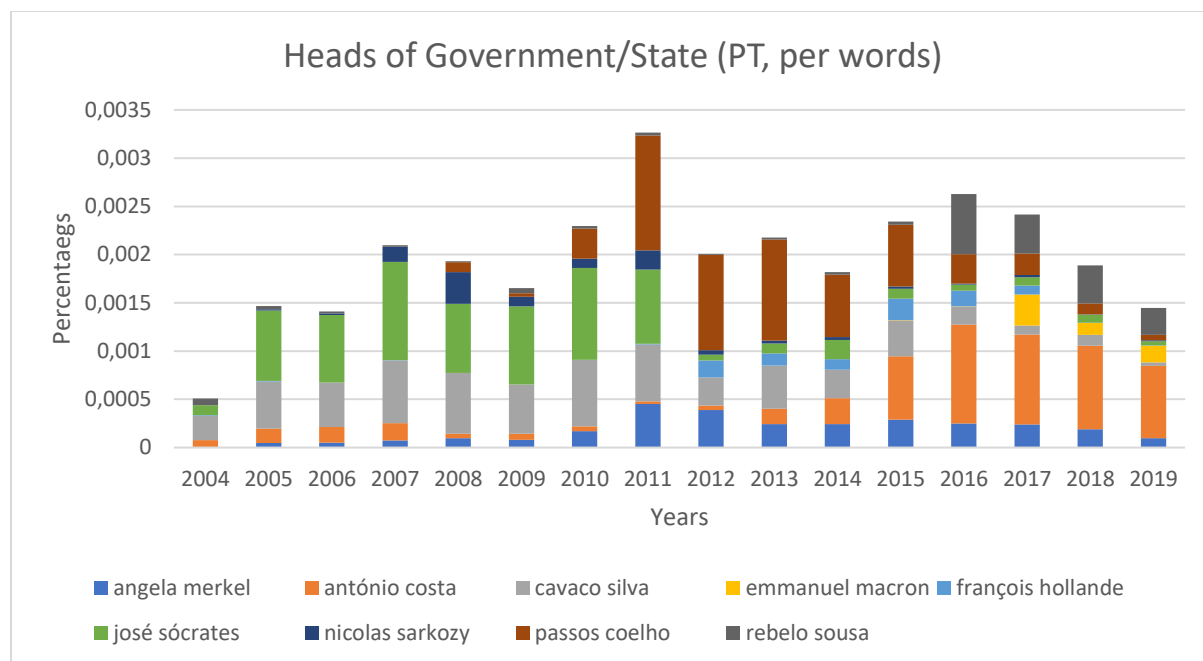


Figure 64. Bi-Grams for Portuguese Prime-Ministers and Presidents of the Republic as well as the heads of state of Germany and France in the Portuguese corpus, quantified according to the number of words in the corpus.

The English corpus has 3 Greek politicians and 2 Russians, who as seen in figures 65 and 66, never surpass any acting English Prime Minister. If we look at Table 5,⁵²³ we see that the English corpus contains a variety of Bi-Grams related to Ukrainian politicians (Mr. Yushchenko, Mr. Yanukovich, Yulia Timoshenko), who are not present in the Portuguese corpus. In this sense, the English corpus is richer. This same tendency is verified by the inclusion of more Greek and Russians politicians in the English corpus.⁵²⁴

⁵²³ Table 5. (Appendix 17).

⁵²⁴ As can be seen from figures 52 and 53, Dmitry Medvedev and George Papandreou are included in the English corpus, but find no equivalence in the top 50 Bi-Grams in the Portuguese.

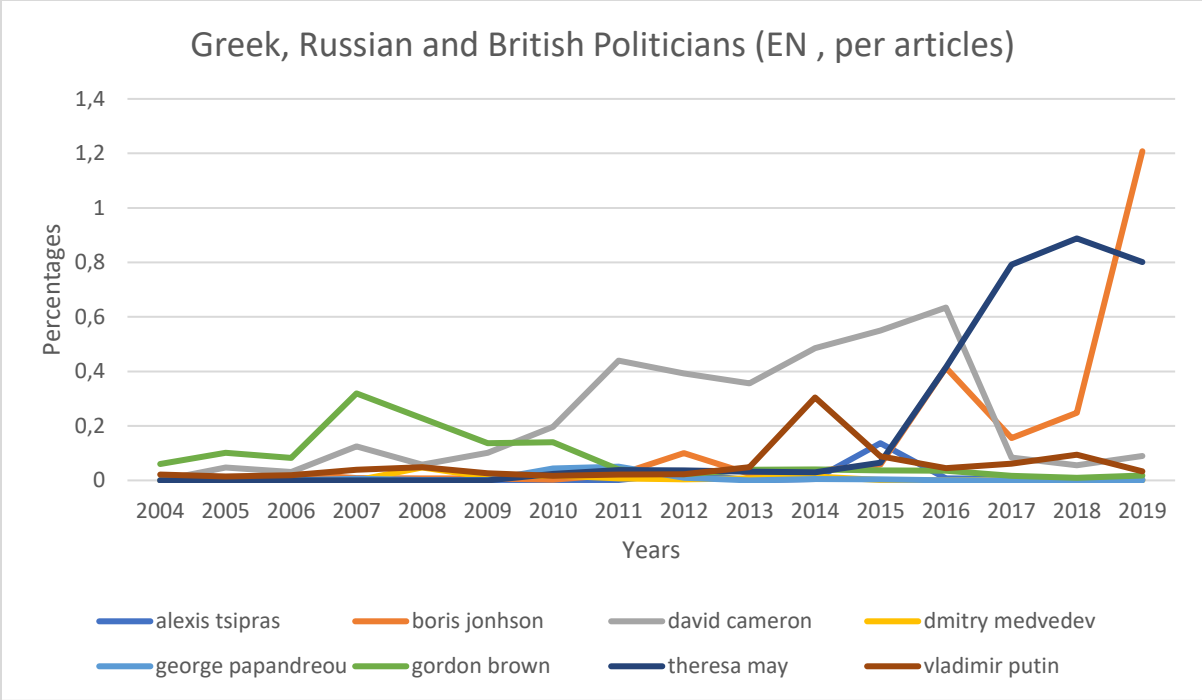


Figure 65. Bi-Grams for English Prime-Ministers, Greek Prime Ministers and Russian Presidents in the English corpus, quantified according to the number of articles in the corpus.

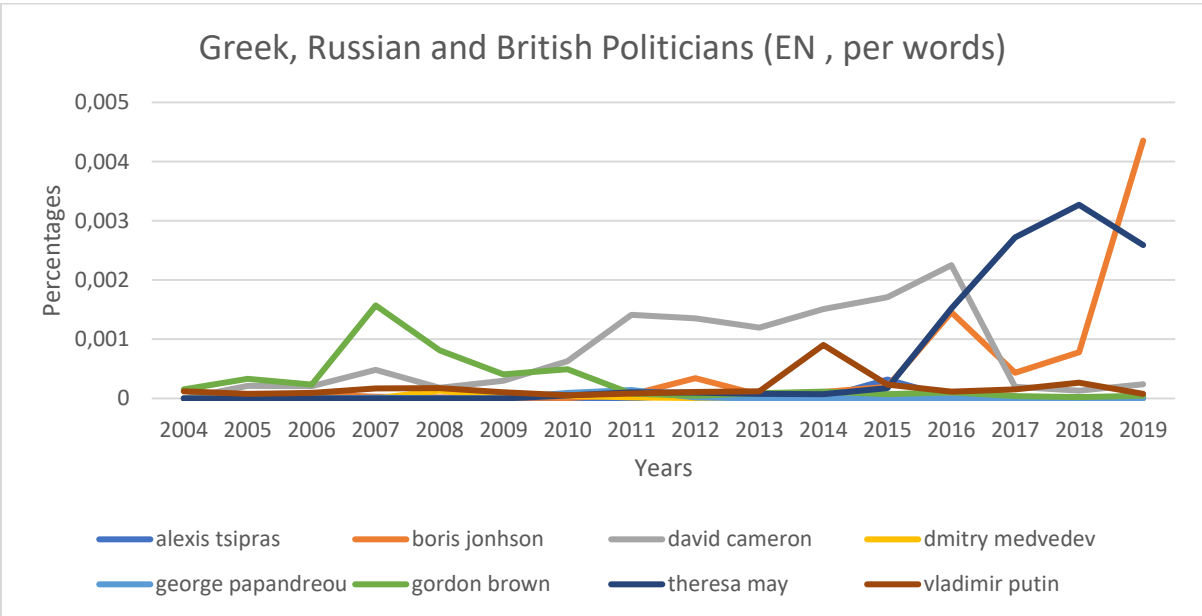


Figure 66. Bi-Grams for English Prime-Ministers, Greek Prime Ministers and Russian Presidents in the English corpus, quantified according to the number of words in the corpus.

On the other hand, the Portuguese corpus (figure 67 and 68) shows that while neither Putin nor Tsipras surpass the acting Portuguese Prime Ministers, Alexis Tsipras does gain slightly more mentions than the acting Portuguese President, Cavaco Silva in 2015. Putin also gains slightly more mentions than Cavaco in 2014.

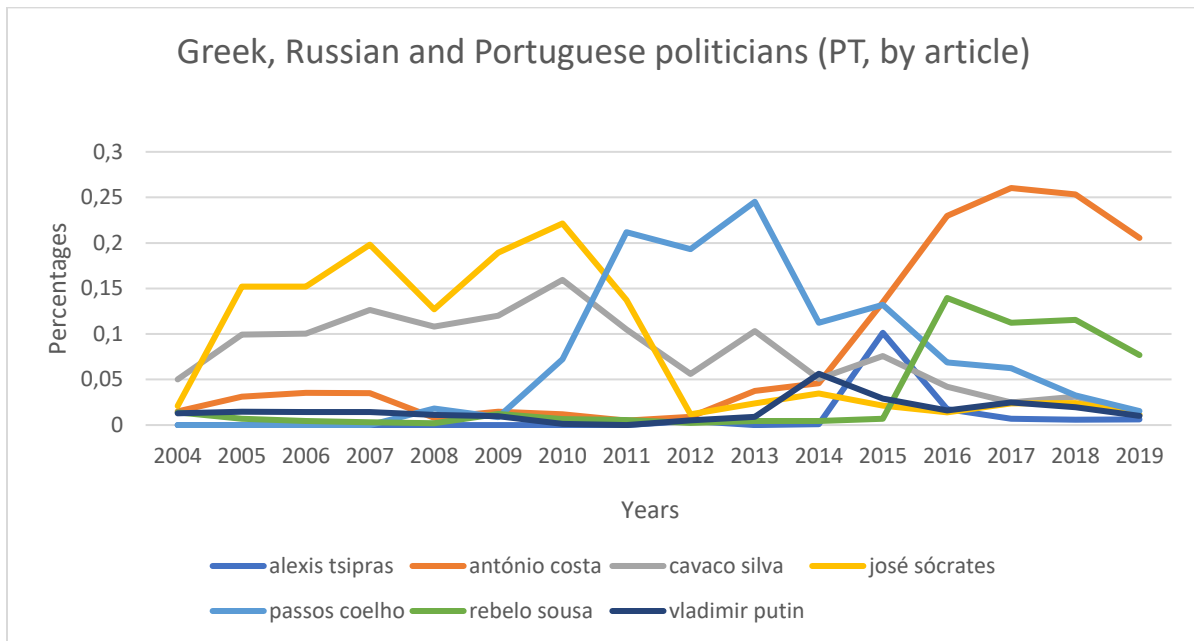


Figure 67. Bi-Grams for Portuguese Prime-Ministers and Presidents, Greek Prime Ministers and Russian Presidents in the Portuguese corpus, quantified according to the number of articles in the corpus.

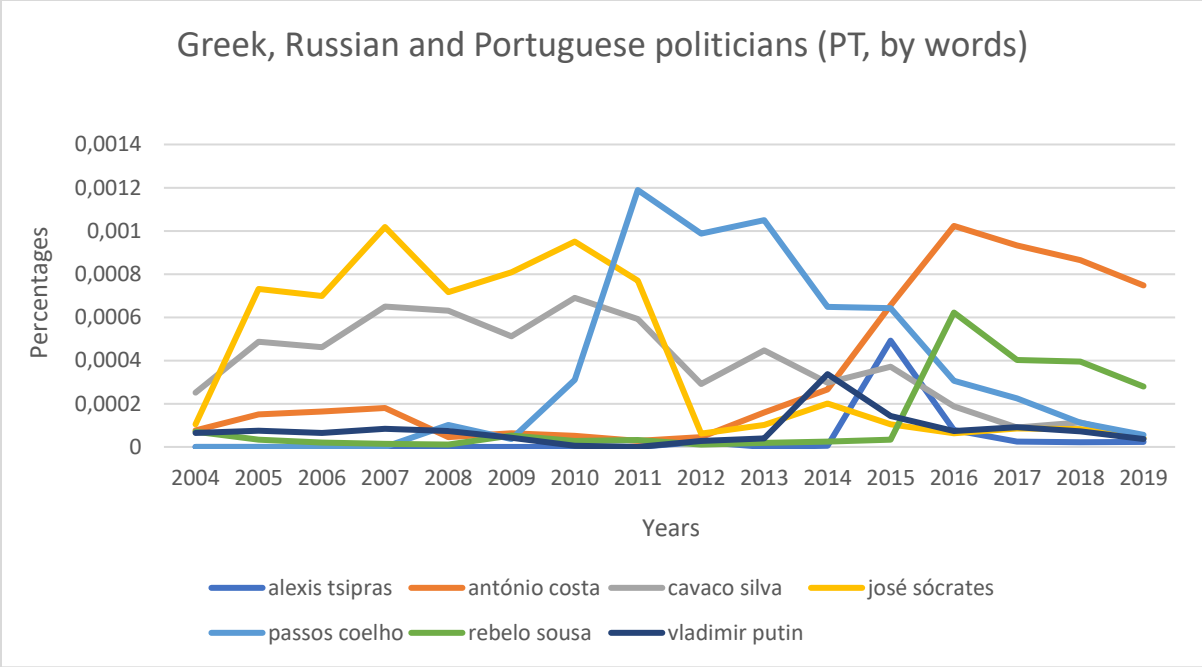


Figure 68. Bi-Grams for Portuguese Prime-Ministers and Presidents, Greek Prime Ministers and Russian Presidents in the Portuguese corpus, quantified according to the number of words in the corpus.

In addition, when we look at the English politicians who appear in the Portuguese corpus (figures 69 and 70), we see clearly the importance they assume in the last years of the corpus, with both the Bi-Grams “Theresa May” and “Boris Johnson” gaining a significant amount of mentions, surpassing “Rebelo Sousa”, the Portuguese President at the time. Johnson’s line also comes closer to Costa’s, in both quantification methods. This replicates the trend we saw in figures 49 and 50, where the lines mentioning European and national actors come closer in the last years of the Portuguese corpus, although the mentions of national actors are always higher.

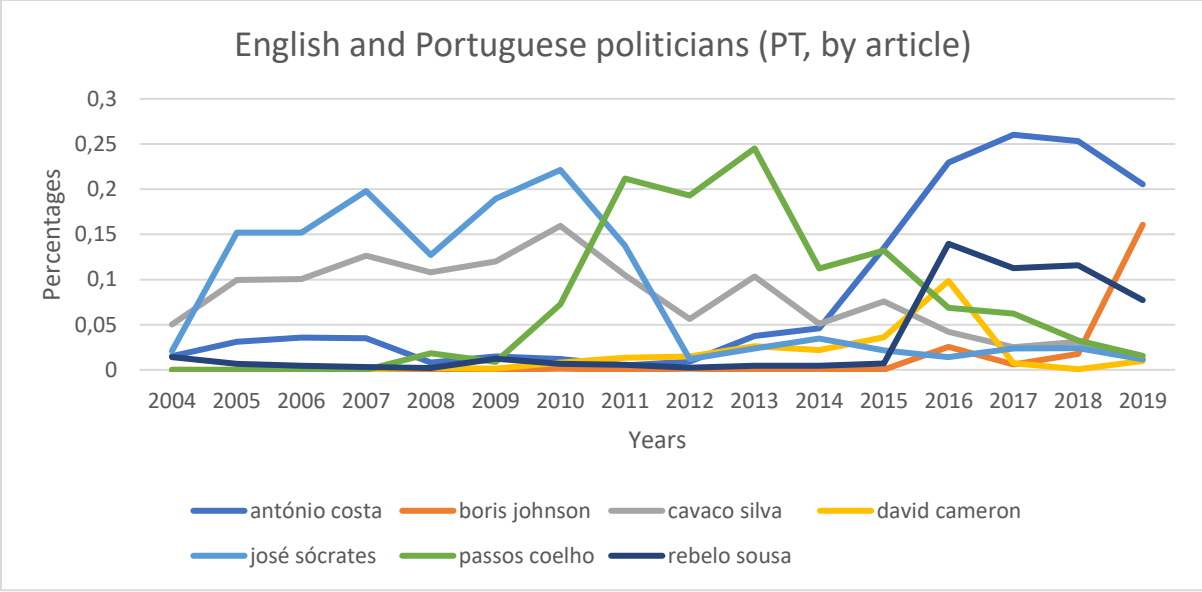


Figure 69. Bi-Grams for Portuguese Prime-Ministers and Presidents as well as British Prime Ministers in the Portuguese corpus, quantified according to the number of articles in the corpus.

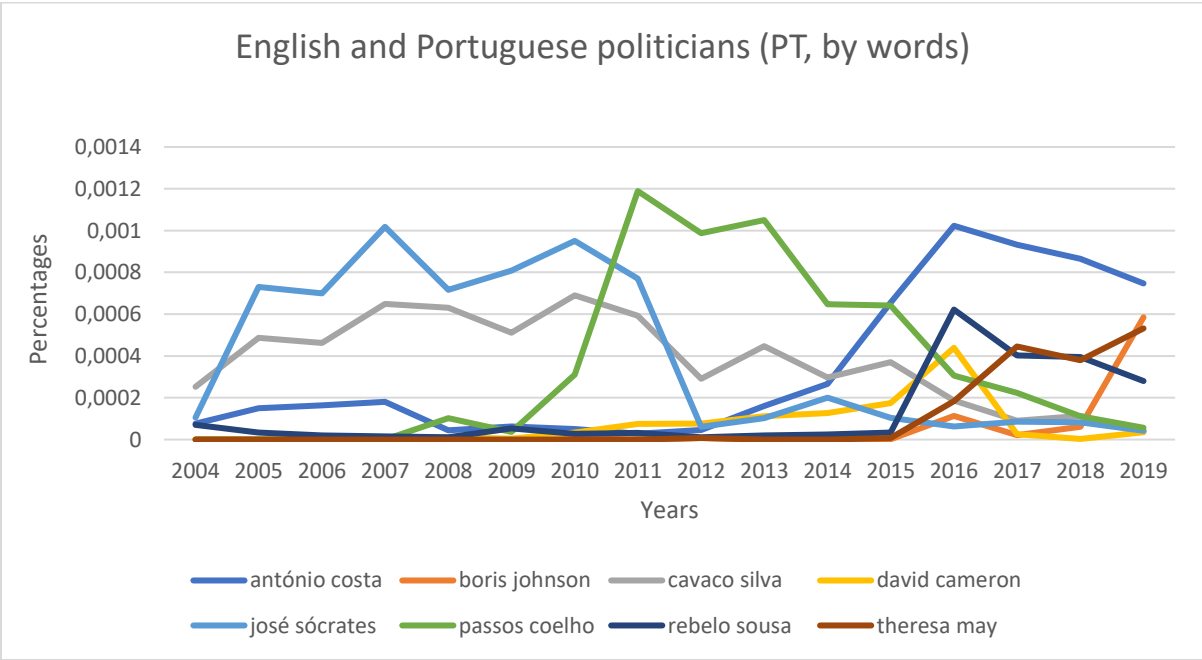


Figure 70. Bi-Grams for Portuguese Prime-Ministers and Presidents as well as British Prime Ministers in the Portuguese corpus, quantified according to the number of words in the corpus.

Finally, we created a list containing leaders of France and Germany who appear in the top Bi-Grams and who have appeared in figures in this section: Angela Merkel, Nicolas Sarkozy, Francois Hollande and Emmanuel Macron, as well as the Presidents of the European Commission (bar Durão Barroso, who could not be recognised as a European leader in the Portuguese corpus), such as Claude Juncker and Der Leyen, and Presidents of the European Council (Van Rompuy and Donald Tusk). We defined these as “European leaders” and compared them between the corpora. The idea here was to see how politicians and leaders closely related to the functioning and politics of the European Union fared in both corpora.

As we can see in the quantification by article (figure 71) the English corpus always shows more mentions of these European actors than the Portuguese, with a small exception in 2005. In the quantification per words (figure 72), we can see that while the tendency in most years is still towards the English corpus having more mentions of these actors, the two lines are far closer, and the Portuguese corpus actually contains more mentions to those Bi-Grams in 2011 and 2015. This might be interpreted as those Bi-Grams appearing more often in several different articles in the English corpus, but being mentioned more times within the articles in the Portuguese corpus. A hypothesis that might help explain this difference is that in certain instances the Portuguese coverage of topics involving these actors has more depth than the English coverage. Of course, this hypothesis has to be balanced out by the fact that, as we pointed out in chapter 3, we could not include every single mention of an actor, as they are mentioned in a variety of forms, including solely by their last name (which as a Uni-Gram was not used in this analysis).⁵²⁵ As such, our quantification per words method can indicate an interesting tendency, but it is always incomplete.

⁵²⁵ The reasons for which were explained in chapter 3, section “How to quantify the corpus”.

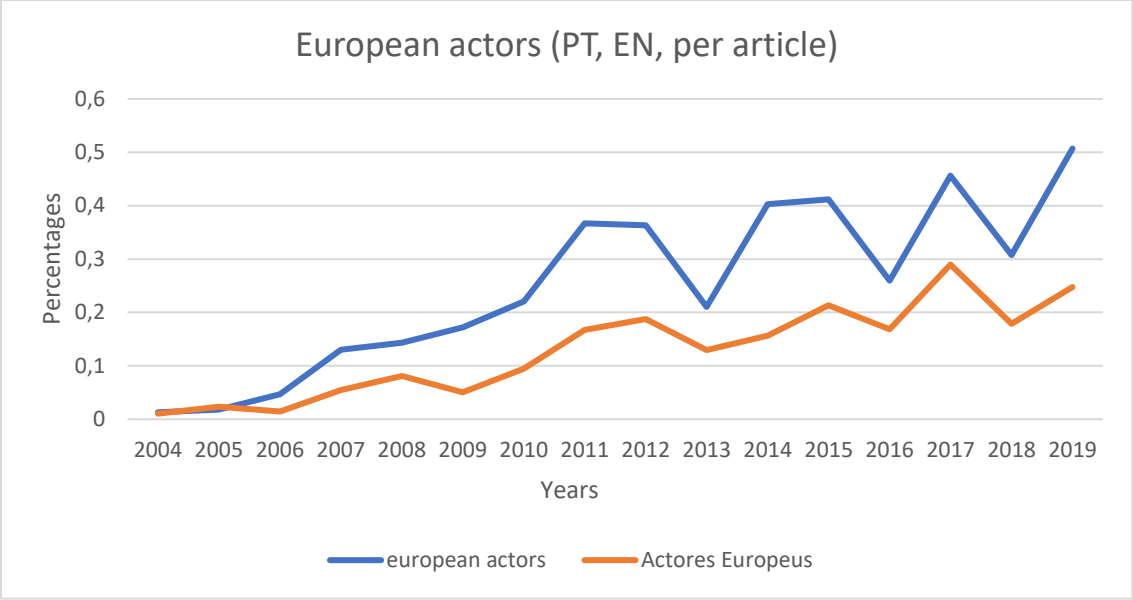


Figure 71. Bi-Grams for “European actors” (heads of state of France and Germany as well as heads of European Institutions) in the English and Portuguese corpus, quantified according to the number of articles in the corpus.

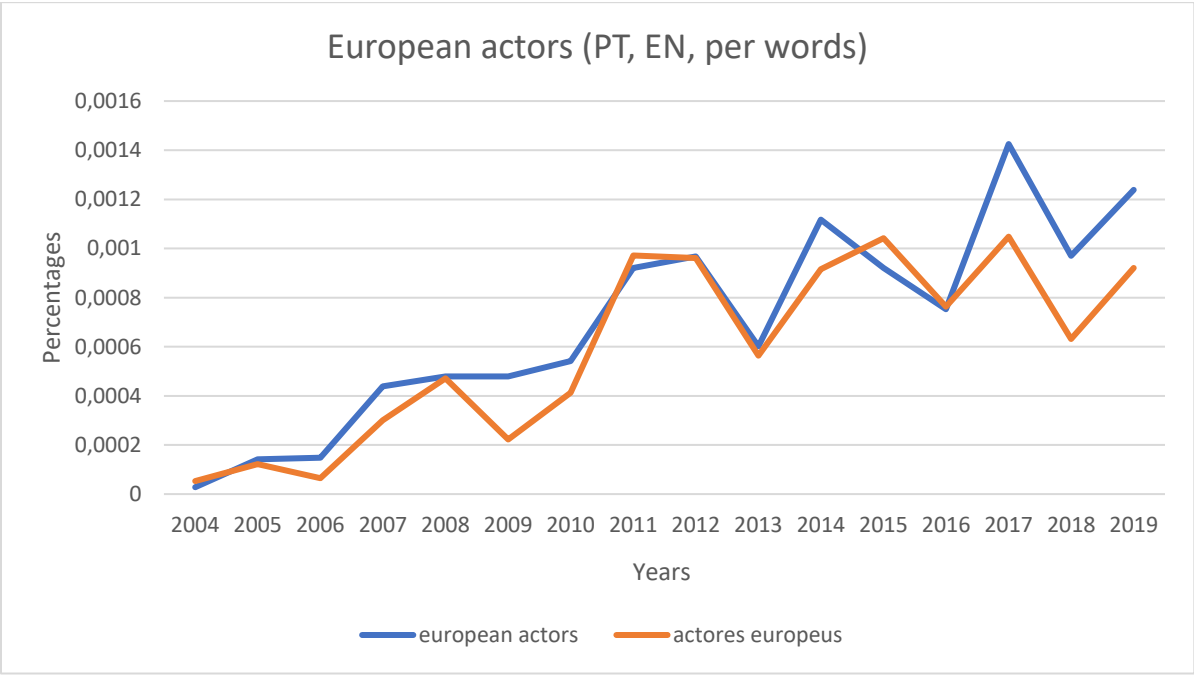


Figure 72. Bi-Grams for “European actors” (heads of state of France and Germany as well as heads of European Institutions) in the English and Portuguese corpus, quantified according to the number of words in the corpus.

Collectives

When it comes to collectives, we chose to work with Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams, as they both reveal a measure of usefulness. Figures 73 and 74 show all the collective Uni-Grams that were gathered from the top 50 Bi-Grams along our chronology. The Uni-Grams “europeus” and “europeias” in Portuguese are plurals (masculine and feminine respectively). While they find no direct correspondence in the English figure, the Uni-Gram “European”, which appears in almost every English newspaper in every year, can be used as a plural. However, because “European” can also be singular and because of the importance of the term “European Union”, we have chosen not to classify European as a collective. In the same vein, the Portuguese Uni-Gram “estrangeiros” is translated as “foreigners”; however, concordance on AntConc shows that this term is employed a majority of times as the continuation of “negocios estrangeiros” (Foreign office).

The Portuguese and the English corpora show interesting similarities. They share Uni-Grams such as “states/estados”, “companies/empresas” “women/mulheres”, “men/homens”, “children/crianças”. The last 3, especially, point to a concern about the everyday lives of the population – another Uni-Gram present in the top 50 of both corpora. The concern about the economy is also very obvious: “companies/empresas”, “workers/trabalhadores” and in the English case, “taxpayers” and “jobs”, are also present. In Portuguese, it would not be common to use the plural for “jobs” in written or spoken language. However, “emprego”, whose more appropriate translation would be “employment”, is present in the Uni-Gram concept list and often present in the top 50 Bi-Grams in several years.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁶ As can be seen in the Top Uni-Grams lists in Appendix 13.

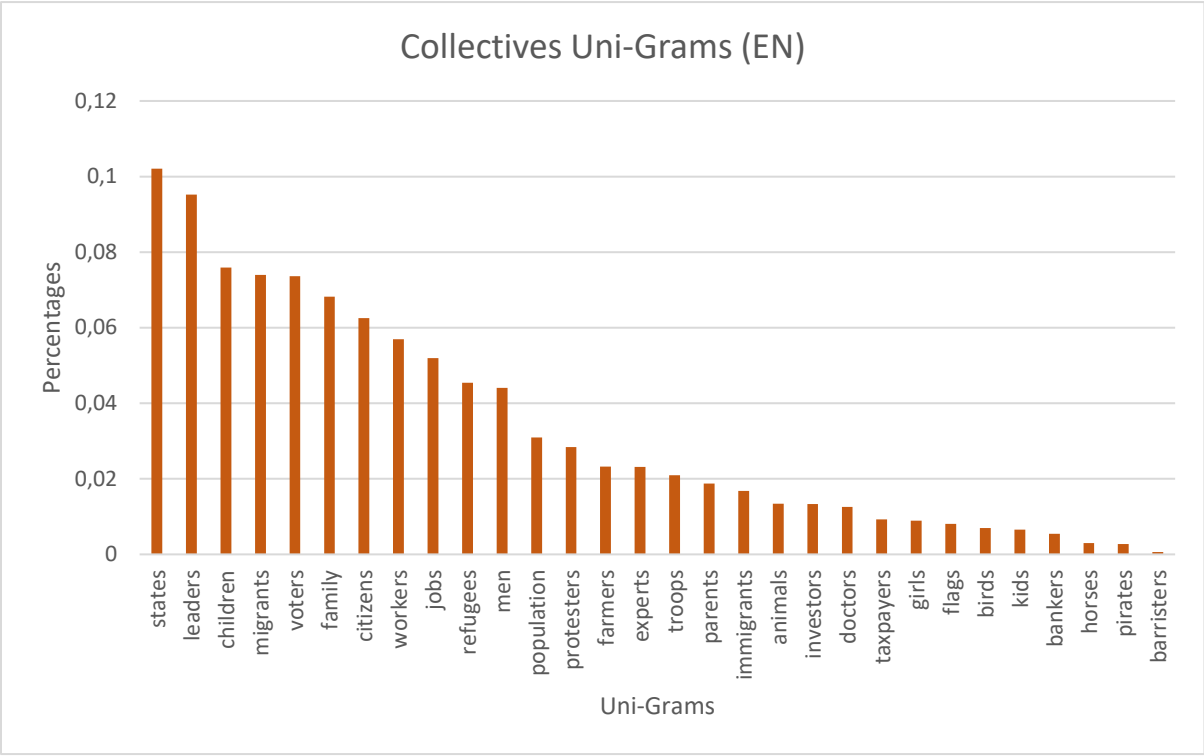


Figure 73. Uni-Grams for collectives in the English corpus. 2004-2019.

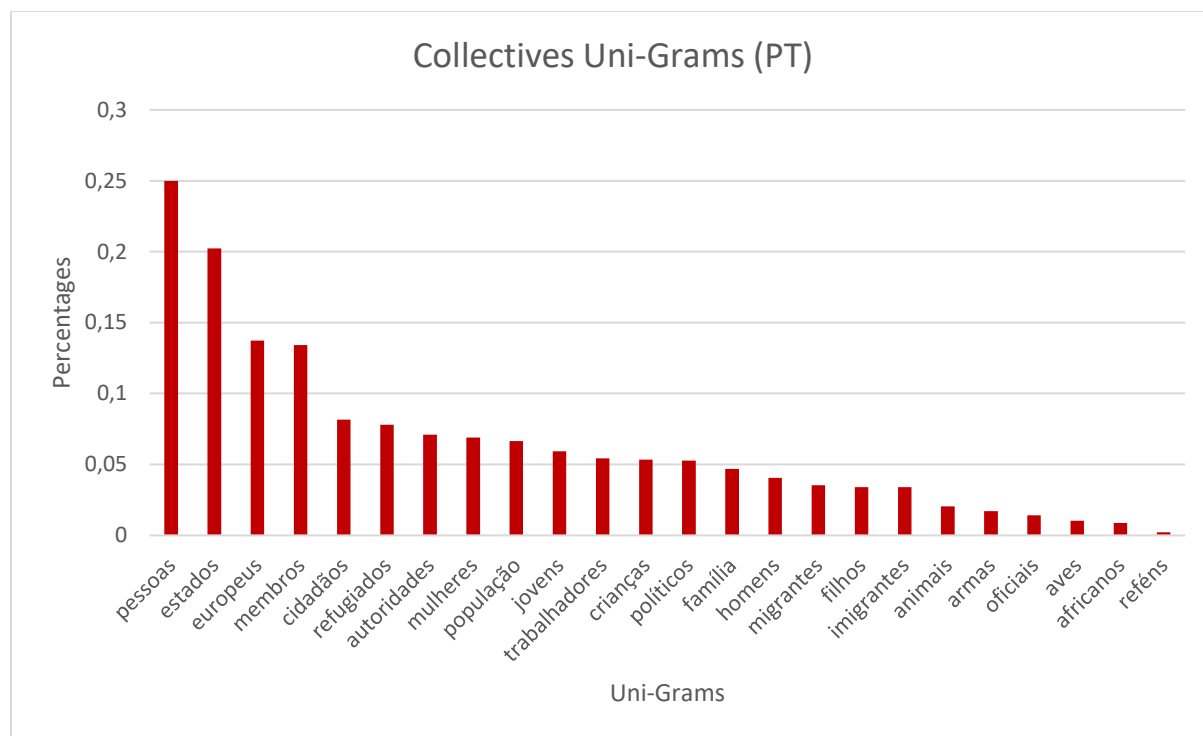


Figure 74. Uni-Grams for collectives in the Portuguese corpus. 2004-2019.

Another important aspect in the collective Uni-Grams is the presence of the Uni-Gram “migrants” in the English corpus as the 4th most frequent collective Uni-Gram. The same word in the Portuguese corpus appears much further down the list. Instead, the word “refugees” appears within the top 10, but in 6th position. This might partially be because of the attention that the media paid to the refugee crisis, accounting for the prominence of both these terms. This is confirmed by figure 75. As expected, these Uni-Grams spring to importance around the period of the refugee crisis in 2015, but the English corpus uses the term “migrants” much more commonly than “refugees”, whereas the Portuguese corpus privileges the word “refugees”. Although these terms are often used interchangeably, they are conceptually distinct. According to Amnesty International, a refugee is a person “who has fled their own country because they are at risk of serious human rights violations and persecution there”, whereas a migrant is a much broader term of which “there is no internationally accepted legal definition”. Amnesty International “understand migrants to be people staying outside their country of origin, who are not asylum-seekers or refugees.” Migrants might therefore leave their place of origin “because they want to work, study or join family. Others

feel they must leave because of poverty, political unrest, gang violence, natural disasters or other serious circumstances that exist there.”⁵²⁷ While on one hand it is recognised that refugee is a legal term which carries with it a formal status, the use of the term “migrant” might be construed as meaning people who are in less need of help and assistance, although that is often not the case.⁵²⁸

Collocation analysis on the word “migrants” in the English corpus shows that it collocates frequently with “refugees” (rank 14, frequency 817), “Europe” (rank 22, frequency 585), “thousands” (rank 30, frequency 426) and “UK” (rank 33, frequency 411).⁵²⁹ “Refugees” on the other hand, collocates with “migrants” (rank 8, frequency 817), “syrian” (rank 11, frequency 687), “Europe” (rank 20, frequency 428) and “thousands” (rank 25, frequency 317).⁵³⁰

For its part, the Portuguese corpus collocates “migrantes” more frequently with “refugiados” (“refugees”, rank 10, frequency 303), “Grecia” (“Greece”, rank 19, frequency 143), “crianças” (“children”, rank 24, frequency 102) and “maritima” (“maritime”, rank 29, frequency 89).⁵³¹ The word “refugiados” collocates frequently with “crise” (rank 16, frequency 377), “Portugal” (rank 20, frequency 320), “migrantes” (rank 22, frequency 303) and “acolhimento” (“welcoming”, rank 29, frequency 223).⁵³²

The presence of the word “thousands” in the English corpus, applied to both the terms migrants and refugees, contrasts somewhat with the presence of the term “welcoming” in the Portuguese, as it becomes obvious that the English corpus prefers to emphasize the quantity of people coming in to Europe and potentially to the UK, whereas the collocation for the Portuguese corpus suggests

⁵²⁷ ‘Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Migrants’, Amnesty International, accessed 4 February, 2023, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/>.

⁵²⁸ Rebecca Hamlin, ‘Migrants’? ‘Refugees’? Terminology Is Contested, Powerful, and Evolving’, migrationpolicy.org, 18 March, 2022, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/terminology-migrants-refugees-illegal-undocumented-evolving>. The article quotes an Al-Jazeera source which argued that the use of the term “migrant” had developed “into a tool that dehumanizes and distances, a blunt pejorative.” whereas the BBC defended the use of the term for its “neutrality”. A BBC article on the subject explains that “The word migrant is defined in Oxford English Dictionary as “one who moves, either temporarily or permanently, from one place, area, or country of residence to another”. It is used as a neutral term by many media organisations - including the BBC”. In ‘The Battle over the Words Used to Describe Migrants’, *BBC News*, 28 August, 2015, <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34061097>.

⁵²⁹ AP Migrants EN 2004-2019.

⁵³⁰ AP Refugees EN 2004-2019.

⁵³¹ AP Migrantes PT 2004-2019.

⁵³² AP Refugiados PT 2004-2019.

the coverage is more concerned about which type of refugees are coming in (children) and how they are going to be received.

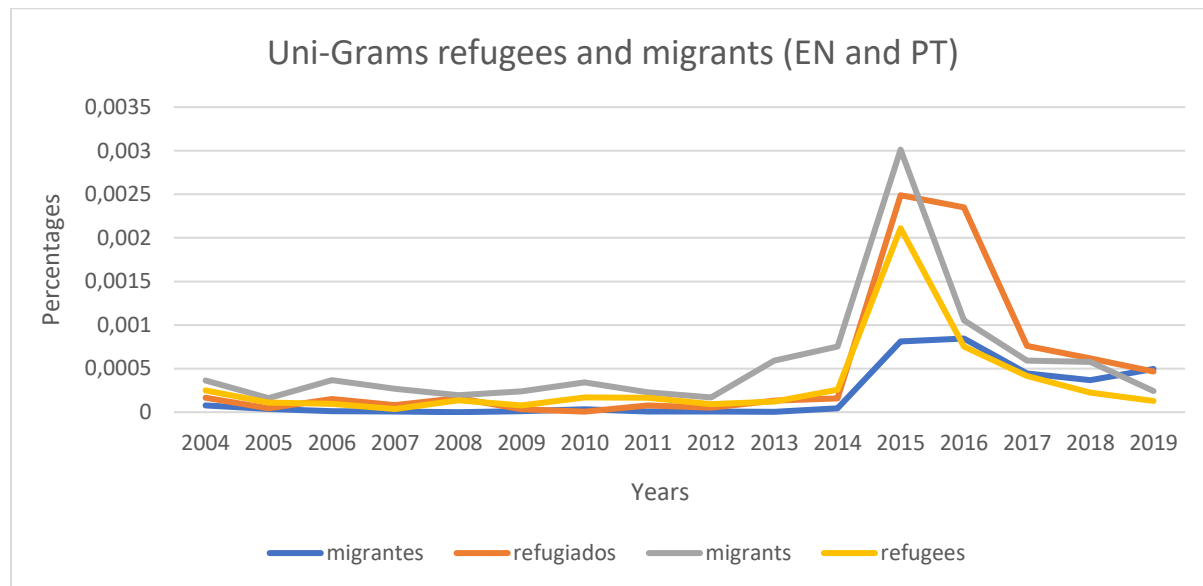


Figure 75. Uni-Grams for refugees and migrants in the English and Portuguese corpus.

At the same time, both corpora contain the word “immigrants/imigrantes”, as can be seen from figure 76. This term is interesting because if we just looked at this term, which we designated as a collective, we would see that the mentions are usually higher in the Portuguese corpus than in the English. However, if we add the Uni-Gram “immigration/imigração” – which is present in the top 50 Uni-Grams in the English corpus in several years – we realise that this English corpus employs this term much more often than the Portuguese corpus. Indeed, “imigração” is never present in the top 50 of the Portuguese corpus in any newspaper throughout these 16 years, and this is the only time in this chapter we are using a Uni-Gram which was not part of the top 50.⁵³³

Collocation analysis done on the entirety of the corpus, shows that in the Portuguese, “imigrantes” collocates with “ilegais” (“illegal”, rank 12, frequency 193), “Portugal” (rank 21, frequency 142) and “refugiados” (rank 22, frequency 138). “Integração” (“integration”) appears ranked 35 with a

⁵³³ In this particular case, we thought the use of a Uni-Gram which was not in the top 50 was justified, because to compare only the “immigrants/imigrantes” Uni-Gram could potentially lead to the misconception that immigration was much more discussed in the Portuguese corpus than in the English, which knowledge of the media and political discourse throughout these years, and close reading of key articles, would have proven wrong.

frequency of 74.⁵³⁴ The same Uni-Gram in the whole English corpus often collocates with “illegal” (rank 7, frequency 438), “EU” (rank 16, frequency 169), and “Britain” (rank 25, frequency 127). “Integration” appears ranked much lower (419th position, frequency 9).⁵³⁵

It is interesting that in the Portuguese corpus, EU (“UE”, in Portuguese) appears ranked 55 (frequency 41) and the words “europeia” (“European”) and “união” (“union”) rank at 42 and 43, whereas the English corpus ranks EU significantly higher. The concordance tool on AntConc used on the English corpus shows that these references to the EU, within the context of immigration, refer to EU immigrants. Furthermore, the word “integration” appears within the top 50 collocated words in the Portuguese corpus, and this finds no correspondence in the top 50 of the English collocations. Indeed, in the Portuguese corpus, when we examine “Integração” within the context of the word “imigrantes”, using once again AntConc’s Concordance tool, we verify that it does appear connected to the integration of immigrants both in Portugal and in other European Union countries.

This analysis shows that while some of the concerns seem to be the same – the illegality of immigrants – it is interesting that the Portuguese corpus connects immigration to refugees, whereas the English corpus does not make that connection, preferring to talk about immigration in the context of the EU.

⁵³⁴ AP imigrantes PT 2004-2019.

⁵³⁵ AP immigrants EN 2004-2019.

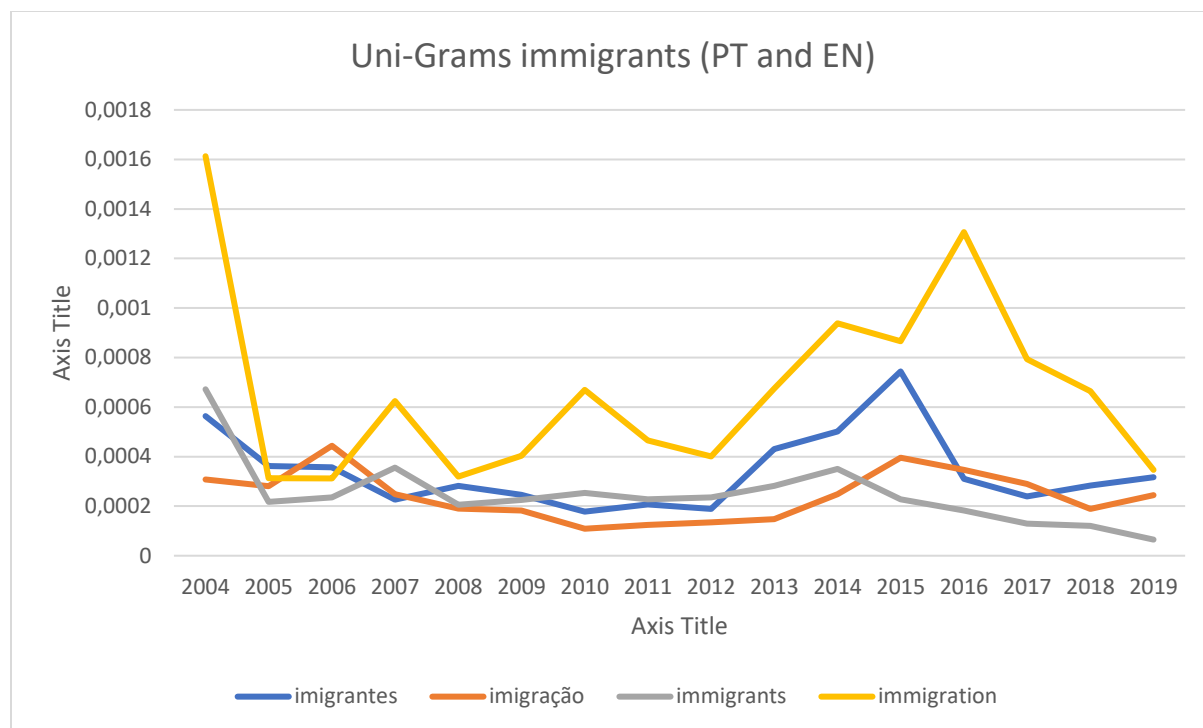


Figure 76. Uni-Grams for immigrants and immigrations in the English and Portuguese corpus.

These collocations are partly confirmed by the Bi-Gram lists. Figures 77 and 78 show the top 10 list of all the Bi-Grams collectives that appear throughout the chronology. In the English corpus, we have two Bi-Grams which are connected to immigration – “asylum seekers” and “eu nationals”⁵³⁶ – but this finds no equivalence in the Portuguese corpus, whose Bi-Grams tend to be more institutional with “instituições europeias” (“European institutions”) as part of the top 10. This Bi-Gram finds no correspondence in the English top 10. However, some of the other Bi-Grams related to EU countries and leaders are shared by both corpora (“member states/estados membros”, “European countries/paises Europeus”, “eu leaders/lideres europeus” and “eu countries/paises união”, which is a variation of “European countries”). A very interesting difference is the presence of the Bi-Gram “postos trabalho” (“work positions”) in the Portuguese top 10, which has no equivalence in the English top 10.

⁵³⁶ There is also the presence of “eu citizens”, though this might refer generally to citizens from the EU outside the UK.

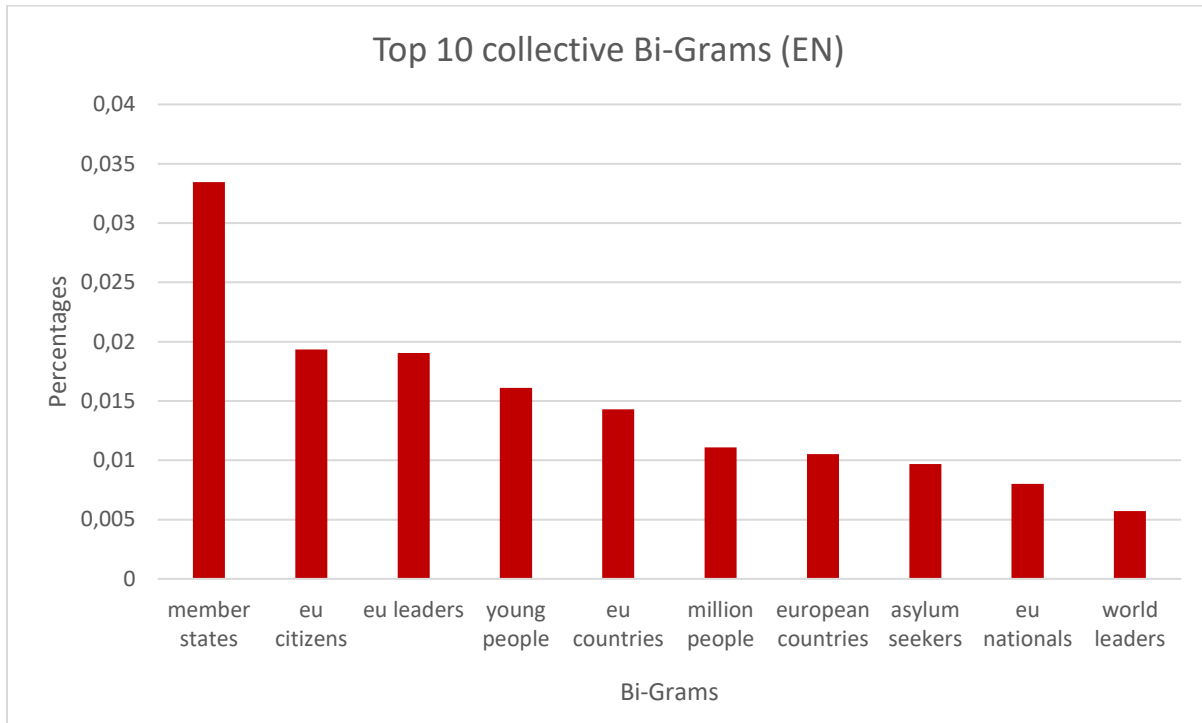


Figure 77. Top 10 collective Bi-Grams in the English corpus (2004 – 2019).

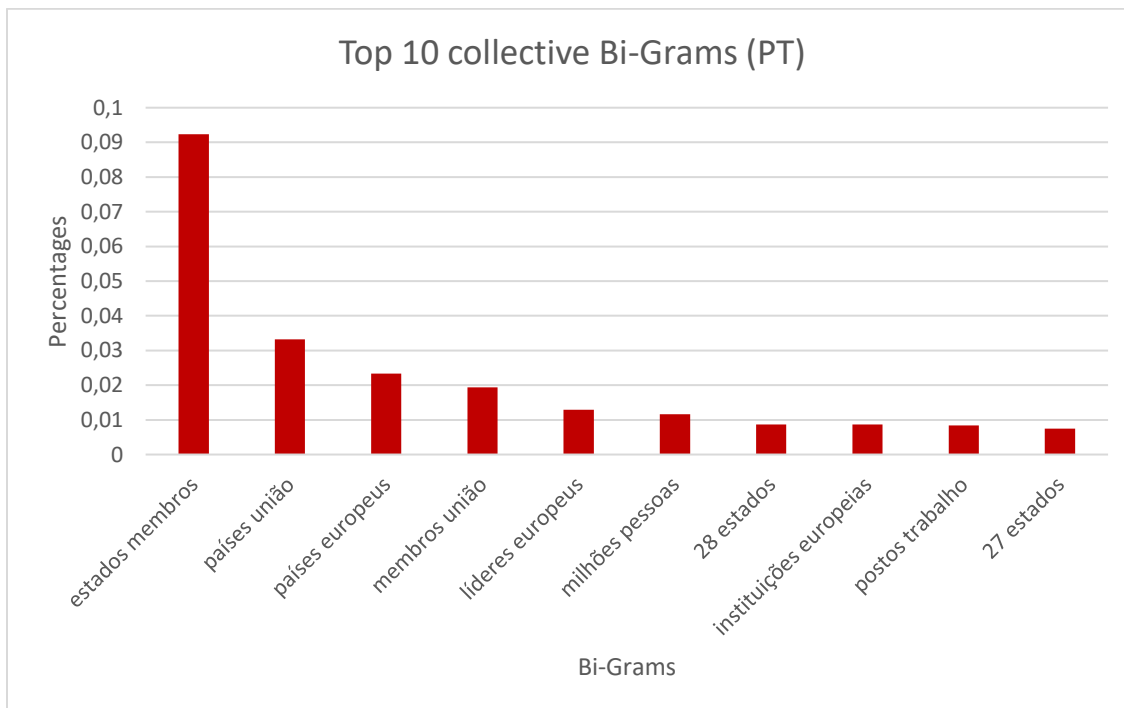


Figure 78. Top 10 collective Bi-Grams in the Portuguese corpus (2004 – 2019).

However, if we examine the full list of collectives Bi-Grams⁵³⁷ which we did not plot as a graphic because it was too long, we verify that one striking difference between the two corpora is that in the English corpus we found more Bi-Grams related to immigration, whereas in the Portuguese corpus there were only two directly related to the subject. In figure 79, we can see how “asylum seekers” became a very important Bi-Gram around 2015-2016, likely as a consequence of the refugee crisis, as many of those refugees were seeking asylum in the UK. Still, it is obvious from these Bi-Grams that immigration from the EU is a big concern, one which is prevalent in the early years of the corpus, returning to prominence from 2014 onwards. It is also important to note how the vocabulary changes. Initially, in 2004, EU immigrants were called “immigrants”, but from 2013/14 on, they started to be called “migrants”, probably because of the use of the word “migrants” in other migration-related contexts, namely the refugee crisis. It is worth highlighting as well that the Bi-Gram “eu migrants” collocates more often with “benefits” (rank 7, frequency 143), “UK” (rank 10, frequency 103), and “Britain” (rank 14, frequency 87).⁵³⁸ The AntConc Concordance tool shows that out of 881 instances where the term “eu migrants” appears, only 50 are followed by the prefix “non-eu migrants”, which means that most of the instances refer to immigration from other EU countries.

⁵³⁷ Due to the variety of this category, we chose to include a complete list of those “collectives” we found in our data in a separate Appendix. In this way, they are easier to visualise. They can be found in Appendix 18.

⁵³⁸ AP EU Migrants EN 2004-2019

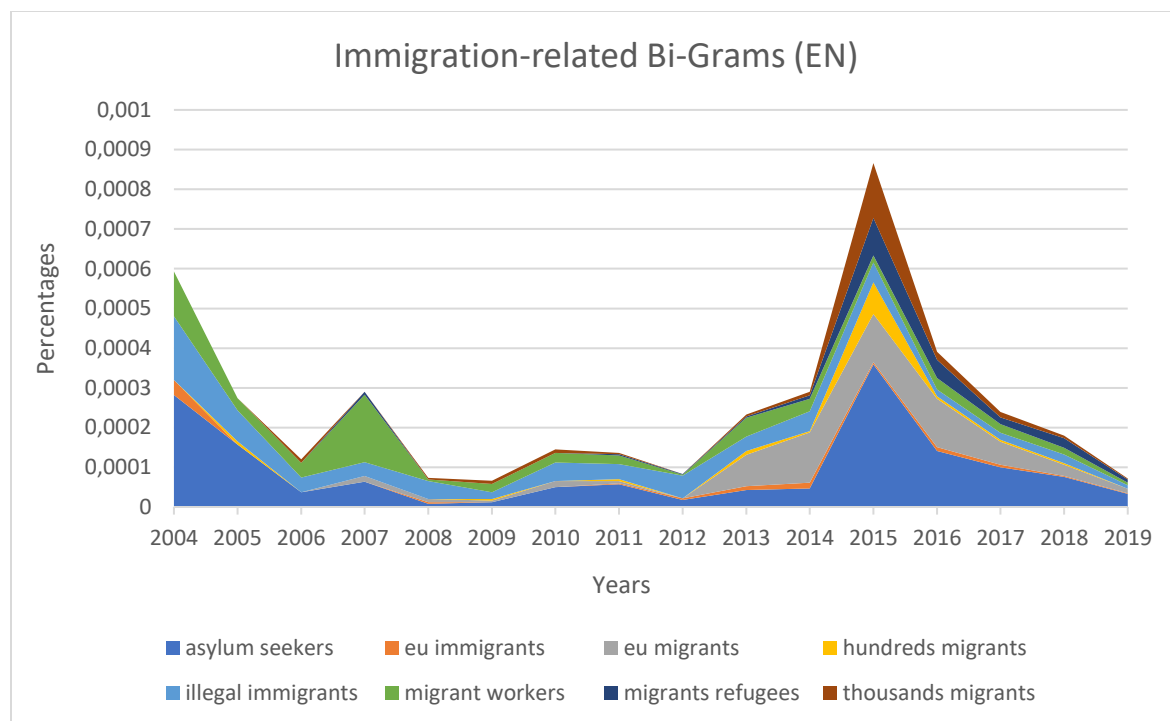


Figure 79. Bi-Grams related to collectives of immigrants and migrants in the English corpus.

In the complete list of Bi-Grams in the Portuguese corpus,⁵³⁹ we find two Bi-Grams related to immigration: “requerentes asilo” (“asylum seekers”) and “imigrantes ilegais” (“illegal immigration”). Figure 80 helps us trace those terms across the years in our chronology. The Concordance tool on AntConc shows that the peak in 2005 refers to articles which discuss the process of legalisation of illegal immigration in Portugal (which some immigrants tried to do through marriage), most of which originated from non-EU countries, with one article comparing immigration legislation in Portugal to that of other European countries. In 2007, the next peak in the term, close reading analysis shows that the articles refer to the Spanish government’s response to illegal immigration coming from north Africa, a subject broached by José Luis Zapatero at an EU summit.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁹ Appendix 13 - Complete Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams lists (2016 top words and 2014 top words). Also in Appendix 18, PT-collectivesu and PT-collectivesb.

⁵⁴⁰ “Cimeira é das mais importantes da UE,” *Correio da Manhã*, 12 September, 2007, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/cm-ao-minuto/detalhe/cimeira-e-das-mais-importantes-da-ue>.

Around 2015/2016 there seems to be a correlation between the two terms, and we believe this might be a consequence of the refugee crisis. This is confirmed by the collocation analysis. “Imigrantes ilegais” collocates with “mediterrâneo” (rank 17, frequency 5), “Grécia” (“Greece”, rank 18, frequency 5), and “fronteiras” (“borders”, rank 20, frequency 5).⁵⁴¹

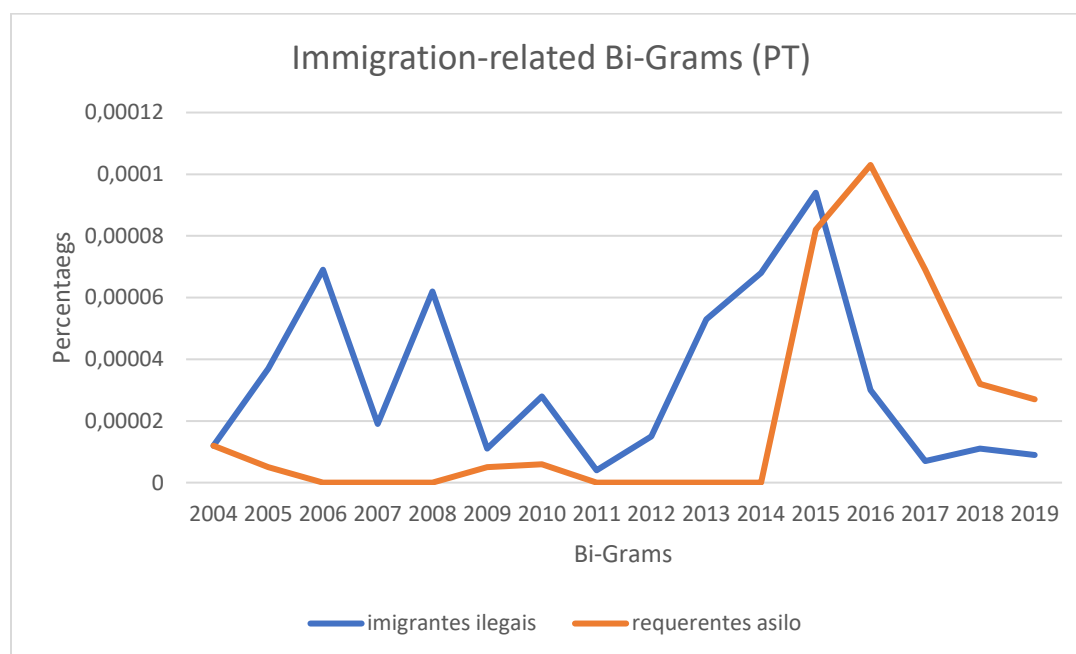


Figure 80. Bi-Grams related to collectives of immigrants in the Portuguese corpus.

One last aspect of the collective Bi-Grams we wanted to point out is the presence of the terms “países ricos” (“rich countries”) and “países pobres” (“poor countries”). Both of these are present in the top 50 Bi-Grams in the Portuguese corpus in different years. The English corpus only contains “poor countries” in its top 50. As can be seen from figure 81, the terms were used early in the corpus, reaching a peak in 2005 and another in 2007, with a slight resurgence in 2009. From then on, the terms fall into disuse. Concordance analysis made on the Portuguese corpus, shows that poor countries seems to refer to African and Southeast Asian countries. Rich countries, on the other hand, seems to refer to what we would now also call high-income countries in Europe, Asia

⁵⁴¹ AP imigrantes ilegais PT 2015-2016

and North America, with mentions of specific EU countries such as Austria, Germany and Northern European countries. The English corpus, on the other hand, agrees that poor countries refers to Asian countries like Afghanistan, but also poor countries in Europe, like Montenegro or Italy.

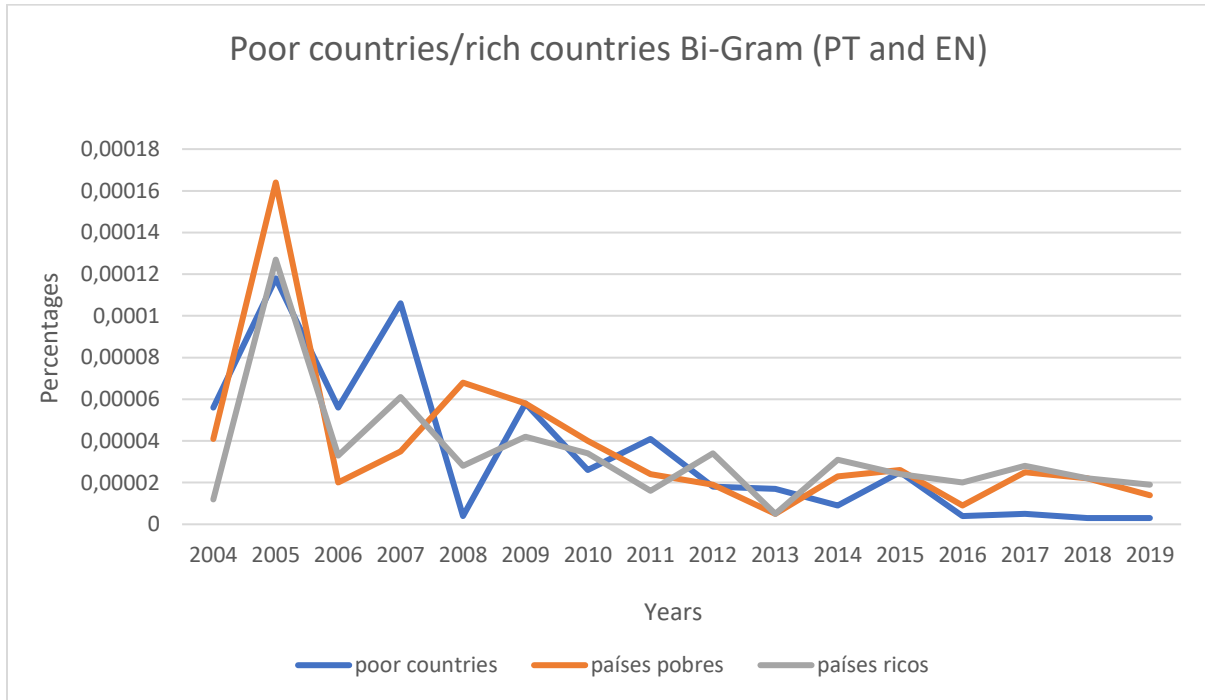


Figure 81. Bi-Grams related to collectives of the economic condition of countries in the Portuguese and English corpus.

Institutions

With institutions, we have chosen to focus primarily on Bi-Grams, as many of the Uni-Grams can be seen as a part of the Bi-Grams. We are also using a close reading approach as many of the Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams remain the same throughout the 16 years.

A close reading approach of the Uni-Gram list throughout the 16 years, confirms that the most common are “eu/ue”, “commission/comissão”, “parliament/parlamento”, “government/governo”, and “state/estado”. Some Uni-Grams, such as commission and EU, will form the Bi-Grams “European Commission/Comissão Europeia” and “European Union/União Europeia”.⁵⁴² Caution must be exercised when considering these, as not only was “European Union/União Europeia” the term chosen to search the articles and building the corpus, but as we have seen in chapter 3, part of our cleaning process dictated that if an article contained mentions of either the “European Commission” or “European Community” it wouldn’t be removed, even if it failed to contain the words “European Union”. Therefore, it is natural that many of the articles contain mentions of the institution “European Commission”.

Other Uni-Grams are a little ambiguous. Parliament might refer to the European Parliament but also to either the English or Portuguese Parliaments. Government might refer to either national or international governments. Collocation analysis in the English corpus shows that “government” collocates frequently with “UK” (rank 23, frequency 3091), “brexit” (rank 29, frequency 2401), “british” (rank 32, frequency 2068), “eu” (rank 40, frequency 1810) and “labour” (rank 44, frequency 1479)⁵⁴³. Parliament collocates with “European” (rank 7, frequency 5481), “Brexit” (rank 23, frequency 1520), “deal” (rank 24, frequency 1356) and “vote” (rank 28, frequency 1222).⁵⁴⁴

This same analysis made on the Portuguese corpus shows “governo” (“government”) collocating with “português” (“Portuguese”, rank 22, frequency 1425), “estado” (“state”, rank 24, frequency 1210), “chefes” (“chiefs”, rank 27, frequency 965) and “chefe” (“chief”, rank 28, frequency

⁵⁴² These lists can be found in appendix 13 - Complete Uni-Gram and Bi-Gram Lists.

⁵⁴³ AP Government EN 2004-2019

⁵⁴⁴ AP Parliament EN 2004-2019

932).⁵⁴⁵ “Parlamento” (“parliament”) collocates with “europeu” (“European”, rank 2, frequency 3408), “president” (“president”, rank 20, frequency 586), “britânico” (“British”, rank 22, frequency 471), and “comissão” (“commission”, rank 29, frequency 333).⁵⁴⁶

This analysis, as it is made on the whole corpus, suffers from the size imbalance to which we have alluded several times, in which the later years of the corpus have more articles than the earlier years. This explains the mentions of “Brexit” in the English corpus and “britânico” in the Portuguese. However, it still shows that “government” remains very connected to the UK and Portugal whereas “parliament” often refers to the European Parliament.⁵⁴⁷

Despite what was said in the beginning of this section about the Bi-Gram “European Commission” we believe it is still useful to compare it between corpora, as together with the European Parliament and the European Council, it remains the most important European institution. And in fact, we can see that, in spite of the cleaning processes having been the same for both corpora, the difference in frequency remains stark (figure 82). We see how “Comissão Europeia” is much more frequent than “European Commission”, a trend replicated by “Parlamento Europeu” and “European Parliament”. This is especially striking when considering figure 9, which traced the Bi-Gram “European elections”, which shows that the Portuguese corpus mentions the elections more than the English. Keeping in line with this trend, we see that “Parlamento Europeu” is mentioned more frequently than “European Parliament” in 2014 and 2019. In 2009 European Parliament in the English and Portuguese corpora share similar frequencies, although the Portuguese Bi-Gram is slightly more numerous.

⁵⁴⁵ AP Governo PT 2004-2019.

⁵⁴⁶ AP Parlamento PT 2004-2019

⁵⁴⁷ The same analysis in the English corpus, done from 2004 to 2014, shows that “uk”, “british” and “labour” still collocate frequently with “government” (AP Government EN 2004-2014). “Parliament”, on the other hand, collocates frequently with “European”, “president” and “vote”. (AP Parliament EN 2004-2014). In the Portuguese corpus, from 2004 to 2014, “governo” collocates with “portugues”, “estado” and “chefe” (AP Governo PT 2004-2014). “Parlamento” collocates frequently with “europeu”, “presidente”, “governo” and “comissao” (AP Parlamento PT 2004-2014). As such, we can see that discounting the references to Brexit which occur in later years, there is a continuity between the first 10 years of the corpora, which has less articles, and the last 5 years, where the volume grows exponentially (as can be seen in figure 1 in chapter 3).

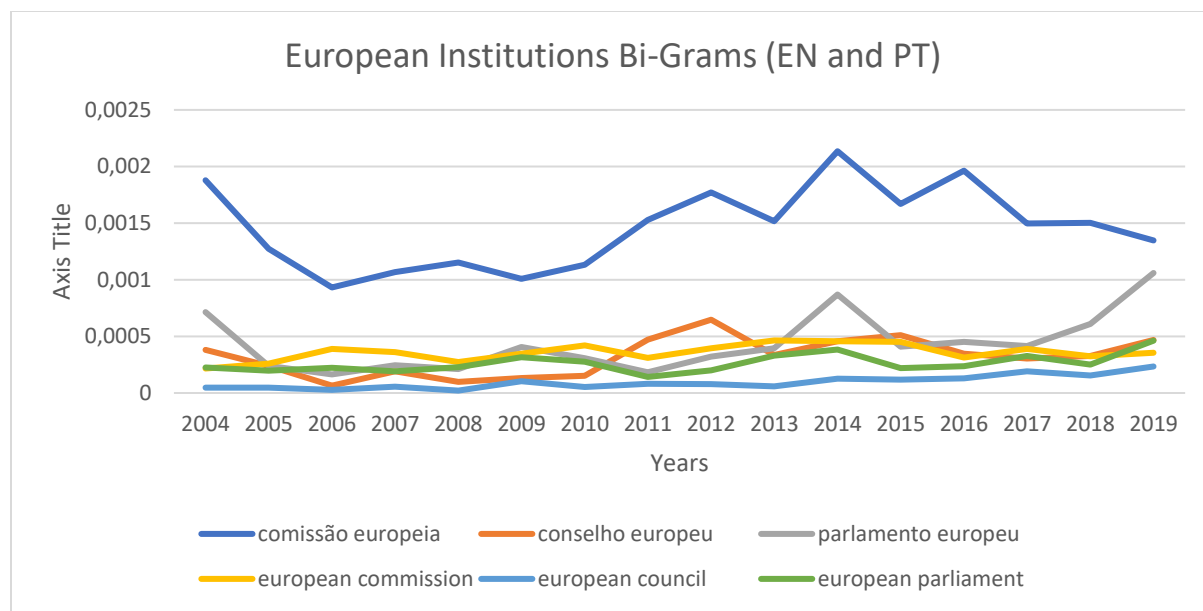


Figure 82. Bi-Grams for different European institutions which appear frequently in both the English and the Portuguese corpora.

Given how frequent these terms are, it is difficult to pinpoint to what political contexts they appear connected. Collocation analysis for the entirety of the English corpus shows that “European Commission” collocates frequently with terms such as “president” and “eu” as well as references to presidents of the European Commission, especially Juncker and Barroso. The country that appears first in the collocation list for “European Commission” is “uk”.⁵⁴⁸ Analysis done from 2004 to 2014 (in order to lessen the weight of the last five years) follows the same trend, only Barroso has more mentions than Juncker.⁵⁴⁹ “European Parliament” collocates frequently with “elections”, “president” and “brexit”.⁵⁵⁰ From 2004 to 2014, the collocations are virtually the same, except for the mentions of Brexit.⁵⁵¹

In the Portuguese corpus, “Comissão Europeia” collocates frequently with references to the European central bank, “troika”, and the IMF.⁵⁵² This is particularly interesting because it occurs

⁵⁴⁸ AP European Commission EN 2004-2019.

⁵⁴⁹ AP European Commission EN 2004-2014.

⁵⁵⁰ AP European Parliament EN 2004-2019.

⁵⁵¹ AP European Parliament EN 2004-2014.

⁵⁵² AP Comissão Europeia PT 2004-2019.

throughout the whole corpus; the analysis done on the same term from 2004 to 2014, show that “president” and “barroso” are the most frequent collocations, followed by references to the European Central Bank and the troika.⁵⁵³ “Portugal” is also the first country that appears collocated in the list with “European Commission”.⁵⁵⁴ In the whole corpus, “Parlamento Europeu” collocates frequently with “president”, “comissão” and “eleições”.⁵⁵⁵ The same analysis done from 2004 to 2014 shows the same words at the top of the collocation list.⁵⁵⁶

This analysis confirms one of the essential differences between the Portuguese corpus and the English, which is the importance of the economic and financial crisis in the Portuguese coverage. It also shows the importance of the elections when discussing the European Parliament in both corpora.

Other Bi-Grams which frequently appear in the top 50 of both corpora, and which as we have seen in the first part of this chapter we classified as Institutions, are “foreign office/negocios estrangeiros” and “home office/administração interna”. As can be seen from figure 83, “negócios estrangeiros” remains higher than the other Bi-Grams, with particular peaks in 2006 and 2014. Collocation in the Portuguese corpus shows that it collocates more often with “ministro” (“minister”, rank 3, frequency 1577) than “ministerio” (“ministry”, rank 10, frequency 451), but it also collocates with “silva” (rank 15, frequency 221) and “santos” (rank 16, frequency 221), which together makes Santos Silva, Portuguese foreign office minister from 2015 to 2022.⁵⁵⁷ “Administração interna” collocates more frequently with “ministro” than “ministério”, and the minister that appears in the first places of the collocation list is Constança Urbano Sousa, who was in office from 2015 to 2017.⁵⁵⁸ The same analysis done on the English corpus, shows “home office” collocating with “minister” (rank 19, frequency 123) and “spokesman” (rank 28, frequency 88).

⁵⁵³ AP Comissão Europeia PT 2004-2014.

⁵⁵⁴ AP Comissão Europeia PT 2004-2019.

⁵⁵⁵ AP Parlamento Europeu PT 2004-2019.

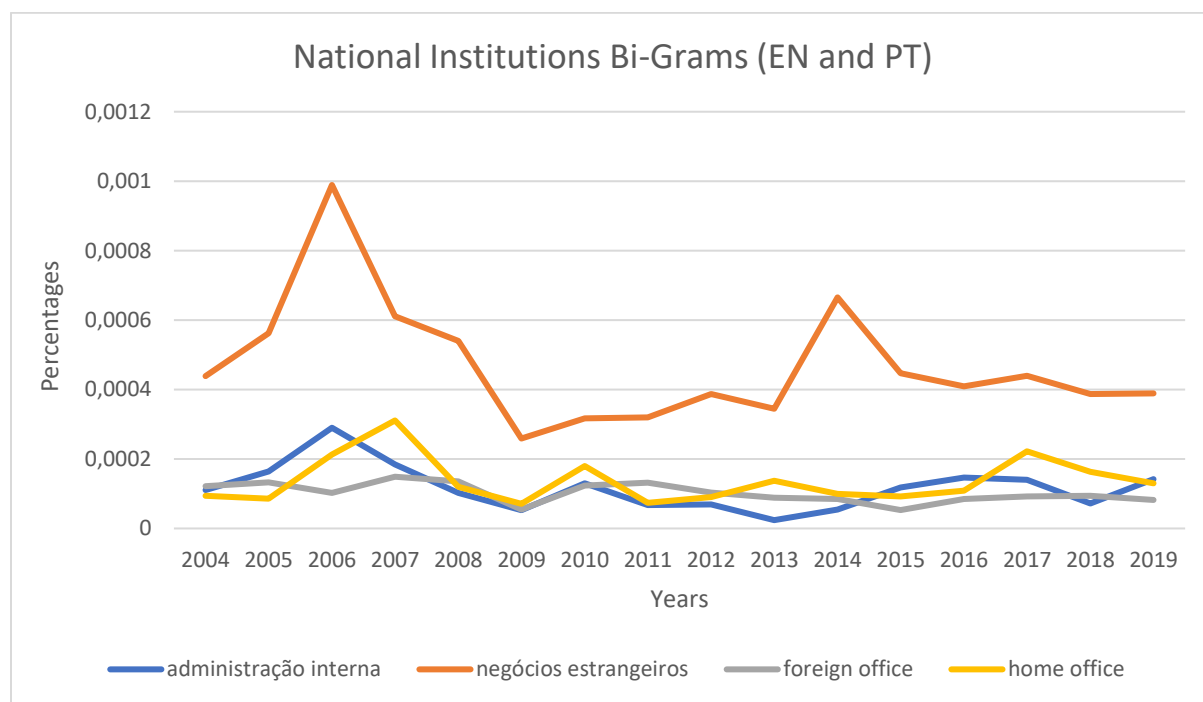
⁵⁵⁶ AP Parlamento Europeu PT 2004-2019.

⁵⁵⁷ AP Negócios Estrangeiros PT 2004-2019.

⁵⁵⁸ AP Administração Interna PT 2004-2019. Analysis on the Portuguese corpus shows that between 2004-2014, “Negocios Estrangeiros” collocates frequently with “ministro”, “ministerio”, followed by references to the Foreign Office minister Luis Amado (minister from 2006 to 2011, in AP Negócios Estrangeiros PT 2004-2014) The same analysis on “Administracao interna” shows the term collocating with “minister” and “ministerio” as well as with previous Administracao interna ministers (such as Rui Pereira and António Costa). In AP Administração Interna PT 2004-2014. Once again, as with the previous footnote, this shows the weight of the later years, but also shows significant thematical continuity throughout the corpora.

Interestingly, “immigration” ranks 38 with a frequency of 64.⁵⁵⁹ In the Portuguese corpus, however, neither “immigration” nor “immigrants” appear in the list of collocations with “Administração interna”; “migrantes” (“migrants”) appears, ranked 348 with a frequency of 2, which is significantly lower than similar terms in the English corpus.⁵⁶⁰ Going back to the English corpus, we can see that “Foreign office” collocates often with “minister” (rank 9, frequency 2011), “uk” (rank 30, frequency 51) and “secretary” (rank 32, frequency 48).⁵⁶¹

Additionally, the figure shows that when it comes to foreign affairs, the Foreign Affairs minister and ministry in Portugal play a more significant role than their English counterparts in public discourse. On the other hand, it also shows that in the English corpus the Home Office has consistently more mentions than the Foreign Office, and in the Portuguese corpus the opposite tendency can be observed.



⁵⁵⁹ AP Home Office EN 2004-2019

⁵⁶⁰ AP Administração Interna PT 2004-2019.

⁵⁶¹ The same collocations done for the period 2004 to 2014 in English corpus shows “Foreign office” collocating frequently with “minister”, “spokesman” and “British” (AP Foreign Office EN 2004-2014), while “Home Office” collocates frequently with “minister” and “spokesman”. In this period, “Immigration” is also ranking on the 30th place. AP Home Office EN 2004-2014

Figure 83. Bi-Grams for different national institutions which appear frequently in both the English and the Portuguese corpus.

Post Holders

Post holders is a category which showed great consistency throughout the years. The most common Uni-Grams are “minister/ministro”, “president/presidente” and “secretary/secretário”, though this last one is more present in the English corpus than in the Portuguese.

As was seen in the previous section, government departments collocated most often with their ministers. Collocation on the word “minister” in the entirety of the English corpus shows that in the first 100 ranked collocations there are several references to government departments (“cabinet”, “finance”, “foreign”), political parties (“Tory” and “Labour”) and names of ministers and prime ministers. These are, by order of frequency: “David” (rank 43, frequency 1392), Theresa” (rank 47, frequency 1319), “Cameron” (rank 51, frequency 1267) and “Johnson” (rank 52, frequency 1256). Further down the list, we begin finding nationalities such as “French” (rank 86, frequency 684) and “German” (rank 97, frequency 578).⁵⁶² Collocation analysis done from 2004 to 2014 also shows references to government departments and British politicians, such as Cameron and Blair. However, we also see in this list the terms “French” (Rank 49, frequency 205), “Russian” (rank 59, frequency 165) and “German” (rank 65, frequency 155), which are ranked higher than in the collocation list for the entire English corpus.⁵⁶³

When we look into the term “Prime Minister”, which is the post-holder Bi-Gram that appears in the top 50 every single year, the top 100 collocations contain the same names of British prime ministers we just mentioned, as well as references to “government” (rank 67, frequency 546) and “mps” (Rank 76, frequency 467). The only nationality that appears in the top 100 collocations, other than British, is “Italian” (rank 100, frequency 364).⁵⁶⁴ From 2004 to 2014, the term collocates frequently with “Cameron” (rank 19, frequency 369), but also with “british” (rank 32, frequency

⁵⁶² AP Minister EN 2004-2019.

⁵⁶³ AP Minister EN 2004-2014.

⁵⁶⁴ AP Prime Minister EN 2004-2019

165) and “president” (rank 40, frequency 139). In this period, however, “Italian” appears higher in the list (rank 47, frequency 118), as does “Ukraine” and “Russia” and several names of European politicians, such as Berlusconi, Putin and Papandreou.⁵⁶⁵

In the Portuguese corpus, “ministro” also collocates most frequently with names of government departments, such as “finanças” (“finance”, rank 12 frequency 1829) and “negócios” (“office” rank 14, frequency 1595) and “estrangeiros” (“foreign”, rank 14, frequency 1541), and also with names of Portuguese prime ministers such as “costa” (rank 25, frequency 1027). However, while the term collocates with “português” (“Portuguese”, rank 26, frequency 1016), it also collocates frequently with “britânico” (“British”, rank 36, frequency 761). The weight of this term reveals the influence of the later years of the corpus and the importance Brexit assumes in the overall corpus as a consequence. However, “Grego” (“greek”) ranks in 55th position with a frequency of 436, followed by “francês” (“French”, ranked 68, frequency 347) and “alemão” (“german” rank 70, frequency 342).⁵⁶⁶ If we examine the corpus from 2004 to 2014, the trends are maintained (government departments are mentioned first in the list), but during this period “Socrates” is the politician that comes up first followed by “Passos” – both of whom were Prime Ministers during this period. “Britânico” also appears in the top 100 collocations in this period, ranked 45 with a frequency of 234, as well as “francês” (rank 73, frequency 124) and “alemão” (rank 74 frequency 123).⁵⁶⁷ As a result, we can see that in the Portuguese corpus the trends are more or less consistent even when we exclude the later years.

With the term “Primeiro Ministro”, we observe “Costa” appears high on the list (Rank 12, frequency 909), but so does “Cameron” (rank 33, frequency 376). Other Portuguese prime ministers, like “Socrates” (rank 34, frequency 374) and “Passos” (rank 39, frequency 350) follow, but so does “Tsipras” (rank 61, frequency 188). Additionally, “britânico” ranks 19th on the list (frequency 576), “grego” ranks in 47th place (frequency 273) and “italiano” ranks in 66th place (frequency 169).⁵⁶⁸ From 2004 to 2014, the same analysis on the same Bi-Gram (“Primeiro

⁵⁶⁵ AP Prime Minister EN 2004-2014

⁵⁶⁶ AP Ministro PT 2004-2019

⁵⁶⁷ AP Ministro PT 2004-2014

⁵⁶⁸ AP Primeiro Ministro PT 2004-2019.

Ministro”) shows “Socrates” and “Passos” high on the collocations list. The similarity with the collocation “ministro” shows that it often refers to the “Primeiro Ministro”.⁵⁶⁹

On the other hand, the word “president” collocates frequently in the Portuguese corpus with “republica” (“republic”, rank 8, frequency 3462) and “comissão” (“commission”, rank 9, frequency 2452).⁵⁷⁰ The same word in the English corpus is often associated with “European” (rank 8, frequency 3761) and “trump” (rank 9, frequency 3728). The word “commission” appears ranked in 22nd position, with a frequency of 2339.⁵⁷¹ From 2004 to 2014, the highest ranking reference to a person in this collocation analysis is “Obama” followed by “Putin”; “commission” appears ranked in the 23rd position too, with a frequency of 493.⁵⁷² These differences are explained by the fact that Portugal is a Republic with a President as its highest state representative, whereas in the English case, President seems to refer primarily to Presidents from the US, Russia and France as well as to the presidents of the European Commission.⁵⁷³

What we conclude from this analysis is that in the English corpus “minister” and “Prime Minister” are frequently associated with government departments and members of the British cabinet. In the Portuguese corpus, the same trend is observed. However, in the Portuguese corpus, when it comes to the Uni-Gram “ministro”, nationalities such as Greek, French, and German are ranked higher on the collocation list than the same terms in the English corpus. The same happens with the Bi-Gram “Primeiro-Ministro”, where nationalities such as Greek and Italian rank high in the list. Furthermore, the term “British” is also very frequent in the Portuguese corpus, both when we analyse the Uni-Gram “ministro” and the Bi-Gram “primeiro ministro”. At the same time, however, there is a strong possibility that this trend in the English corpus is influenced heavily by the weight of the later years, as the analysis done from 2004 to 2014 shows greater diversity in terms of names of non-British politicians and nationalities.

When it comes to the President, there is an inversion of this trend, as the English corpus uses it to refer to foreign politicians, whereas the Portuguese corpus collocates it frequently with the

⁵⁶⁹ AP Primeiro Ministro PT 2004-2014

⁵⁷⁰ AP Presidente PT 2004-2019. Results are similar for the period between 2004 to 2014. AP Presidente PT 2004-2019.

⁵⁷¹ AP President EN 2004-2019.

⁵⁷² AP President EN 2004-2014.

⁵⁷³ The word “french” appears ranked on the 24th position with a frequency of 2264. Obama also appears high on the English collocation lists, ranked on the 26th with a frequency of 1557.

Portuguese President. This inversion can be explained, as we mentioned, by the fact that Portugal is a country where the President is an important political figure.

Parties

An observational approach leads us to see that when parties are mentioned in the top 50 Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams in the Portuguese corpus, they always refer to political parties which are inside parliament, and which have remained largely unchanged for these 16 years. These are PS (“Partido Socialista/Socialist Party”), PSD (“Partido Social Democrata/Social Democrat Party”), CDS PP (Christian Democrats), BE (“Bloco de Esquerda/Left Bloc”) and the Communist Party, and they are all mentioned at several points during our chronology. In the same vein, the parties that appear most frequently in the top 50 Uni-Grams and Bi-Grams of the English corpus are the Conservative and the Labour parties, as well as the Liberal Democrats. The main difference is that the English corpus contains mentions in the top 50 Bi-Grams in several years of parties which were never in Parliament during these years, namely the BNP and UK Independence Party (UKIP).

As mentioned in chapter 1, Euroscepticism in Portugal has usually been voiced by the left-wing parties, such as the Left Bloc and the Communist Party. However, it is also worth noting that while Euroscepticism in the UK resulted in Brexit with the support of a relevant part of the Conservative Party,⁵⁷⁴ in Portugal, the parties which had traditionally been Eurosceptic very rarely asked for Portugal’s exit from the EU. Instead, they focused on criticism of European treaties and European institutions, and particularly how these institutions handled the financial crisis, as they argued that “EU institutions lack legitimacy and are not helpful in reducing inequalities and economic

⁵⁷⁴ Kai Opperman argues that the Brexit referendum was David Cameron’s attempt to “put a check on the electoral appeal of the UKIP ahead of the 2015 general elections” as well as an “instrument to manage Eurosceptic dissent within the Conservative party”. In Kai Opperman, ‘Derailing European Integration? Euroscepticism and the Politics of EU referendums’ *The Routledge Handbook of Euroscepticism*, eds., Benjamin Leruth, Nicholas Startin, and Simon McDougall Usherwood (London: Routledge, 2018), 248.

asymmetries across European countries”.⁵⁷⁵ The most the Portuguese Communist Party officially campaigned for during the years covered by this study was Portugal’s exit from the Eurozone.⁵⁷⁶

Currencies

Currencies is one of the most static categories and perhaps the least interesting one. In the Portuguese corpus, “euros” or “euro” appears almost every year in at least one of the newspapers. Considering that the euro is the official currency of the EU, and consequently Portugal’s currency, it is reasonable it appears in relation to the European Union. By contrast, “pound” or “pounds” are not nearly as common in the English corpus, but “euro” appears in the top 50 Uni-Grams in the years 2010 to 2013, likely as a consequence of the financial crisis in Europe. When pounds does appear, Concordance Tool in AntConc shows it is related to numbers such “millions”, “thousands” or “hundreds”. Pound on the other hand, collocates often in the entire English corpus with “value” (as in value of the pound) and “against” (used in expressions such as “against the dollar” or “against the euro”).⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁵ Marco Lisi, “All Quiet on the European Front? Assessing the Impact of the Great Recession on Euroscepticism in Portugal,” *South European Society and Politics* 25, no. 2 (August 18, 2020): 15.

⁵⁷⁶ Lisi, ‘All Quiet on the European Front?’, 15.

⁵⁷⁷ AP Pound EN 2004-2019

Analysis

When talking about the process of the Europeanization of public spheres, Wessler et al, argue that it is a “gradual, long-term process”, which is motivated by “media events, political scandals or topical issues”.⁵⁷⁸ Some of the cases that have been used to measure this Europeanization are the Jörg Haider affair (mentioned in chapter 3), EU enlargement, the Euro introduction and the Euro crisis.⁵⁷⁹ But it is not enough that the issues mentioned in the different public spheres coincide, they should also share similar interpretations of those issues.⁵⁸⁰ Conversely, the question is how to analyse these dimensions, which inform the concepts of vertical and horizontal Europeanisation, from a distant reading point of view. Furthermore, we should be aware that in practice the virtual and horizontal dimensions of Europeanisation are not clearly defined, as “vertical topics (e.g discussions of the decisions of central institutions) always have horizontal components, which are reflected in the news coverage”.⁵⁸¹

When it comes to the “horizontal” and “vertical” dimensions of Europeanisation, they can be studied both by looking at the “salience of the European issues or foreign countries in national public spheres” and by examining the “salience of European actors, both from the EU or single Member states, in domestic discourses”.⁵⁸²

The analysis of our data shows how the media coverage of the EU between 2004 and 2019 was motivated by specific events. After a period of some heterogeneity in the early years of the corpus (2004-2008), we begin to see some convergence. First, the financial and economic crisis (from 2008 to 2014), then the Russian invasion of Ukraine (2014), the refugee crisis (2014-2016), and finally Brexit (2016-2019). These events, although they are often mentioned at the same time throughout the years of the corpus, are not necessarily given the same importance. Our research

⁵⁷⁸ Hartmut Wessler et al., *Transnationalization of Public Spheres* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2008), 20-21.

⁵⁷⁹ Johannes Kaiser and Katharina Kleinen-von Königslöw, ‘The Framing of the Euro Crisis in German and Spanish Online News Media between 2010 and 2014: Does a Common European Public Discourse Emerge?’, *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 55, no. 4 (2017): 798–814.

⁵⁸⁰ Kaiser and Königslöw, ‘The Framing of the Euro Crisis in German and Spanish Online News Media between 2010 and 2014’, 3.

⁵⁸¹ Von-Nordheim et al., ‘The State of Europeanisation’, 97.

⁵⁸² Kaiser and Königslöw, ‘The Framing of the Euro Crisis in German and Spanish Online News Media between 2010 and 2014’, 2. As mentioned in the People section, actors can be both individual and collective.

suggests that the Portuguese corpus stresses the economic dimension of the crisis, with a wealth of socio-economic concepts which are not present in the English corpus, and that do point to a wider concern about the social consequences of the crisis – unemployment, poverty. This can be partly explained by, as it is mentioned in the Events and Concepts section above, the intervention of the EU and IMF in the Portuguese economy, which bears no comparison to what happened in the UK. However, the UK did suffer quite significantly from the crisis as well; as Clarke and Heath argue, the relatively quick financial recovery of the UK (which by 2014 already had a bigger GDP than it had in 2008), and the fact that unemployment did not rise as steeply as predicted in 2008, hides “the deep societal problems laid bare by the recession - problems of anxiety and isolation”, which showcased structural inequalities in British society.⁵⁸³ The UK media we analysed did not seem to have looked deeply into these problems, at least not in connection with the Euro crisis. During the years of the crisis, the UK corpus contains allusions to the “eu”, with Bi-Grams such as “eu rules”, “eu laws” and “eu budget”, which have no equivalence in the Portuguese corpus. While the Portuguese corpus correlates the economic crisis with very concrete measures that resulted from IMF and EU intervention (reflected in mentions of the Bi-Gram “understanding memoranda”), the British corpus seems to be more concerned with financial aspects (budgets, rules, laws), without relating the crisis clearly to the changes that British society underwent during the crisis. It is worth remembering, however, that the UK did not adopt the Euro and consequently was spared some of the worst consequences of the euro crisis, as its financial and monetary system was not as intermeshed with the rest of the EU as Portugal or Greece. This might go some way to explaining the difference in emphasis on the economic crisis between the corpora.

When it comes to the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the English corpus seems to have paid more attention to it, judging by the percentage of mentions of the Uni-Grams “Russia” and “Ukraine”, and by figure 27, which shows that the English corpus employs the Uni-Gram “russia” more often during the years of the war. Furthermore, the English corpus contains “crimea” and “Moscow” in its top 50 Uni-Grams, and includes Bi-Grams such as “Russian troops”, which never appear in the top 50 in the Portuguese corpus in 2014. On the other hand, both corpora contain the Bi-Grams “pro-russian/pro russos” as well as mentions of “sanctions russia” (in the English corpus) and “embargo russo” (in the Portuguese), which indicates that some of the reporting was similar, even

⁵⁸³ Tom Clark and Anthony Heath, *Hard Times: Inequality, Recession, Aftermath* (Yale University Press, 2015), X.

if the English corpus seems to have gone into more detail. The reasons for this might simply be historical, given the UK's historical ties with Russia, especially during World War II, Britain's active role in the cold war and in post-cold war politics.

The refugee crisis is another watershed moment in European politics. In the case of both the Bi-Gram “Syrian refugees” and the “refugee” and “migrant” Uni-Grams, we saw how the English corpus employs these terms more often than the Portuguese, although the timings in which they are employed coincide. There is an important difference: the Portuguese corpus employs the word refugee more frequently than the word migrant. As previously seen, the word refugee carries a legal status whereas migrant is more neutral, but it also does not carry with it any obligation or duty of care from those countries receiving the migrants. A study comparing the media coverage of the refugee crisis in five different European countries (including the UK), and published by the UN High Commission for Refugees, argues that the neutrality of words such as “migrant” and “immigrant” “reveals the reluctance to acknowledge the difficult political contexts individuals may be fleeing.”⁵⁸⁴ Additionally, the report found that Sweden had the most positive coverage of the refugee crisis and simultaneously referred to people coming to Europe more often as “refugees” than “migrants”. The UK, which was found to have the most negative coverage, privileged the use of the word migrants.⁵⁸⁵ As such, although we cannot say for certain that the Portuguese coverage of the refugee crisis is overall positive⁵⁸⁶, the preference for the term “refugee” indicates that the coverage remains more positive than the English coverage. Undoubtedly, this can be explained with the overall concern about immigration that is clear in the English corpus. By choosing the word migrants over refugees, this group of people can be classed as immigrants, indistinct from the immigrants that were coming to the UK from Europe and other parts of the world. They could, therefore, be part of the discussion on immigration that would be a key element of the Brexit debate.

⁵⁸⁴ Mike Berry, Inaki Garcia-Blanco, and Kerry Moore, ‘Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries’ (Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2016), 71.

⁵⁸⁵ In Berry, Garcia-Blanco, and Moore, ‘Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU’, 7-8, 36-41, 122-124.

⁵⁸⁶ By positive and negative we are using the framework of the UN report, which claims that a positive coverage focuses on the humanitarian aspects of the crisis, and a negative coverage frames refugees and migrants as a threat. In Berry, Garcia-Blanco, and Moore, ‘Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU’, 10.

Finally, Brexit is another vital moment. Obviously, it is more prominent in the English corpus, but the Portuguese media pays a significant amount of attention to it in the last years of the corpus, as seen in the Events and Concepts section, as well as in Figure 36, which shows the evolution of the Bi-Gram “Reino Unido” in the Portuguese corpus. However, the coverage has necessarily to be different, and the interpretations given to the event are different. There is some similarity in how some concepts were drawn out during the years of Brexit, such as “single market/mercado único” and “transition period/period transição”, but generally, the UK seems to be much more focused on discussing the functioning of the EU in depth during those years. Even the Bi-Gram “European elections” gains more traction during the Brexit years in the English corpus, though it is not enough to contradict the supremacy of the respective Portuguese Bi-Gram (figure 21).

Keeping in mind the definition of “horizontal Europeanisation”, examined in chapter 3, which refers to “communicative linkages between different member states...[where the] same topics are discussed at the same time and within the same frame of reference”,⁵⁸⁷ we looked to how national media talks about and relates to other countries and other national actors. We have seen several times, particularly in the sections Places and Nationalities, that the English corpus offers a greater variety of locations, both within Europe and outside. During the years of the financial and economic crisis the reach of the English corpus seems to have been more international and European, as collocation analysis shows the connection to “Greece”, whereas the Portuguese corpus seems to have been more domestic-focused. During the refugee crisis, the English corpus relates the event more intimately to the UK, as “migrants” collocates frequently with “UK”, although it also contains mentions of several Greek islands in its top 50 Bi-Grams, which the Portuguese corpus does not (figure 40).⁵⁸⁸ However, the Portuguese corpus has “Greece” in the most frequent collocations with “migrants”.⁵⁸⁹ Feeding into this duality, while the English corpus counts 2 different Greek Prime Ministers in its top Bi-Grams (George Papandreou, and Alexis Tsipras), plus Yanis Varoufakis, Greece’s Finance Minister, and Portugal only one (Alexis Tsipras), Figure 28 confirms that the Uni-Gram Greece is more frequently mentioned in the Portuguese corpus than in the English during the years of the economic crisis and the refugee crisis. This might indicate that the British corpus went into some detail about the workings of these two events, while

⁵⁸⁷ Von-Nordheim et al., ‘The State of Europeanisation’, 97.

⁵⁸⁸ AP Migrants EN 2004-2019.

⁵⁸⁹ AP Migrantes PT 2004-2019

the Portuguese corpus is more generalised without abandoning mentions of relevant countries (Greece, in this case). This is supported by the collocation analysis done in the Post-Holders section, which suggests that the Portuguese corpus refers to foreign ministers and prime-ministers more frequently than the English.

If we interrogate the concern that the Portuguese corpus seems to have about certain non-European countries – which nonetheless come up in articles where the EU is mentioned – we can see that many of these places (Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Venezuela, Africa) have a historical connection to Portugal, either because they are former colonies or because of Portuguese immigration. The British corpus follows this trend, with mentions of Hong Kong, India and Zimbabwe, all of which were former colonies. Once more, in the case of non-European locations, the British corpus is more diverse, with several mentions of Middle Eastern countries. This might well be motivated by British interests in the region, including British participation in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. The point stands that many non-European countries that are mentioned are connected to the national interests and histories of both the UK and Portugal. Even so, this seems to be more striking in the Portuguese corpus than in the English. For instance, the English corpus contains mentions of places in Egypt and in Turkey, related to the geopolitical situation of those countries, especially during the Arab Spring, which never make it to the Top 50 Uni-Grams of the Portuguese corpus, and that could hardly be said to be directly connected to British politics. Conversely, the attention paid by the corpora to these non-European countries is accompanied, as we have seen in the case of Venezuela or Libya for example, by the reaction of both the country (Portugal or the UK) and the European Union.

In the case of mentions of European countries, it is difficult to know whether there is an interest in other countries' policies and whether this is part of an attempt to give voice to individual or collective actors from these countries or if these places are only mentioned in relation to Portugal or the UK's interests. It is very possible that the English corpus's focus on Eastern European countries, which we demonstrated in the collectives section, is partly related to the discourse on immigration, but distant reading makes it difficult to claim this for certain. However, the absence of any Polish, Romanian or Hungarian politicians in the list of the English top 50 Bi-Grams leads us to believe that there is no true engagement with the internal politics of these countries. The problem becomes more complex because, as can be seen from Table 5 (Appendix 17), which shows

the complete list of people who appear in the top 50 Bi-Grams⁵⁹⁰, the English corpus contains in the top 50 Bi-Grams the names of several Greek, Serbian and Russian politicians, to an extent that is not verified in the Portuguese corpus, where mentions of European politicians are less diverse. At the same time, mentions of national actors are always greater than European actors in both corpora. As seen in the People section, acting Prime Ministers always tend to have more mentions than their European counterparts. This feeds into the idea that Europeanisation is tied to the discussion of supranational events⁵⁹¹, but the intensity of Europeanisation is not the same in each event. Therefore, when it comes to the financial crisis and the Russian invasion of Ukraine, we can interpret it as the UK media taking an interest in other countries' internal troubles, reporting in some detail what was happening during these events; this, however, seems to change with the refugee/migrant crisis, in which the focus seems to have been about the consequences of the crisis for the UK – particularly with the possibility of it leading to an increase in immigration to the UK. Portugal, on the other hand, seems to have taken a more domestic approach to the financial and economic crisis, with the focus on the consequences Portugal suffered as a result. However, the refugee crisis seems to have been reported with a European focus, especially through the mentions of Greece and the Greek Prime Minister, which peak in 2015 (figures 67 and 68). One further interesting point is the importance that British Prime Ministers gain in the later years of the Portuguese corpus. Although they never surpass mentions of the acting Portuguese PM, it is still worth noting that it feeds into the tendency verified in Figures 71 and 72, in which the European actors align more closely to the national actors' towards the last year of the Portuguese corpus. In the English corpus, on the other hand, there is a greater distance between the national actors' line, which surges up in the last two years of the corpus, and the European actors' which remains much lower. This shows the obvious importance of Brexit in both corpora, but it also reveals how consistently the Portuguese corpus was paying attention to UK actors during the years 2016 to 2019. In a 2014 study, authors Dutceac Segesten and Bossetta suggested that “British Euroscepticism...drives other member states' media to discuss Euroscepticism under the shared

⁵⁹⁰ Containing every name that appears in each year in both corpuses.

⁵⁹¹ Von-Nordheim et al., ‘The State of Europeanisation’, 99. Vreese characterizes three types of news where levels of Europeanisation can be found: “news characterized by a shared meaning of European events and issues, Europeanized news characterized by the secondary impact of European events and issues on national news coverage and national news on domestic events and issues characterized by evolving forms of European monitoring and rhetoric.” In de Vreese, ‘The EU as a Public Sphere’, 10.

frame of British politics”.⁵⁹² This seems to be supported by our research, in the sense that Brexit was an event that accelerated horizontal Europeanisation in the Portuguese media. Of course, in the case of the People Bi-Grams we have to rely more on the quantification per article. Although in most of the Figures we created, the quantification per words shows very similar results to the quantification per article, we know that this method does not contains every possible mention of these actors as they appear in the corpus.⁵⁹³

When it comes to vertical Europeanisation, that is “communicative linkages between the national and the European level”,⁵⁹⁴ which include decisions by EU institutions, it is worth noting that if the English corpus contains mentions of “eu laws”, “eu rules” and “eu budget” in different years of the corpus (2005, 2009, 2011, 2012), the Portuguese contains the concept “integracao europeia” (“European integration, in 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2017), which is never part of the top 50 concept Bi-Grams in the English corpus.⁵⁹⁵ Figures 21 and 22, which both depict European-wide events like the European elections and the Lisbon Treaty, show that in general the Portuguese corpus contains more mentions of these events throughout time; in the case of the European elections this is particularly striking, as the difference is quite steep. The exception is the 2019 elections, but as demonstrated by Nordheim et al, the coverage was very much taken up by Brexit.⁵⁹⁶

Likewise, both corpora privilege national actors over the leaders of European institutions across time. In the English corpus the absence of José Manuel Barroso, who was President of the EC for 10 years, from the top 50 Bi-Grams does indicate a lack of engagement with the main European institutions. Barroso is present in the Portuguese corpus, even if we can posit that his mentions in the Portuguese newspapers are partly motivated by the fact that he was once Portuguese Prime Minister. Further, a comparison between the mentions of European institutions (figure 82) shows that the Portuguese corpus mentions the Commission and the Parliament more than the respective Bi-Grams in the English corpus. Overall, Brexit might have amplified this trend, as the distance between the British prime Ministers (Boris Johnson and Theresa May) and the President of the

⁵⁹² Anamaria Dutceac Segesten and Michael Bossetta, ‘Can Euroscepticism Contribute to a European Public Sphere? The Europeanization of Media Discourses on Euroscepticism across Six Countries’, *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 57, no. 5 (2019), 14.

⁵⁹³ As seen in the section “People”.

⁵⁹⁴ Von-Nordheim et al., ‘The State of Europeanisation’, 97.

⁵⁹⁵ Table 4. Top Bi-Grams Concepts in both Portuguese and English newspapers (Appendix 17).

⁵⁹⁶ Von-Nordheim et al., ‘The State of Europeanisation’, 105.

EEC is quite steep (figure 57 and 58). While we believe that the fact that the rise in mentions of key concepts related to the EU in the later years of the corpus means that British media was engaging with the functioning of the EU at a level never seen before, we also have to wonder about why these concepts failed to crop up in the top 50 prior to these years. The fact remains that this engagement only happens following a very Britain-centric event (Brexit). At the same time, while in the Portuguese corpus European related concepts, such as single market or European integration (figure 13 and 15) seem to peak in years of crisis (be it the economic crisis or Brexit), the distribution is more even throughout the years. As such, it seems that the Portuguese corpus has a higher level of vertical Europeanisation than the English, due to the links to European institutions and events very directly related to the functioning of the EU as an institution, such as the elections or the Lisbon Treaty.

Overall, regardless of the levels of Europeanisation, we still find a scenario where the centre is national politics, following a trend of previous studies on the subject dealing with European-wide media that demonstrated that “most of the news is seen through the prism of the nation state”.⁵⁹⁷ We see this by the number of mentions that the Uni-Grams “Portugal”, “Britain” and “UK” have in relation to other places; by how often “Portugal”, “Britain” and “UK” collocate with key events, concepts and places; by how “Portuguese” and “British” are the most frequent nationalities, and by the fact that national actors have so many more mentions than European or international, and how many significant events, such as the economic crisis, the refugee crisis or Brexit are often filtered through the impact this will have in Portugal (the economic crisis) and Britain (the refugee crisis and Brexit). This matches what previous authors found when studying the linkages between European institutions/actors and national institutions/actors: while there is “some substantive Europeanization of the national public sphere...the real issue lies [in] the continued dominance of representatives of central governments”.⁵⁹⁸ In the present research, it is easy to see this trend through the prevalence of post-holders such as Prime Minister and President of the Republic.

⁵⁹⁷ de Vreese, ‘The EU as a Public Sphere’, 10. Another study that confirms this is Michailidou’s study on online news media. In Michailidou, ‘The Role of the Public in Shaping EU Contestation’, 332-333.

⁵⁹⁸ Jos de Beus, ‘The European Union and the Public sphere’ in *Making of a European Public Sphere: Media Discourse and Political Contention*, eds. Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham (Cambridge: University Press, 2010), 16.

A word must be said on the subject of Euroscepticism, which has loomed large throughout this chapter, and whose levels remain one fundamental difference between these two countries. Out of the four newspapers in the English corpus, two (the Daily Mail and the Daily Telegraph) defended the Exit vote in the 2016 referendum. As Startin and Usherwood identified, anti-immigration sentiment is a vehicle many “radical right parties” used to feed Euroscepticism, including two of the Parties that appear in the top 50 Uni-Grams in the English corpus: UKIP and BNP.⁵⁹⁹ Whether English Euroscepticism is motivated by the end of the “permissive consensus”, a concept we examined in chapters 1 and 3, or by a much deeper-rooted conflicted relationship with Europe, which stretches back centuries as Sweeney attempted to demonstrate in his book *The Europe illusion*, is difficult to know. There are many references to historical events and people, which we shall examine in the next chapter, but they concern mostly the 20th century. Furthermore, the majority of the coverage in both corpora is concerned with contemporary events rather than the past. The problem of immigration from European countries, which we examined at length earlier on, is very difficult to dissociate from views on the EU.⁶⁰⁰ A study from 2015 suggests the possibility that the refugee crisis would feed anti-immigrant sentiment which would then feed on Euroscepticism, despite the obvious fact that these are two different types of immigration.⁶⁰¹ We believe our analysis suggests a certain conflation between different types of immigration appearing in the corpus at the same time.⁶⁰²

In the Portuguese case, although Euroscepticism remains a phenomenon largely of the left, it increased briefly as a result of the EU’s response to the Euro Crisis. Yet these radical left parties engage in “soft Euroscepticism” usually as part of a wider criticism of neoliberalism.⁶⁰³ While this feeds Startin and Usherwood’s theory that Euroscepticism often arises from critical moments, such

⁵⁹⁹ Usherwood and Startin, ‘Euroscepticism as a Persistent Phenomenon*’, 6. “Radical right parties” is the definition used by these authors.

⁶⁰⁰ Evans and Mellon argue that the “2004 decision on open immigration from EU Accession countries appears to have unintentionally produced a potent new dimension of politics.” In Geoffrey Evans and Jonathan Mellon, ‘Immigration, Euroscepticism, and the Rise and Fall of UKIP’, *Party Politics* 25, no. 1 (January 2019), 83.

⁶⁰¹ Matthew Goodwin and Caitlin Milazzo, “Britain, the European Union and the Referendum: What Drives Euroscepticism?” (Chatham House, 2015), 4.

<https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/20151209EuroscepticismGoodwinMilazzo.pdf>

⁶⁰² As seen in figure 66, “asylum seekers”, “eu migrants” and “migrants refugees” suffer a peak between the years of 2014 and 2016.

⁶⁰³ Gómez-Reino Cachafeiro and Plaza-Colodro, ‘Populist Euroscepticism in Iberian Party Systems’, 9-10.

as the Euro-crisis,⁶⁰⁴ “pro-European attitudes in Portugal have remained quite widespread in the 21st century” which means that the recession had a “conjunctural effect”, that did not alter the view of the main Portuguese parties: the radical left remained soft Eurosceptic, whereas the governing parties continued to support European integration.⁶⁰⁵ Although it is hard to know how this mainstream positive attitude is reflected in the media – as we have seen in chapter 3, Portuguese newspapers do not openly express their political preferences – Portuguese newspapers do not appear to reflect any of the signs of Euroscepticism that are present in the UK coverage, especially not under the form of concerns about EU immigration from, in particular, Eastern European countries.

If we think back to what we wrote in chapter 1 about agenda setting (how the media decides which issues are relevant), topic salience (the repetition of a topic over and over again), and news framing (how topics are presented) we can perceive a certain intentionality on the part of the media in both the Portuguese and the English corpora. The connection between the financial crisis and the living conditions of the people in the Portuguese corpus walk side by side with mentions of the concept of “*integração europeia*” from 2009 to 2011, which can indicate a concern about how the crisis would affect the process of European integration. The presence of the term “far right” (or “*extrema direita*”) in the last four years in each corpus indicates a concerted effort to bring up the issue of extreme politics in a European setting, potentially as a threat to the existence of the EU – considering that Marine Le Pen’s Front National was markedly averse to aspects of European integration.⁶⁰⁶ In the English corpus, as we have just mentioned, it is impossible to escape the weight of the topic of immigration, especially considering the political positioning of two of the four newspapers before the EU referendum. Indeed, a study on the media coverage on immigration in the British press just before the referendum suggested that the repeated mentions of the number of immigrants from the EU were deliberate: the “Daily Mail had used the repetition as a technique to reinforce the notion that there was no possible way to reduce the immigration number without

⁶⁰⁴ Usherwood and Startin, ‘Euroscepticism as a Persistent Phenomenon*’, 2.

⁶⁰⁵ Lisi, ‘All Quiet on the European Front?’, 23-24.

⁶⁰⁶ From 2011 to 2014, Marine Le Pen proposed two concrete measures on the EU: abandoning the Euro as well as a referendum on EU membership. Emmanuelle Reungoat, ‘Le Front National et l’union européenne. La radicalisation comme continuité’, in *Les faux-semblants du Front national*, eds., Sylvain Crépon, Alexandre Dézé, and Nonna Mayer (Presse de Science Po, 2015), 234-235.

actually leaving the EU”.⁶⁰⁷ A further point of interest in our dataset is how the Daily Mirror sometimes employed the term “eu” to refer to events that had nothing to do with the EU, such as football competitions. In both these instances, we believe some intentionality is at play, which aims to paint the EU in a decidedly negative light.

In this chapter, we attempted to understand the content of this large dataset. We determined that through our methodology, the division by categories, and a quantitative study based on word frequencies, that it is possible to study the European Public Sphere in a multilingual dataset. This study was based upon the concepts of horizontal and vertical Europeanization. We demonstrated how both the Portuguese and the British media contain different levels of Europeanization within a context where national politics are still vastly predominant, even when the subject is European issues. However, this predominance of national politics and actors does not hide the differences between the levels of Europeanization in the corpora and how each corpus discusses European events, actors, and concepts.

If we think back to how we traced the history of the idea of Europe and the European Union in the second chapter, we can see how these national newspapers are acting according to how the wider public and political sphere view the EU. In the UK, the subject is much more contentious. In the early 90s, the EEC pushed forward the EMU despite the opposition of the UK; this directly contributed to the fall of Margaret Thatcher who was forced to resign after not having been able to stop the EEC.⁶⁰⁸ In Portugal, the process of membership and the subsequent changes to the rules and constitution of the European Union were uncontroversial and rarely a point of contention between the main political parties. As we shall see in the next chapter, we propose that these differences can be explained by the historical development of these two countries throughout the 20th century and how their national histories have been understood in the public sphere.

⁶⁰⁷ Sawsan Askoul, ‘EU Immigration in the British Press: How Was Immigration Reported Immediately Prior to the EU Referendum?’, *Training Language and Culture* 2, no. 2 (June 2018), 73.

⁶⁰⁸ Federiga Bindi, *Italy and the European Union* (n.p: Brookings Institution Press, 2011), 54-55.

Chapter 5

Ideas of Europe and of History

This chapter will analyse two concepts identified in the dataset by contextualising and historicizing them and by undertaking a close reading of our sources. The first concept is that of Europe and connected to it, the idea of Europe, an expression authors such as Shane Weller, Anthony Pagden and George Steiner use to specify the ideological underpinnings of Europe as a political and cultural entity. The second is the concept of History. Here we will analyse instances of historical events and personalities mentioned in the dataset. The intention is to show how interconnected these concepts are and how the historical meaning of those concepts inform their modern use, as well as how ideas about History are used and debated in our sources.

The idea of Europe in History

As we saw in chapter 2, the idea of Europe has a long and often contradictory history. This idea can be examined as a precursor and background to the process of European integration, but it can also be understood independently. To use George Steiner's definition, we see Europe as a set of values and cultural practices shared amongst different European communities and peoples. It became a political reality due to the specific political context of the 20th century, which turned this set of values, similarities and cultural practices into a political and economic union. As we saw, also in chapter 2, this Europe is, like nationhood, an invention; an invention not in the sense that it is a lie or does not exist, but in the sense that it was created from the top down to justify and support the links between different communities.

What we are interested in examining now is how Europe as an idea within a delimited geographical area is interpreted by the English and the Portuguese media. We are making use of AntConc

software (as mentioned in the methodology chapter) to close read the different texts to find instances of the employment of Europe in the media discourse.

Due to the fact that historical events appear frequently in the corpus (as the top 50 lists contained several mentions of historical events, especially events that took place in the 20th century), we are also going to examine the concept of “History” in the corpus, before investigating which historical events were more often mentioned in the corpus and why.

We believe it is no coincidence that several key historical events are mentioned in a corpus that focuses on the European Union. It is clear that the European Union is an institution whose origins and composition cannot be divorced from European history and from a wider use of the historical past.

The Concept of Europe in the English Corpus

When we use AntConc’s Collocation Tool to examine the English corpus we find that, from 2004 to 2009, two important terms collocate with the term “Europe”: “eastern” and “western”.⁶⁰⁹ If we delve deeper into these terms by looking at the instances in which they are employed, using the concordance tool, we find several interesting articles. For instance, a 2008 Guardian article entitled “Europe of the Future” compares the demographic trends in Europe, which revealed “striking contrasts between eastern and western Europe and between the north and south, with Scandinavia and Britain comparing positively with Mediterranean Europe”.⁶¹⁰ Another article from 2009 on the legacy of World War II in Europe has historian Timothy Snyder stating that the fact that “eastern and western Europe” had “utterly different experiences of the second world war and the cold war” but that it was the “western narrative of what happened” that prevailed is the source “of intense resentment” in Eastern European countries, such as Poland.⁶¹¹ We suggest that these examples demonstrate a clear preoccupation with the geographical boundaries of Europe and it is interesting

⁶⁰⁹ AP Europe EN 2004-2009.

⁶¹⁰ Ian Traynor, “Europe of the Future: Germany Shrinks, France Grows, but UK Population Booms,” *The Guardian*, 26 August, 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/aug/27/population.eu>.

⁶¹¹ Ian Traynor, “70 Years after WW2 Erupted, a New Battle for History Rages in Europe,” *The Guardian*, 11 November, 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/nov/11/museum-warsaw-rising-poland-nazi-occupation>.

to think back to chapter 2, where we mentioned the perceived differences between Eastern and Western Europe, including an “otherization” of Eastern Europe. These divisions, which had already started in the 18th century, became aggrandized and normalised in the course of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. That is, this insistence on Eastern Europe (which we had also observed in chapter 4) and the idea of different experiences, be they demographic or historical, suggests a widespread notion of several Europes within Europe.

The problem of war is also never far from concepts of Europe in the English corpus. From 2010 to 2014, although “Britain”, “eastern”, and “uk” are frequent collocations, we also find “war” in the top 100 (ranked 83 with a frequency of 130).⁶¹² In this period, the 2014 invasion of Ukraine by Russia is very present, as we examined in chapter 4. The Daily Telegraph quotes Federica Mogherini, the EU’s foreign policy chief, on the matter. The article reads “the prospect of Europe going to war to defend Ukraine against Russian aggression ‘simply does not exist’, she insisted”.⁶¹³ It is not clear from this quote whether it was Mogherini who used the word “Europe” or the author of the article, trying to summarise her thoughts. In any case, this idea of pushing Europe into war is present in yet another 2014 article by Andrei Sannikov, member of the Belarussian opposition. Sannikov declares that “Ukraine’s chances of survival are weak” due to the “position of the major player in the war in Ukraine”. This player, Sannikov clarifies, “is the west or, to be more precise, Europe”. Sannikov develops this idea by arguing that “Europe does not want to be disturbed” and that “Europe cannot understand that this is a war on Europe, not on Ukraine”. It becomes obvious throughout the article that Sannikov uses Europe and the EU as interchangeable, but we must wonder whether the preference for Europe over the EU is not purposeful. Europe here is too identified with the West, and Sannikov seems to be urging Europe into war with Russia for the sake of “Western values”. In his words, “Putin’s goal...is to preserve and defend ‘dictators international’ by all means in order to attack western values and the west itself”.⁶¹⁴ In this context, it does not matter whether the European soldiers fighting for Ukraine would be German, British,

⁶¹² AP Europe EN 2010-2014.

⁶¹³ Nick Squires, “Military Option on Ukraine ‘Does Not Exist’, Says New EU Chief,” *The Telegraph*, 1 September 2014, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/11068042/Military-option-on-Ukraine-does-not-exist-says-new-EU-chief.html>.

⁶¹⁴ Andrei Sannikov, “Why Is Europe Turning Its Back on Ukraine?,” *The Guardian*, 28 October, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/28/-sp-ukraine-russia-europe-andrei-sannikov>.

French or Italian, even though, as established in the last chapter, there are political, social and economic differences between European countries and regions.

From 2015 to 2019, the most frequent collocations with “Europe” in the English corpus are “Britain”, “uk”, “eu” and “people”.⁶¹⁵ The prominence of references to Britain comes, obviously, from Brexit. The term “people” is noteworthy. Out of the 854 times, “people” appears collocated with “Europe” (that is, within the vicinity of the word “Europe”⁶¹⁶), 49 refer to the expression “people of Europe”. In the wake of Brexit, Liam Fox (then international trade secretary) defended that “a free trading environment” would be in “everyone’s interests”, as “anything else may not harm institutions, but it will harm the people of Europe and it is the people of Europe who should be at the forefront of our thoughts”. In a speech reproduced in its entirety in the Daily Mirror, Theresa May also took the opportunity to “address the people of Europe directly”, reassuring them that “our vote to leave the European Union was no rejection of the values we share”. Britain, she says, would continue to be “reliable partners, willing allies and close friends”. However, she stresses the differences between Britain and “Europe”: “our political traditions are different. Unlike other European countries, we have no written constitution, but the principle of Parliamentary Sovereignty is the basis of our unwritten constitution settlement”. It is interesting in this setting to consider an opinion article in the Guardian on a speech made by Barack Obama in 2016 in Berlin. The columnist, Natalie Nougayrède, pointed out that Obama addressed “the people of Europe” and not “the peoples of Europe”. Indeed, Obama himself stresses this point: “the people of Europe, hundreds of millions of citizens – east, west, north, south – are more secure and more prosperous because we stood together for the ideals we share”.⁶¹⁷

What happens in these later years in the English corpus seems to be a negotiation of the place of the UK in Europe and within European identity. The noteworthy aspect here is how throughout the corpus the tension always seems to be between the differences within Europe, which are real (social and economic differences between North and South, East and West, and between different historical traditions), and the idea of a common set of values.

⁶¹⁵ AP Europe EN 2015-2019.

⁶¹⁶ Vicinity here means 5 words to each side of the word “Europe”. This was explained in chapter 3.

⁶¹⁷ Natalie Nougayrède, “A Truth We Hate to Admit – We Are One People in Europe,” *The Guardian*, 6 May, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/06/barack-obama-highlight-europes-greatest-strength>.

The Concept of Europe in the Portuguese corpus

Let us now examine how the Portuguese corpus interprets the term Europe.

From 2004 to 2009, the most frequent collocations with the term “Europe” in the Portuguese corpus are “Portugal”, “conselho” (“council”), “leste” (“east”), “estados” (“states”) and “africa”.⁶¹⁸ Conselho refers to Conselho da Europa, a Human Rights organisation in Europe. East refers very frequently to Eastern Europe. Like the British corpus, the Portuguese newspapers also treat Eastern Europe as a place of difference. In an article about tuberculosis cases in Europe, *Correio da Manhã* makes clear that “the most worrying region is Eastern Europe.”⁶¹⁹ However, there is another discernible trend: a certain anxiety about the position of Portugal in the EU after the entry of several Eastern European countries. Quoting the then President of the Republic, Cavaco Silva, an article in 2007 stresses his concern that Portugal might receive less European funds after the entry of those countries, whose economic situation was worse than Portugal. An article from 2005 in *Jornal de Notícias* stresses that Portugal has one of the highest numbers of early school leavers in Europe, far greater than that of, for instance, Eastern European countries.⁶²⁰ A noteworthy point during this period is the mention of Africa as a collocation. In 2007, on the occasion of an Africa-European summit, *Público* stresses the claim of the Angolan Minister, Agualdo Jaime, who congratulated the Portuguese government “for having placed Africa in the international agenda”. In fact, as the article goes on to explain, it was Portugal who had first advanced the idea of establishing “high level dialogue” between the two continents.⁶²¹ For the occasion of this summit, *Expresso* interviews Joao Gomes Cravinho, the then secretary of state to the Foreign Office, who claims that with this summit, which is taking place in Lisbon, Portugal fulfils “one of its greatest potentialities in the European space. We have always said, since the

⁶¹⁸ AP Europa PT 2004-2009.

⁶¹⁹ “Europa: Combate à tuberculose multiresistente é urgente,” *Correio da Manhã*, 19 October, 2010, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/cm-ao-minuto/detalhe/europa-combate-a-tuberculose-multiresistente-e-urgente>.

⁶²⁰ Leonel Castro, “Jornal de Notícias - Taxa de Abandono Escolar Está Em 39,4% - Preservada Pelo Arquivo.Pt,” *Jornal de Notícias*, accessed 10 February, 2023, https://arquivo.pt/wayback/20050412052825/http://jn.sapo.pt/2005/04/12/sociedade/taxa_abandono_escolar_esta_39_4.html.

⁶²¹ Ana Dias Cordeiro, “Governo de Angola felicita Portugal por ter colocado ‘África na agenda internacional,’” *Público*, 10 November, 2007, <https://www.publico.pt/2007/11/10/jornal/governo-de-angola-felicita-portugal-por-ter-colocado-africa-na-agenda-internacional-236998>.

beginning of the membership, that Europe was richer for having a country with the ability to build bridges, with the historical connections that Portugal has with several parts of the world, particularly Africa.”⁶²² This connection with Africa is what an article from 2018 in *Público* about the historical relations between Portugal and Africa would call “Portugal’s Atlantic vocation.”⁶²³ This article is particularly interesting to us as it quotes from Fernando Pessoa’s poem on Infante D. Henrique (a Portuguese prince who in the 15th century started Portuguese conquest in North Africa). From this, we can see that the idea of Portugal as a European place that is in a privileged position before the world due to its geographical and historical position, is present in the Portuguese corpus. We see, as well, how even distant history is used to support Portugal’s current role in European politics. This happens while reinforcing the role of Portugal in the non-European space: Portugal is not only European, it is also “Atlantic”, which is at heart an inheritance from Portugal’s colonial past.

From 2010 to 2014, “Europa” collocates frequently with words such as “países” (“countries”), “Portugal” and “sul” (“south”).⁶²⁴ During these years, “south” replaces “eastern”. It is not a coincidence that “south” reaches some prominence during the years of the financial crisis. If we look into it using the Concordance Tool in AntConc, we find that “south” refers in the vast majority of occasions to southern Europe. One of the most interesting articles during this period is an essay written in *Público* which traces the economic development of Portugal in Europe in the last 40 years. The article underlines that the IMF’s intervention in the Greek economy (which we approached in the previous chapter) and the economic problems in Portugal, Spain and Italy “not only confirmed external perceptions about the decline of Western Europe... [but] they provoked the resurgence of the old divisions between Northern and Southern Europe, rich and poor, or protestants and Catholics, which risked the cohesion of the European Union”.⁶²⁵ In a 2012 article about the Nobel Prize awarded to the EU, *Público* quotes Nigel Farage who underlined the irony of the prize by arguing that “in the last two years, the EU created animosity between the peoples

⁶²² Luísa Mendes, “Mugabe é uma questão menor nesta cimeira,” *Jornal Expresso*, 30 October, 2007, https://expresso.pt/dossies/dossiest_atualidade/CimeiraUEfrica/mugabe-e-uma-questao-menor-nesta-cimeira=f181559.

⁶²³ António Valdemar, “Os 4 Avisos de D. Pedro: 600 Anos de Atualidade,” *Público*, 22 August, 2016, <https://www.publico.pt/2016/08/22/opiniao/opiniao/os-4-avisos-de-d-pedro-600-anos-de-atualidade-1741812>.

⁶²⁴ AP Europa PT 2010-2014.

⁶²⁵ Carlos Gaspar, “1973-1993-2013: As dobras do tempo,” *Público*, 29 December, 2013, <https://www.publico.pt/2013/12/29/politica/noticia/197319932013-as-dobras-do-tempo-1617799>.

of South and North Europe”.⁶²⁶ An opinion article in *Correio da Manhã* ironically comments that the European taxpayer saved Northern European banks, particularly English and Irish, but “none of those banks is from South Europe, suspected of visceral Greco-Latin hedonism”.⁶²⁷ Portugal finds itself during these years in the media as strongly Southern European, placed in frequent opposition to Northern Europe.

This is a trend that continues from 2015 to 2019 where some of the most frequent collocations with “Europa” are “países”, “Portugal”, “sul” and also “refugiados”.⁶²⁸ An article from 2017 speaks of a summit between South European countries that took place in Portugal where 7 countries (Portugal, Spain, France, Malta, Italy, Greece and Cyprus) met to discuss Brexit. Southern European countries were also lumped together in 2017, when the President of the Eurogroup, Jeroen Dijsselbloem, said that Southern European countries had no legitimacy to ask for more money as they spend it all on “alcohol and women”.⁶²⁹ Reactions to these declarations were immediate, with *Expresso* compiling a list of responses from several Portuguese politicians, with one Portuguese MP saying, “Dijsselbloem, politically discredited, sniffing the stink of xenophobia, came into the fray, decided to survive. He remembered the decadent south, women, and drink. Disselbloem, a survivor without scruples, decided to stir up the worst in Holland, put on a brown shirt and released his xenophobia as though he were standing on the table of a Bavarian beer-hall”.⁶³⁰ This declaration is particularly interesting, not only because of the historical references to Nazism, but also because it underlines the problem of xenophobia from a representative of the European “north” against his Southern neighbours. This notion is reinforced by the Portuguese Prime Minister, António Costa, who also pointed out the xenophobia and sexism

⁶²⁶ “Em plena tormenta, um Nobel da Paz para a União Europeia,” *Público*, 12 October, 2012, <https://www.publico.pt/2012/10/12/mundo/noticia/nobel-da-paz-2012-para-a-uniao-europeia-1567038>.

⁶²⁷ “Paraisos Ou Infernos?,” *Correio Da Manhã*, 13 March, 2013, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/opiniao/detalhe/paraisos-ou-infernos>.

⁶²⁸ AP Europa PT 2015-2019.

⁶²⁹ “Costa diz em Bruxelas que 2017 foi ‘saboroso,’” *Jornal de Notícias*, 13 December, 2017, <https://www.jn.pt/nacional/costa-diz-em-bruxelas-que-2017-foi-saboroso-e-ironiza-com-mudanca-no-eurogrupo-8983531.html/>.

⁶³⁰ “‘Traste, Lacaio, Parvalhão...’ O Que Os Políticos Dizem de Dijsselbloem?,” *Jornal Expresso*, 21 March, 2017, <https://expresso.pt/sociedade/2017-03-21-Traste-lacaio-parvalhao.-O-que-os-politicos-dizem-de-Dijsselbloem->

inherent to the declarations.⁶³¹ Later in the year, when Disselbloem was replaced as Eurogroup President by the Portuguese Mário Centeno, Costa said “there is at least one advantage [to Centeno’s appointment]: we won’t have another Eurogroup President with a similar vision to the one Dijsselbloem had about Southern European countries”.⁶³²

Before this, while Europe is obviously a geographical notion – a continent divided into countries – it is also obvious that there are political, social and economic divisions that the EU itself sometimes puts in evidence. In a way, however, it seems that these divisions are particularly obvious to outsiders, or are made obvious when Europeans are placed in situations (like wars or invasions) where they have to deal with countries from other continents. These are the situations where a common heritage, or a set of common values, becomes more evident.

It seems that in both the English and Portuguese corpora, the concept of Europe is charged with this dichotomy between geography and culture. In the case of the UK, however, it is not entirely clear whether the UK considers itself part of this Europe of values or simply part of the geographical space. In the case of Portugal, there is a clear assumption that Portugal is Europe, but part of a specific part of Europe: the South. Dijsselbloem’s response to the criticism he faced after his declarations was that he had used “a metaphor”. An article from *Público* commenting on his defence reminds the reader that metaphor comes from the Greek “*metaphora*”, which means “transport”. The article adds: “[this is] knowledge being born in the South”.⁶³³ In this way, the article is subtly signalling that Southern Europe, rather than being a source of dissipation and wastefulness, is a fundamental site of knowledge.

It is this origin of Europe as a common shared space of values that we will now examine, through the expression “idea of Europe”.

⁶³¹ Rita Pimenta, “Da ‘descripação’ à ‘misericórdia’, passando pelo ‘erro de percepção mútuo,’” *Público*, 31 December, 2017, <https://www.publico.pt/2017/12/31/sociedade/noticia/palavras-expresso-es-e-algumas-irritacoes-de-2017-1797692>.

⁶³² “Costa diz em Bruxelas que 2017 foi ‘saboroso,’

⁶³³ Da ‘descripação’ à ‘misericórdia’, passando pelo ‘erro de percepção mútuo,’”

The term “Idea of Europe” in the English Corpus

The term “idea of Europe” appears only once in the Daily Mail in all the years of the corpus. The occasion is an article from 2012 on the Nobel Peace Prize received by the EU. The article’s title announces that “Clegg gets the Nobel Peace Prize! Deputy PM to help collect award when it is awarded to the EU”. The article makes clear that the decision by the Nobel Committee to attribute the Peace Prize to the EU:

(...) provoked derision in Britain, with critics pointing out that the Eurozone crisis has prompted rioting across southern Europe and seen the EU force out democratically elected leaders in Greece and Italy.

However, a source close to Clegg defended the Committee’s decision by arguing that:

‘For centuries, the idea of Europe and peace was a contradiction in terms. The fact that we have not been to war with our European neighbours for nearly 70 years now is a testament to the sacrifices of the generations that have gone before us and the hard work since. Nick sees this prize as a tribute to the people, not the institution.’⁶³⁴

The Daily Telegraph contains six mentions of the term, all of them in 2016. The first, from 14 May is an interview with Boris Johnson where he sets out his views on the EU. Drawing from History, Johnson claims that Churchill “would be joining him on the Brexit bus”, and that the EU “shares the same flawed ambition to unite Europe that Hitler pursued”. Indeed, for him “the whole thing began with the Roman Empire”, and the other attempts at unity (headed by Napoleon, Hitler or the

⁶³⁴ Jason Groves, ‘Clegg Gets the Nobel Peace Prize! Deputy PM to Help Collect Award When It Is Awarded to the EU’, *Daily Mail*, 4 December, 2012, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2243076/Clegg-gets-Nobel-Peace-Prize-Deputy-PM-help-collect-award-awarded-EU.html>.

EU) were only a way to “rediscover...this golden age of peace and prosperity under the Romans”. He argues that the “EU is an attempt to do this by different methods”. The problem is that “there is no underlying loyalty to the idea of Europe” which causes a “a massive democratic void”. While clarifying that he is not saying that “the bureaucrats of Brussels are Nazis”, he still believes that the referendum is a “chance for the British people to be the heroes of Europe” and think of alternative solutions, as they had so often done in European History. He then argues that both Italy and Greece’s economy have been destroyed by the EU, which is used to prop up the German economy. Finally, he also disavows the notion that the EU has brought peace to the Continent, by citing the crisis in the Balkans, arguing that NATO is responsible for maintaining such peace.⁶³⁵

The remaining articles in May quote from Johnson’s interview, which is how the term “idea of Europe” makes its way into them. One of them summarises the interview and explains its main arguments; the other is an article quoting from Tory brexiteers in support of Johnson’s declarations on the veiled comparison between the EU and the Third Reich, which had met with some backlash. Here the historical connection is pursued again, with Lord Lamont, member of the House of Lords, saying that “there were fascist theorists who believed strongly in a united Europe”. Lord Lamont also adds Charlemagne to the list of historical statesmen who tried to unify Europe and failed.⁶³⁶

The other articles mentioning the “Idea of Europe” are also about the Brexit referendum. One of them quotes Donald Tusk, President of the Eurogroup, who in a summit in Japan talked about how immigration was one of the reasons for Euroscepticism. But he argued that:

⁶³⁵ Tim Ross, ‘Boris Johnson Interview: We Can Be the “heroes of Europe” by Voting to Leave’, *The Telegraph*, 14 May, 2016, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/14/boris-johnson-interview-we-can-be-the-heroes-of-europe-by-voting/>.

⁶³⁶ Christopher Hope and Tim Ross, ‘Brexit Tories Back Boris Johnson, Saying His EU Nazi Germany Comparison Was “Historical Analysis”’, *The Telegraph*, 15 May, 2016, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/15/brexit-tories-back-boris-johnson-saying-his-eunazi-germany-compa/>.

If we prefer free movement, if we prefer the whole values of the EU, we have to accept some negative results... This is the idea of Europe, this readiness to respect values even when some results of this fact can also be negative.⁶³⁷

The term “Idea of Europe” appears in the Daily Mirror five times, once in 2014 and four times in 2016. In 2014, the Mirror quotes from declarations made by Durão Barroso, who, in the article’s words “hit out at countries such as Britain” for trying to “put a limit on migrants from the EU”. Barroso argues that free movement is good for “Europe’s competitiveness”, “for Europe’s markets”, “for Europe’s citizens” and for all those who “enjoy freedom in Europe and have an open idea of Europe and not a narrow, chauvinistic idea of the protection of the different countries”. The Mirror’s article takes advantage of Barroso’s declarations to include a quote from the Labour Shadow Foreign Secretary, criticising Prime Minister David Cameron. According to Douglas Alexander, “all of us know change in Europe is needed”, but Cameron’s “internal party weakness” is preventing the Prime Minister from making sensible decisions regarding Europe.⁶³⁸

In 2016, the Mirror mentions the already quoted Boris Johnson interview in the Telegraph in three different articles, stressing the criticism the declarations provoked. In one of them, a month after Johnson’s interview, the Mirror chooses to include other controversial views that Johnson sponsored over the years – which the article refers to as “some of his low points”, adding that “perhaps Boris’s greatest talent lies in causing offence whenever he opens his mouth.”⁶³⁹

Another article from 2016 quotes Manuel Valls, then French Prime Minister, on the migrant crisis. Valls argues that the pressure of this crisis was endangering the existence of the EU, arguing that “if Europe can’t protect its own borders, it’s the very idea of Europe that could be thrown into doubt.” Valls goes on to say that although European values would remain, “the European

⁶³⁷ Laura Hughes, ‘EU Referendum: Record Number of Migrants Arrive in UK without Jobs, as Boris Johnson Accuses David Cameron of “Deeply Damaging” Faith in Democracy’, *The Telegraph*, 26 May, 2016, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/26/eu-referendum-lord-ashcroft-poll-finds-nearly-two-thirds-of-vote/>.

⁶³⁸ Jason Beattie, ‘European Union Chief Accuses Britain of “scaremongering” over Levels of Migration’, *Daily Mirror*, 15 January, 2014, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/immigration-european-union-chief-jose-3026259>.

⁶³⁹ Steve Myall, ‘The 12 Most Outrageous Quotes from New British Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson’, *Daily Mirror*, 14 July, 2016, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/boris-johnsons-12-most-outrageous-8423231>.

project...the concept we have of Europe, that the founding fathers had of Europe” could disappear if greater border control were not exercised.⁶⁴⁰

The Guardian is the newspaper in which we have more mentions of the “Idea of Europe”. It appears 34 times in 16 years. We selected a few that seemed relevant for analysis, due to the depth of detail with which they analyse the concept and idea of Europe.

In a 2004 article about the possibility of Turkey’s membership to the EU, journalist and novelist James Meek attempts a geographical and conceptual definition of the concept of Europe. The article is peppered with historical references, from the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 to Winston Churchill. Meek argues that for much of History, the logic “we have made a civilisation and called it Europe” gave way to “We are in a map-shape called ‘Europe’, and therefore we are civilised”. The geopolitical problem as posed by the then President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, was that each new enlargement brought new neighbours, and therefore a new redefinition of frontiers. In Prodi’s view this was unsustainable as the European project could not be constantly “watered down”, thus turning the EU into simply a “free trade area on a Continental scale”. Former French President, Giscard D’Estaing, was even more stringent, rejecting Turkey’s accession in very clear terms. The Turks had a “different culture, a different approach, a different way of life...its capital is not in Europe, 95% of its population live outside Europe”. Meek, however, also quotes Dominique Strauss-Kahn who believed, like De Gaulle, that Europe could stretch until the Urals and include the Maghreb and Turkey. Meek mentions the preamble to the European Constitution (which was then turned into the Lisbon Treaty) which talked about “Europe being the originator of the idea of Human Rights”. And it is in this area, he argues, that there exists a “much broader idea of Europe”, as people living in Russia, whether they live near the Chinese border or in Moscow, have the “right to appeal to the European Court of Human Rights”.⁶⁴¹

In 2007, an opinion article by David Clarke, reports on a debate between European politicians, which included a reflection on the state of the European Union in the wake of the Iraq War. At the time some countries, such as France and Germany opposed the war, whereas others, like Britain

⁶⁴⁰ Ben Glaze, ‘Europe Could Be “doomed” Due to Influx of Desperate Migrants’, *Daily Mirror*, 22 January, 2016, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/europe-could-doomed-due-influx-7228683>.

⁶⁴¹ James Meek, ‘What Is Europe’, *The Guardian*, 17 December, 2004, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/dec/17/eu.turkey1>.

and Spain, openly supported it. The article wonders whether this division will be longstanding or just a product of particular circumstances. The participants also debated whether the idea of Europe could be retained “as a social project based on the notion of a common social model” or if it would inevitably slide into a more liberal economic model.⁶⁴²

A 2015 article by Irish journalist Fintan O’Toole attempts yet another definition of Europe to discuss Ireland’s place in it. Europe is, he argues, “a story, an imaginative fiction”, which allows us to co-operate with people we do not know. Europe is the story that central and western European countries told themselves “in order to deal with the legacies of the second world war and the cold war”. O’Toole wonders whether, in the face of recent crises, this story still sustains itself. He quotes Matteo Renzi, Italian Prime Minister, on the occasion of the refugee crisis, who told his European counterparts that their solutions for the refugee crisis were lacking. Renzi wrote: “if this is your idea of Europe, keep it to yourself...you do not deserve to call yourself Europe. Either you have solidarity or we waste our time!” Syriza, the party in power in Greece in 2015, also appealed to shared “European values” following the refugee crisis. O’Toole comments that these are now little more than rhetorical devices. European values, such as free movement, the welfare state, solidarity and democracy were slowly being chipped away by the interests of national governments, which were increasingly unable to hold on to Europe’s original “fictions”, and were beginning to construct other narratives: notably, the fiction of “hard working people” in the north of Europe “being exploited by chaotic layabouts from the hot south”.⁶⁴³

In the immediate aftermath of the Brexit referendum, Timothy Garton-Ash, professor of European Studies, prominent Remain supporter and frequent media commentator, laments the result in a Guardian article. He stresses that “Britain has always been a European country...its fate intertwined with that of the Continent” and that Britain was not alone in having a conflicting relationship with the “idea of Europe and the very imperfect reality of the EU”, characteristics shared with many other European countries. The difference, perhaps, was that unlike many European countries, Britain did not have the “formative 20th century experiences of war, defeat, occupation and fascist or communist dictatorship.” Britain’s accession to the EEC was a reaction

⁶⁴² David Clark, ‘Europe’s Future: Old and New Europe’, *The Guardian*, 21 July, 2007, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2007/jul/21/oldandneweurope>.

⁶⁴³ Fintan O’Toole, ‘Has Europe Lost Its Hold on Our Collective Imagination?’, *The Guardian*, 4 July, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/05/europe-fictional-construct-legacies-of-war>.

to its own political and economic decline rather than a desire for peace and equilibrium in the European continent. The supreme example of this lack of understanding of what Europe really meant was, Garton-Ash argues, the resentment displayed by Margaret Thatcher before German reunification.⁶⁴⁴

From these examples we can see that the term “idea of Europe” is somewhat contentious, especially when employed by politicians because it is used by them to advance their views: so in the case of Boris Johnson, the idea of Europe spells out the nefarious intentions of the EU as political institution; for EU politicians, such as Barroso or Tusk, the idea of Europe is a set of values to which countries must adhere if they want to enjoy the benefits of European membership. It is also noteworthy that the Guardian is the newspaper where opinion makers analyse the term more deeply, often delving into the historical underpinnings of the European idea. This in part is there to explain Brexit, but it is also there to criticise the EU (such as in the case of O’Toole’s article). In fact, in the Guardian articles the Idea of Europe emerges as a set of values against which the failures of the EU are measured, be they Brexit, the treatment of refugees, or the EU treatment of non-European countries (such as Turkey).

The term “Idea of Europe” in the Portuguese Corpus

The term “Ideia de Europa”⁶⁴⁵ appears 11 times in Correio da Manhã.

In a 2005 article, Correio da Manhã announces that in preparation for the vote on the European Constitutional Treaty, the Museum of the Portuguese Presidency would initiate a cycle of conferences on the Construction of Europe and European citizenship. The conferences would be on Constitutional history, the “idea of Europe in contemporary philosophy”, “the idea of Europe in Ortega y Gasset” and “the Idea of Europe in Kant”. Furthermore, there would be a conference

⁶⁴⁴ Timothy Garton Ash, ‘As an English European, This Is the Biggest Defeat of My Political Life’, *The Guardian*, 24 June, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/commentisfree/2016/jun/24/lifelong-english-european-the-biggest-defeat-of-my-political-life-timothy-garton-ash-brexite>.

⁶⁴⁵ We searched for the term “ideia de Europa” and “ideia da Europa”, which retain the same meaning in English.

about Germany and the construction of Europe, defence policies for Europe and environmental policy in the EU.⁶⁴⁶

A year later, *Correio da Manhã* reports on a declaration by Luis Amado, then Foreign Office minister, who was asked about George W. Bush's idea of building a wall on the border with Mexico. Amado says "I am against the idea of Europe as a fortress, an idea generated by the pressure of immigration. As such, I am against all walls."⁶⁴⁷

In 2012, the newspaper interviews German director Wim Wenders. Wenders is asked by the journalist about how cinema can help create "a different cultural conscience and help create a new basis for European cinema". Wenders answers that countries like Portugal, Spain, Greece and Italy can help create a "better idea of Europe", which in his conception would be a Europe that is "emotionally connected to its citizens and cannot only be an administrative entity", adding that Europe's main concern at the moment appears to be money. He argues, additionally, that the future of Europe has to "go through culture", and that culture should be part of the foundations of Europe, rather than just "the crème on top".⁶⁴⁸

In 2013, the newspaper contained an article on an interview by Martin Schulz, leader of the German Social Democratic Party, with a Belgian newspaper. Schulz says that Europe is "going too far" in its austerity policies, and that they are undermining the European project. The same article also mentions a speech Schulz made at the opening of the congress of the Portuguese Socialist Party. In it, he said that the "fascinating idea of Europe...is in bad shape" and that Europe needs "more justice, more jobs, more democracy". Crucially, in this reported speech, Schulz rejects the idea of a Europe divided between north and south, arguing that Ireland is not in the Mediterranean. He also argued that "Europe is not only an economic community. After Auschwitz, the lowest point of civilization, Europe was an opportunity for Germany to re-enter the democratic community",

⁶⁴⁶ 'Aprender a Europa Comunitária', *Correio Da Manhã*, 1 February, 2006, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/cm-ao-minuto/detalhe/aprender-a-europa-comunitaria>.

⁶⁴⁷ 'Portugal critica muro', *Correio da Manhã*, 5 November, 2006, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/politica/detalhe/portugal-critica-muro>.

⁶⁴⁸ 'Wim Wenders: "Portugal deve contribuir para uma nova Europa"', *Correio da Manhã*, 8 December, 2012, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/cultura/detalhe/wim-wenders-portugal-deve-contribuir-para-uma-nova-europa>.

and he guaranteed that Germans remain faithful to the idea of Europe, quoting Thomas Mann: “we want a European Germany, not a German Europe”.⁶⁴⁹

In 2017, an opinion article by Luis Campos Ferreira points out that the 60 years of the Treaty of Rome coincide with the triggering of article 50, which would enable the UK to formally leave the European Union. It is in the midst of this crisis that, according to the author, it makes sense to celebrate the Treaty that gave rise to the EEC:

(...)because this is the time to recover the essential of the idea of Europe. An idea that goes much beyond a single market, a single currency, single rules. An idea that, without ignoring the economic component, finds its strength in a common vision of society, a shared worldview.

This idea gave Europe “its longest period of peace, social progress and well-being in its history”. European countries cannot return to “isolationism...to the proudly alone”. Proudly alone, (“orgulhosamente sós”) is a famous phrase in Portuguese politics; its author was António Oliveira Salazar, head of the Estado Novo, the right-wing dictatorship that dominated Portugal for most of the 20th century. Salazar claimed Portugal was “proudly alone” when he decided to launch a war against the Portuguese colonies who were fighting for independence, despite the international outcry and the increasing isolation of Portugal in the international community.⁶⁵⁰ For Campos Ferreira “proudly alone” translates to an undemocratic ideology of isolationism, which was the staple of the Estado Novo, and which democratic Portugal managed to contradict by joining the European Community.

There are two articles which refer to the “Idea of Europe” in 2018. The first is a report on several declarations made by political figures on the occasion of a conference about the future of the Euro. The already mentioned Martin Schulz argues that “people like money... but they don’t love a

⁶⁴⁹ ‘Europa está a ir “demasiado longe” na austeridade’, *Correio da Manhã*, 27 April, 2013, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/politica/detalhe/europa-esta-a-ir-demasiado-longe-na-austeridade>.

⁶⁵⁰ Luis Campos-Ferreira, ‘Europa sempre’, *Correio da Manhã*, 30 March, 2017, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/opiniao/colunistas/luis-campos-ferreira/detalhe/europa-sempre>.

currency, nobody loves the Euro (...) the key question is to mobilize people around the idea of Europe” which “involves democracy, individual freedoms, without discrimination”.⁶⁵¹

The second time the term is employed in 2018 is when the newspaper reports on an article written by Bono, lead singer of U2, on the subject of Europe for a German newspaper. *Correio da Manhã* translates parts of the article. Bono wrote that the “values and aspirations of Europe make of it much more than a geography, they go to the core of who we are as human beings”. He additionally says that he is proud “of Europe’s fight to end poverty and climate change; and (...) extremely proud of the Belfast agreement. (...) I feel privileged for having witnessed the largest period of peace and prosperity in the European Continent”. Still, he argues that this peace is being threatened because “respect for diversity”, a core European value, is being abandoned.⁶⁵²

Newspaper *Público* contains several interesting allusions to the idea of Europe. In 2007, journalist José Malheiros talks about the membership of two new European countries in the EU, Romania and Bulgaria. The journalist admits that although the entry of these countries brings some problems, due to their levels of economic and social development, it remains a “vibrant victory for the idea of Europe”, as this Europe “was created around the ideals of peace, liberty, equality, democracy, cooperation, solidarity, law and progress – and not in the name of (...) expansionism or supremacy (...) fear nor isolationism”.⁶⁵³

In 2016, the newspaper interviews Fernando Frutuoso de Melo, then director of Cooperation and Development for the European Commission, who argued that:

As long as we believe that solidarity between Europeans is a fundamental and central value of European construction, the reunification of the Continent remains possible and

⁶⁵¹ ‘Centeno afirma que expansão do euro é um projeto “demorado”, mas “de grande alcance”’, *Correio da Manhã*, 8 April, 2018, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/politica/detalhe/centeno-afirma-que-expansao-do-euro-e-um-projeto-demorado-mas-de-grande-alcance>.

⁶⁵² ‘Bono defende uma Europa com mais sentimento para além do pensamento’, *Correio da Manhã*, 28 August, 2018, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/cultura/detalhe/bono-defende-uma-europa-com-mais-sentimento-para-alem-do-pensamento>.

⁶⁵³ José Vítor Malheiros, ‘27’, *Público*, 2 January, 2017, <https://www.publico.pt/2007/01/02/jornal/27-114702>.

desirable. If we someday stop believing in it, the idea of Europe itself will incur in the danger of returning to national selfishness and conflict.⁶⁵⁴

Also in 2017, *Público* publishes an interview with Aamir Mufti, professor of literature and anthropology at UCLA. The interview bears the title “Europe as a fascist ideal”. The journalist asks him about the parallels between the present refugee crisis and the previous refugee crisis that took place in the European Continent as a consequence of Nazism and World War II. Mufti says that there is a “great contradiction in the European society about what is a refugee”. This debate surrounds the degrees of responsibility of European countries, humanitarian help, and the defence of Human rights. He argues that although there are no concentration camps, like there were in the 1930s and 1940s, refugees are still seen as a threat to national cultures and European culture. He then argues that neo-fascist groups in the United States are creating a new idea of Europe. This new idea asserts that whites in America are “Europeans” and they are in America defending European civilization. The journalist asks what idea these neo-fascists have of European civilization, to which Mufti answers:

It is contradictory in many ways...part of the European values is the defence of the rights of the individual which clashes with racial prejudice.⁶⁵⁵

Finally, *Expresso* mentions the term “idea of Europe” four times, some of which are very interesting for the arguments of this chapter.

In 2007, for the occasion of the 50 years of the Treaty of Rome, *Expresso* interviews Durão Barroso. The interview is long, and History is often evoked and discussed, as well as the relations between Europe and other continents and countries, such as the United States and China. The title

⁶⁵⁴ Maria João Lopes, ‘Frutuoso de Melo já viu Marcelo a escrever com as duas mãos’, *Público*, 5 February, 2016, <https://www.publico.pt/2016/02/05/politica/noticia/marcelo-rebelo-de-sousa-escolhe-fernando-frutuoso-de-melo-para-chefe-da-casa-civil-1722439>.

⁶⁵⁵ Isabel Lucas, ‘A Europa como ideal fascista’, *Público*, 9 July, 2017, <https://www.publico.pt/2017/07/09/culturaipilon/entrevista/a-europa-como-ideal-fascista-1778046>.

of the interview is “the lucid dream”, a clear allusion to how Barroso sees Europe. The journalist asks Barroso, “what is it to be a European”. Barroso says that it is “to live in Europe and identify with our multiple Europeans, with our national identities”, which are not a contradiction with the idea of Europe. He argues that “nationalism is an evil, patriotism is not”, and that it is often a mistake of Europeanism to wish for the establishment of “a European identity above and against the States”, to construct a “European nationalism”. In fact, he argues, the “European dimension” should not be pitted against “national identities”, but in favour of adding “openness and variety” and complexity. Barroso also talks about the question of borders. He says that for him Europe is a “political concept” not a geographical one, and that this “obsessive focus on borders is hard to understand from a humanist point of view”.⁶⁵⁶

In another article, this time from 2008, Portuguese writer Ines Pedrosa criticises how the European Union is being taught in Portuguese schools. She takes an excerpt from a text present in the Portuguese exam which attempts to explain the functioning of and the reasons for the existence of the EU. The text, she argues, is boring and technocratic in tone and she wonders: “what interest can this awaken...for the idea of Europe, with this string of inconsistent banalities and technocratic jargon?” There are, she argues, much better reflections on the future of Europe and the relation between Europe and Portugal by Portuguese politicians and philosophers.⁶⁵⁷

Finally, in 2015, *Expresso* interviews Michel Houellebecq, the French writer who had just published *Submission*, a controversial book for the way it depicted Islam. The journalist, Clara Ferreira Alves, writes that “in this conversation the moralist is equivalent to the humanist. The idea of Europe repels him and he thinks France is slowly dissolving”. Ferreira Alves tells Houellebecq that his greatest preoccupation seems to be “politics and Europe, or the politics of Europe”. Houellebecq says that he is not particularly interested in Europe, but in France, and that he awaits the ending of the European Union which he predicts will be progressively disbanded.⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁶ ‘O sonho lúcido’, *Jornal Expresso*, 24 March, 2007,

https://expresso.pt/dossies/dossiest_economia/dos_tratado_roma/o-sonho-lucido=f95161.

⁶⁵⁷ Inês Pedrosa, ‘Sobre os exames de Português’, *Jornal Expresso*, 30 June, 2008,

https://expresso.pt/opiniaio/opiniaio_ines_pedrosa/sobre-os-exames-de-portugues=f352007.

⁶⁵⁸ Clara Ferreira Alves, ‘Houellebecq: “Querem ver-me morto”’, *Jornal Expresso*, 8 June, 2015,

<https://expresso.pt/cultura/2015-06-08-Houellebecq-Querem-ver-me-morto>.

Analysis

We believe we can see quite clearly how the evolution of the idea of Europe – as we have shown a necessarily historical phenomena – materialises in both the English and the Portuguese corpus. Indeed, the idea of Europe is understood by the several actors who mention it as an idea with a specific historical background, and that can only be understood within an historical context. For Boris Johnson and some critics of the EU it appears connected to Empire and expansion, from Charlemagne to Hitler. For Fintan O’Toole, Europe is a beautiful fiction, never fully realisable. In the Portuguese corpus, the connection is perhaps more connected to the Enlightenment, and through this to the post-WWII context: an idea of lasting peace and prosperity. This view of a Europe of peace supported by Human Rights has, in the Portuguese corpus an interesting connection to the question of borders. In both corpora borders, frontiers and boundaries are approached with a certain trepidation. Some see it as a necessity to “protect” individual countries, while others recognize that a “fortress Europe” can easily lead to exclusion, can put Europe towards a path that is contrary to values that guarantee the ideological legitimacy of the European project, such as Humanism and solidarity.

Both when examining the term “Europe” and “idea of Europe” we see the tension between treating Europe as a mere geographical term, treating it as a synonym of the EU, or treating it as a concept related to a set of values, such as democracy and solidarity. We suggest that even when politicians such as Boris Johnson reject the idea of European unity coalesced into a political unity, they are still unable to escape the wider ideological implications of Europe as an entity that has become far more than a geographical expression. From the moment Europe is charged with political meaning, be it through historical context or just the existence of the EU, Europe becomes more than just a mass of land and borders. In fact, we can argue that even the divisions between parts of Europe are ideological. The economic differences between north and south, for example, are turned ideological by the words of European politicians: the north enriches Europe, the South drains it; the South is “lazy”, concerned only with “women and alcohol”, while the North is hardworking. There are several Europes inside Europe and several ideas of Europe inside Europe. But they are all charged with meanings that surpass geography.

However, it is also worth pointing out that while “Europe” appears very frequently in both corpora, the expression “idea of Europe” does not, and is only mentioned a few times throughout the 16 years. This is obviously because in the corpus Europe is employed in multiple different ways, from a simple geographical reference to the continent to a synonym of the European Union itself. “Idea of Europe” is a far more specific term, which concerns exclusively the ideological basis of European Integration and as we saw a set of values perceived as European. In the Portuguese corpus it is also a term that is often employed by opinion columnists, academics, and artists/writers. In the English corpus, it is a term used, as we have just seen, by politicians from Nick Clegg to Boris Johnson to Durão Barroso. As such, although the term appears rarely, it gives us important insights into the interplay between political, cultural and media discourse. The rarity of the term should not be used, in our opinion, to argue that ideological discussions are not important in the media discourse. It is only that European integration and its ideological foundation is discussed more obliquely, and it is often present in articles where other issues are discussed, such as Eastern Europe, Brexit, the refugee crisis, European summits etc. The challenge for this thesis is to precisely identify the moments where ideas are being discussed, and not merely facts.

In this sense, to discuss History and historical events becomes of prime importance, because it is often in the employment of historical events that we can perceive how the different media viewed European History, and as a consequence, the ideas of Europe.

The concept of History in the English Corpus

In the English corpus, which as we mentioned is made up only of articles containing the keywords “European Union”, the word “History” appears frequently throughout the 16 years.⁶⁵⁹ It is interesting to see how from 2004 to 2009, the word “History” collocates frequently with terms such as “European”, “British”, and “recent”.⁶⁶⁰ Concordance analysis shows that “European” refers to European History and “British” refers to “British history”. One interesting article in this period comes from the Daily Mirror where an unnamed author comments on a series by historian

⁶⁵⁹ According to AntConc, from 2004 to 2019, the word “history” appears 13085 times.

⁶⁶⁰ AP History EN 2004-2009.

David Starkey on the English Monarchy. Starkey, the article says, “reminded us that England is the world’s oldest nation state, unified by Alfred the Great more than 1100 years ago”. It is “odd then that England has no constitutional existence”, that there is “no English parliament”. And it adds, “we let the Scots, who do have one, dominate English affairs and watch meekly as the EU tries to split our country into regions.” The article ends by asking “what would Alfred make of that?”⁶⁶¹ Another noteworthy article in the Daily Mail written by an Australian columnist asks why is that while other countries “have managed to maintain their national identity” Britain, which has “such a proud history...lacks the will to do the same?” This question is motivated by the fact that the author was born in the same year the Treaty of Rome was signed: “Fifty years later, as a direct result of the Treaty and the European Union that followed...Britain lost control of its borders, sacrificed the sovereignty that once made it so special, and changed the Britain I knew into an almost unrecognisable nation.”⁶⁶² In both these articles, there is a sense that Britain – or England – found itself historically in an exceptional position, whether for the age of the country or for its political constitution, but that this identity has been jeopardised by more recent events, namely, EU membership. British history becomes, therefore, a vehicle for British exceptionalism.

From 2010 to 2014, the panorama changes slightly with the term “history” collocating most frequently with “European”, “British”, “political” and “modern”.⁶⁶³ As in the previous period, European having a few more mentions than British is noteworthy (once again they refer largely to “European History” and “British history”). This might be explained by the fact that the dataset is skewed towards the term “European Union”, which naturally would contain more mentions of European history.

An article on the subject of European History focuses on the creation of a museum of European History in Brussels, a measure criticised both by the Daily Mail in the text of the article (“while dozens of British museums are facing closure due to public service cuts, the contribution of British taxpayers to the House of European History will be around £18.6 million”) and also by UKIP MEP

⁶⁶¹ “MONARCHY,” *Daily Mirror*, October 23, 2004, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/3am/tv-film-news/monarchy-1603022>.

⁶⁶² Amanda Platell, “Why I Feel Melancholy at Turning 50,” *Daily Mail*, 11 September, 2007, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/columnists/article-492565/Why-I-feel-melancholy-turning-50-Amanda-Platell.html>.

⁶⁶³ AP History EN 2010-2014.

Marta Andreasen who called it a “narcissistic project”.⁶⁶⁴ An article in the Daily Mirror in 2013 is already focused on the subject of the future EU referendum, which was promised that year by David Cameron. Cameron’s speech on the subject draws heavily on History: “From Caesar’s legions to the Napoleonic wars. From the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the industrial revolution to the defeat of Nazism. We have helped write European History, and Europe has helped write ours”.⁶⁶⁵ As we see, “British” is never far from mentions of History. An opinion article in the Daily Telegraph criticises successive British governments for abandoning the Commonwealth in favour of relations with the European Union and the United States. “It was no surprise that New Labour, with its unqualified admiration for the United States and impatience with British and tradition” should do so, but in the eyes of the author, it is even more regrettable that a Conservative government is following suit.⁶⁶⁶

In the years between 2015 to 2019, “history” is collocated frequently with “British”, followed by “European”, “country” and “Political”.⁶⁶⁷ Concordance analysis shows that “British history” also has more mentions during this period than “European history”. This difference might be explained by the weight of Brexit during this period, and the need to use history to explain, justify or oppose the British exit. In 2016, for example, following a speech by David Cameron just a month before the referendum, where Cameron said that Brexit increased the risk of war, columnist Simon Jenkins accused the Prime Minister of historical illiteracy. In the article, Jenkins uses several examples from history to argue for British isolationism in Europe – things went better for both Britain and Europe when Britain abstained from getting involved in European affairs. Another opinion article from 2018 in the Guardian, this time by David Edgerton, professor of Modern History at King’s College London, decries the absurdity of invoking History in the Brexit debate, both by Brexiteers and by Remainers: “Brexiteers claim a deep continuity in British History

⁶⁶⁴ “EU Museum to Cost the British Taxpayer £19m after Building Expenses Double,” Daily Mail, 5 April, 2011, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1373497/House-European-History-cost-Britons-19m-building-expenses-double.html>.

⁶⁶⁵ Natalie Evans, “‘Leaving the EU Would Be a One-Way Ticket, Not a Return’: David Cameron’s Europe Speech in Full,” *Daily Mirror*, 23 January, 2013, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/david-cameron-europe-speech-in-full-1550682>.

⁶⁶⁶ Peter Osborne, “Ministers Are Still Treating the Commonwealth with Contempt,” *The Telegraph*, 30 October, 2013, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/10415127/Ministers-are-still-treating-the-Commonwealth-with-contempt.html>.

⁶⁶⁷ AP History EN 2015-2019.

betrayed by EU membership. Pro-EU people claim that the UK has never got over imperial delusions of grandeur. The reality is that both grotesquely over-egg continuity”. Edgerton’s point is that “British history is one of radical discontinuity” and that political and economic strategies changed significantly over the last two centuries. He also argues that continuity is being confused with nostalgia for a time of national self-sufficiency which is incompatible to the world of the 21st century. Brexit, in fact, is a “very local phenomenon which even if carried through would barely register at European, much less global level”.⁶⁶⁸

In all this use of the concept of History, illustrated by the examples we give here, we can see an obvious factor: History is commonly understood as related to a country (in this case Britain, sometimes England) or a Continent (Europe). We can detect a sense that History exists to explain the formation of communities and nations – a certain obsession with origin and identity is clear in the examples quoted. Britain can only be explained through a series of historical events, beginning with Alfred the Great, through the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution and ending in a post-war world where Britain is negotiating its relations to the rest of the world. The presence of the term “political” also reinforces an emphasis on politics as the linchpin of History. The second noteworthy aspect rises from this: the tension between British and European History, which we have already illustrated in the section about ideas of Europe. Here, however, Europe emerges in the eyes of the critics of the EU as something that, as Edgerton put it in his article, hindered the natural continuity of British History.

Historical Events and Actors in the English Corpus

Figure 84 shows the historical events which are mentioned in the English corpus. The definition of what is a historical event or character is not straightforward. For example, in 2019 the Iraq war can be reasonably described as a historical event, but in 2005 it was taking place in the present time. Likewise, Mário Soares, Prime Minister and President of Portugal in the 1980s and 1990s retrieves his political importance from key historical moments in Portuguese contemporary

⁶⁶⁸ Richard J. Evans, “Europe: The Struggle for Supremacy by Brendan Simms – Review,” *The Guardian*, 23 May, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/may/23/europe-struggle-supremacy-simms-review>.

History, but he is still an important political actor in our chronology. This clarifies further the point made in chapter 3, that the past and the present are not watertight, clearly defined moments, but there is a continuity between them.

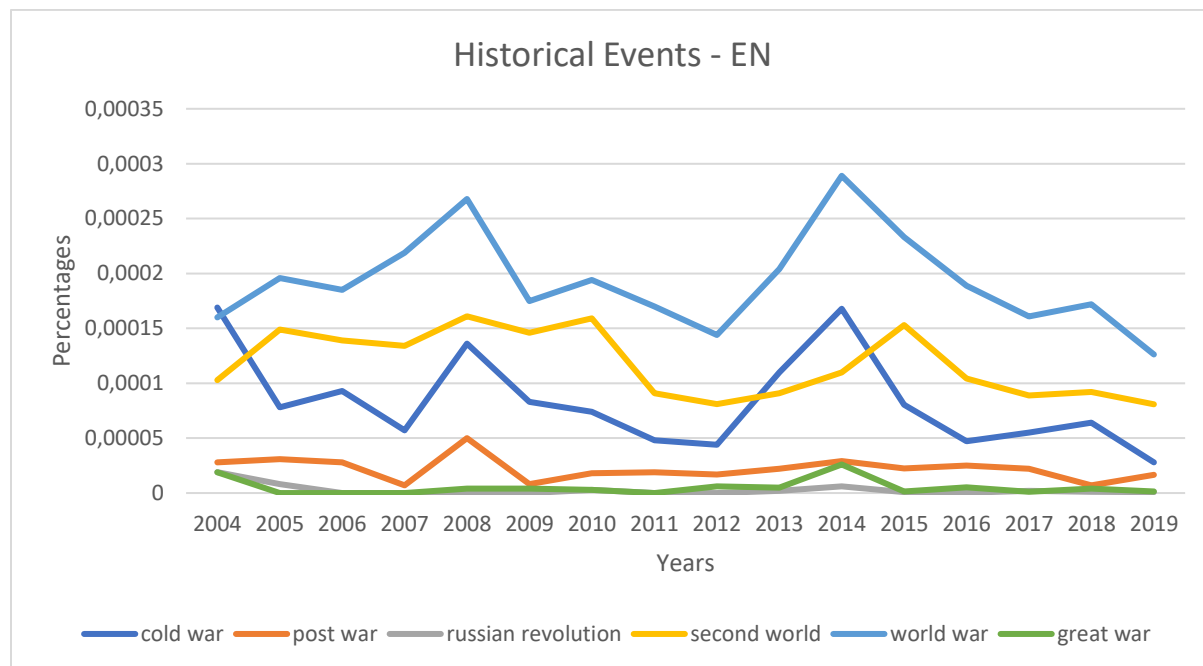


Figure 84. Bi-Grams related to historical events in the English corpus.

In the English corpus, we see that the most mentioned historical event corresponds to the Bi-Gram “world war”, which can refer either to the first or the second. As the Bi-Gram “first world” never makes it to the top 50, and as we can see in figure 84 a certain correlation in the trends between the Bi-Grams “second world” and “world war”, we would assume that “world war” refers mostly to the second. This is confirmed by the collocation analysis, in which “second” collocates more frequently than “first” in most of the periods. However, we also see from figure 81 the presence of the term “great war” especially in 2014, which makes sense as this was the beginning of the centenary of WWI.

From 2004 to 2009, the English corpus collocates “world war” frequently with “second” and “first” as well as with “Europe”, and “ history”. “Nazi” also appears ranked 47 with a frequency of 5.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁹ AP World War EN 2004-2009.

In 2008, the first peak of the “world war” Bi-Gram, concordance analysis performed on the English corpus using AntConc shows that the Second World War is mentioned more often than the first (“First World War” appears 14 times out of 65, and mentions of the second make up for 47 occasions). Some of these references appear in articles about the Russian invasion of Georgia, particularly in the *Guardian*,⁶⁷⁰ whereas the Daily Mail uses the term in articles related to Karadzic on the occasion of his trial, recalling his actions during the Serbian Genocide, which was the worst massacre in European territory since World War II.⁶⁷¹ The EU appears in these articles because its officials are offering reactions to the Russian invasion and to Karadzic’s trial.

As mentioned, the term “nazi” appears in this period 5 times collocated with “world war”. One of these refers to how David Cameron compared the Russia invasion of Georgia to the actions of Nazi Germany during World War II.⁶⁷² Another 2009 *Guardian* article underlines the tensions between Poland and Russia on the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II. The article stresses how leaders of several European countries “issue pledges of never again and celebrate the unification of old enemies in an expanding European Union”. However, Russia was a focus of conflict due to the invasion of Georgia, as the Polish government told Putin that “Russians did not bring freedom to central Europe, that they stabbed Poland in the back in 1939 following the Nazi invasion, and that the Kremlin’s imperial ambitions remain a danger today”.⁶⁷³

⁶⁷⁰ Mark Tran, Julian Borger, and Ian Traynor, ‘EU Threatens Sanctions against Russia’, *The Guardian*, 28 August, 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/aug/28/eu.russia>.

Gyula Hegyi, ‘The New Warsaw Pact’, *The Guardian*, 23 September, 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/sep/24/balkans.russia>.

Luke Harding, Ian Traynor, and Helen Womack, ‘A Dirty Little War’, *The Guardian*, 16 August, 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/aug/17/georgia.russia>.

⁶⁷¹ Daily Mail Reporter, ‘Pictured: How the “Butcher of Bosnia” Eluded Justice for 10 Years by Simply Growing His Hair and a Long Beard’, *Daily Mail*, 22 July, 2008, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1037146/Pictured-How-Butcher-Bosnia-eluded-justice-10-years-simply-growing-hair-long-beard.html>.

David Williams, ‘In the Dock: A Smiling and Clean-Shaven Beast of Bosnia Claims He Was Kidnapped’, *Daily Mail*, 1 August, 2008, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1039720/In-dock-A-smiling-clean-shaven-Beast-Bosnia-claims-kidnapped.html>.

⁶⁷² “Russia and Georgia Agree to Ceasefire Brokered by Sarkozy,” *Daily Mail*, 13 August, 2008, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1044078/Russia-Georgia-agree-ceasefire-brokered-Sarkozy.html>.

⁶⁷³ Ian Traynor and Luke Harding, “Poland and Russia Row over Second World War Marks Gdansk Day,” *The Guardian*, 1 September, 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/sep/01/russia-poland-second-world-war-stalin>.

From 2010 to 2014, there is a good deal of thematic continuity. “World war” continues to collocate with “second” and “first” as well as with “Europe” and “Germany”.⁶⁷⁴ Additionally, as seen from figure 84, 2014 is another peak. Partly, this is explained by the actions of Russia once again, occasioned by the invasion of Crimea. Both the Guardian and the Telegraph gave space to the declarations of the Lithuanian President who said that Russia was trying to “rewrite the borders of Europe after World War Two”, which were made within the context of the sanctions imposed by the EU and the United States on Russia.⁶⁷⁵ In the same vein, in writing about the war operations in Ukraine, the Daily Mail included a photograph of Dimitry Medvedev at a World War II memorial ceremony.⁶⁷⁶ Another article by the Daily Mail on the subject includes pictures of Putin masked as Hitler.⁶⁷⁷ The Daily Mail also writes about how German minister Schauble told a group of students that Putin’s supposed defence of Russian nationals in Crimea was akin to “Hitler’s claim ethnic Germans were being discriminated against in the Sudetenland”, which served as the basis for German annexation of that region.⁶⁷⁸ It is, however, worth noting that when we look at the collocations for “world war” in the English corpus in 2014, “Russia” and “Russian” only appear ranked on the 65th and 66th position, with a frequency of 5. This means that the Russian invasion of the Ukraine is not the only subject associated with the Bi-Gram. At the same time, the fact that this 2014 peak also coincides with the rise of the “cold war” Bi-Gram, shows that these 20th century historical events were indeed being called forth in the media in relation to the geopolitical situation in 2014.

⁶⁷⁴ AP World War EN 2010-2014.

⁶⁷⁵ Barney Henderson, David Millward, and Arron Merat, ‘Ukraine Crisis: March 6 as It Happened’, *The Telegraph*, 6 March, 2014, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ukraine/10679802/Ukraine-Russia-crisis-live.html>.

Dan Roberts and Ian Traynor, ‘Russia May Face Second Round of Sanctions over Ukraine’, *The Guardian*, 7 March, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/07/russia-may-face-second-round-sanctions-ukraine>.

⁶⁷⁶ ‘NATO Deny Putin Is Withdrawing Troops from Ukraine’s Borders’, *Daily Mail*, 31 March, 2014, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2593227/Russia-pulls-battalion-Ukraine-border.html>.

⁶⁷⁷ James Chapman, ‘Ukraine’s Call to Arms: Former Prime Minister Tymoshenko Issues Thinly-Veiled Plea to the West to Take Military Action against Russia’, *Daily Mail*, 3 March, 2014, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2571653/Europes-peace-risk-World-leaders-say-Russian-invasion-Ukraine-spiral-biggest-international-crisis-Cold-War.html>.

⁶⁷⁸ ‘Group of Grandmothers Star in Patriotic Call to Arms Video’, *Daily Mail*, 31 March, 2014, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2593388/Group-grandmothers-star-patriotic-call-arms-video-telling-men-fight-Russian-invasion.html>.

From 2015 to 2019, collocation analysis with the term “world war” shows that apart from collocating with the words “second” and “first”, it also collocates with the word “crisis” and “Europe”.⁶⁷⁹ Analysis using the Concordance tool shows that “crisis” seems to refer mostly to the migrant and refugee crisis, which as we have seen in chapter 4 was an event that dominated the media coverage particularly in 2015, and there are several references to the 2015 refugee crisis being the most significant since the end of World War II.

Although Figure 84 shows a decline in the use of “world war” after 2015, we thought it would be useful to look into the Bi-Gram in 2016, the year of the Brexit referendum, so as to understand what connections were established between the past and the present during that event. As we have shown in the section about the idea of Europe in chapter 2, World War II is a vital, founding moment in the creation of the institutions that will morph into the EU.

We found that in this year the term collocates frequently with “crisis” (rank 24, frequency 24) and concordance analysis shows that this still refers to the refugee/migrant crisis, which was the biggest phenomenon of the kind in Europe since World War II. It also collocates frequently with “Europe” (rank 41, frequency 15).⁶⁸⁰ In this case, concordance analysis shows that out of these 15 mentions, 8 were related to a discussion on the existence or value of the EU. In the Daily Mail, an opinion article argues that it is a lie that “the EU is popular with those it governs, spreading peace and harmony between nations”. This was “its founding fathers’ dreams, when Europe lay ravaged by World War II”, but the reality turned out differently, as the article attempts to demonstrate that neither the French nor the Greeks are favourable to the EU.⁶⁸¹ On the other hand, an article in the Daily Mirror gives voice to four World War II veterans who defended that Britain should stay in the EU, with one of them arguing: “Britain is stronger in Europe because it reflects the values my generation fought for in Europe during the Second World War.”⁶⁸²

⁶⁷⁹ AP World War EN 2015-2019.

⁶⁸⁰ AP World War EN 2016.

⁶⁸¹ ‘Why Britain Could Have a Great Future Outside a Broken EU’, *Daily Mail*, 21 June, 2016, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3653385/Lies-greedy-elites-divided-dying-Europe-Britain-great-future-outside-broken-EU.html>.

⁶⁸² Ben Glaze, ‘Watch World War Two Heroes Urge People to Vote to Stay in the EU’, *Daily Mirror*, 8 May, 2016, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/watch-world-war-two-heroes-7928408>.

Finally, in 2016, the Bi-Gram “world war” also collocates with “Brexit” 11 times, ranking in 53rd place.⁶⁸³ The AntConc Concordance tool shows us that some of these times are connected with David Cameron’s declarations that Brexit could spark World War III as well as a global recession. This declaration was criticised by the Mail and the Telegraph.⁶⁸⁴ The declaration appears to have been distorted by newspapers, as Cameron states that he never mentioned World War III, as the Mail and the Telegraph attributed to him, as he was only referring to the potential for armed conflict.

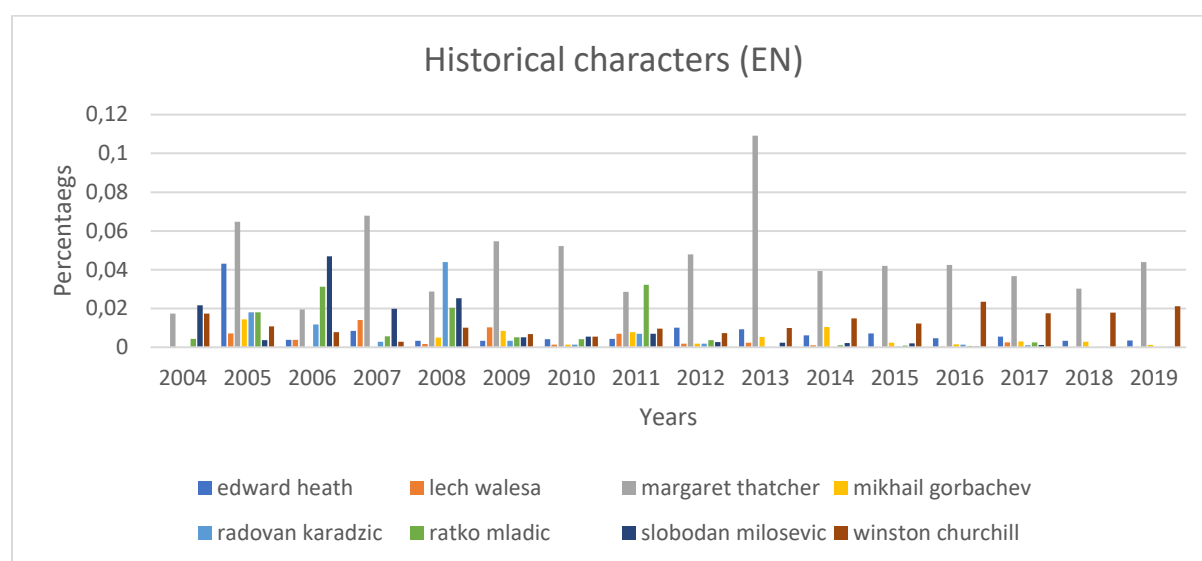


Figure 85. Historical figures who appear in the English corpus, quantified by article.

Figure 85 shows the historical characters that appear in the top 50 Bi-Grams in the English corpus. Evidently, Margaret Thatcher is the Bi-Gram with most mentions. Edward Heath, on the other hand, also mentioned in the early years of the dataset, is more directly concerned with the topic of

⁶⁸³ AP World War EN 2016.

⁶⁸⁴ Michael Wilkinson, ‘EU Debate: Angry Sky News Audience Rounds on “waffling” David Cameron as He Is Accused of “Scaremongering” over Brexit Fears’, *The Telegraph*, 2 June, 2016, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/02/eu-referendum-debate-david-cameron-quizzed-live-on-sky-news/>. Matt Dathan, ‘The Party-Loving Student Who Accused Cameron of “waffling” on the EU’, *Daily Mail*, 2 June, 2016, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3622781/He-s-getting-taste-medicine-party-loving-selfie-taking-student-waffling-Cameron-place-EU-debate.html>.

the EU. His peak in 2005 is justified by it being the year of his death, which allowed newspapers to review his life and work. In an article entitled “the Incredible Sulk”, the Daily Mail says that Heath’s “crowning achievement and his lasting legacy...was to lead Britain into Europe”. But the article chose to stress, as well, his rivalry with Margaret Thatcher who beat him to the Tory leadership (hence the title of the piece). The article dubs his attacks on Thatcher as “ceaseless” and “savage”. The Mail also singles out Heath’s attacks on Thatcher’s views on Europe: “in another outburst he denounced her as a woman with a ‘minute mind’, of being ignorant and telling lies about Europe”.⁶⁸⁵

The Guardian in its obituary points out that Heath succeeded where Macmillan had failed, but warns that Heath’s European legacy was muddled, as the EU faced a period of instability “in the wake of the Dutch and French referendums”. The article also says that “Heath’s contempt for wilder Eurosceptic Tory talk of withdrawal...was always total”, but the authors argue that this strategy was “counter-productive in a house increasingly peopled by Tory MPs who had been taught to regard him as a traitor” as a result of his criticism of Margaret Thatcher.⁶⁸⁶

The Winston Churchill Bi-Gram is interesting, as it appears in the first year of the corpus and has a small resurgence in the later years. Using collocation on the whole English corpus, we see that this Bi-Gram collocates frequently with “grandson”, “prime”, “minister”, “hero” and “thatcher”.⁶⁸⁷

Looking at the context in which the Bi-Gram “Winston Churchill” appears in 2004, a year when it shows some prominence in the dataset, we find an article in the Daily Mail entitled “sorry, but the Germans cannot be allowed to forget their evil past”. This opinion article – whose author’s name does not figure in the text – argues that a “new European Union sponsored History makes no mention of the apparently minor events of both world wars, or of Winston Churchill and Britain’s heroic, lone resistance to Fascism in 1940”.⁶⁸⁸ The article morphs into a criticism of the EU for allowing Germany to gain dominance in European affairs. In the same year, in an article in the Guardian about European integration, James Meek argued that “Winston Churchill, who, to the

⁶⁸⁵ ‘The Incredible Sulk’, *Daily Mail*, 18 July, 2005, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-356140/The-Incredible-Sulk.html>.

⁶⁸⁶ Francis Boyd and Norman Shrapnel, ‘Sir Edward Heath’, *The Guardian*, 18 July, 2005, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2005/jul/18/guardianobituaries.conservatives>.

⁶⁸⁷ AP Winston Churchill EN 2004-2019

⁶⁸⁸ “Sorry, but the Germans Must Never Be Allowed to Forget Their Evil Past,” *Daily Mail*, 27 October, 2004, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/columnists/article-323644/Sorry-Germans-allowed-forget-evil-past.html>.

annoyance of Conservative Eurosceptics today, was an early and fervent enthusiast of European Union”.⁶⁸⁹

This notion of what Churchill believed in becomes vital when political actors and newspaper commentators invoke him. For example, Churchill is mentioned in our dataset in 2009 because Nick Griffin – leader of the far-right British National Party – said in the BBC programme Question Time that Winston Churchill would have been a supporter of the BNP, as he was “extremely critical of the dangers of fundamentalist Islam”. This was met with outrage, with the Liberal Democrat spokesman saying that “Churchill would be rolling in his grave”. The EU appears in this article as part of the criticism of the BBC for dedicating an episode of Question Time to the far right rather than to other pressing themes, such as Britain’s presidency of the European Union. The Mail followed this event with an article by Andrew Marr who wondered “What would Churchill make of Britain today?”, where the author expresses his dismay at the state of Britain. He adds “nor would he have been delighted by the European Union”. Although Churchill argued for a “European federation to stand against the Soviet Empire, he did not really envisage Britain joining in”, as Marr says he was a “lifelong passionate House of Commons absolutist”.⁶⁹⁰

The other peak of the Winston Churchill Bi-Gram– albeit smaller – occurs in 2016. If we look at the collocations for that year, we see the bigram collocating with “oval”, “office” and “grandson”.⁶⁹¹ The mentions of the Oval Office come after criticism of Barack Obama by Boris Johnson. Obama urged Britain not to leave the EU, and Johnson answered by suggesting that the removal of a bust of Churchill from the Oval Office early in Obama’s presidency was a “snub to Britain”, a declaration that was widely repeated and discussed. Furthermore, Johnson suggested that Obama’s supposed dislike of Churchill stemmed from the latter’s imperialism, which Obama, as “part-Kenyan”, would resent.⁶⁹²

⁶⁸⁹ James Meek, “What Is Europe,” *The Guardian*, 17 December, 2004, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/dec/17/eu.turkey1>.

⁶⁹⁰ Andrew Marr, ‘What Would Churchill Make of Britain Today?’, *Mail Online*, 24 October, 2009, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-1222625/What-Churchill-make-Britain-today.html>.

⁶⁹¹ AP Winston Churchill EN 2016.

⁶⁹² Laura Hughes, ‘Barack Obama: Britain Would Go to the ‘back of the Queue’ When It Comes to US Trade Deals If It Leaves the EU’, *The Telegraph*, 22 April, 2016, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/04/22/barack-obama-arrives-in-britain-to-tell-voters-to-remain-in-the/>.

On the other hand, “grandson” is a reference to Nicholas Soames, Churchill’s grandson, and his outspoken defence of remaining in the EU. The Concordance tool in AntConc shows that he appears to attack Johnson’s attack on Obama, as well as other Eurosceptic Tory MPs. The Mail even argued that “Sir Nicholas' attacks are humiliating for Mr Johnson, who counts Sir Winston as one of his greatest heroes”.⁶⁹³

Also in 2016, we witness David Cameron comparing his stance for remain to Churchill’s fight against Hitler, by saying that when Churchill made the decision to fight Nazi Germany, he “didn't want to be alone. He wanted to be fighting with the French, the Poles and the others. But he didn't quit. He didn't quit on democracy, he didn't quit on freedom.”⁶⁹⁴

The other significant historical character Bi-Gram in our dataset is Margaret Thatcher. We can see in figure 85 that the Bi-Gram “Margaret Thatcher” has 4 major peaks: 2005, 2007, 2009 and 2013.

The first has already been explained above in connection with the mentions of Edward Heath; in 2007, it is hard to define a specific reason as to why Thatcher is mentioned, as the context for her appearances are too dispersed and relate to different topics. In 2009, however, some of the mentions appear to be related to the anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and subsequent German reunification, particularly Thatcher’s fears of a reunited Germany. In order to dispel accusations of “xenophobia”, Andrew Roberts made a point to argue, in the Telegraph, that Thatcher felt that Germany’s commitment to a deeper European Union was a sign that “Germany would not behave like the old Germany from Bismarck to Hitler”, as they were prepared to cede power and authority to extra-sovereign institutions.⁶⁹⁵ It is also noteworthy that during the period from 2004 to 2009, “Margaret Thatcher” collocates frequently with the word “rebate”.⁶⁹⁶ This refers to an agreement she established with the EU, which, according to the Telegraph, “ensured that Britain pays no more into the overall EU budget, even as its costs rise with the arrival of new,

⁶⁹³ Matt Dathan, ‘Winston Churchill’s Grandson Tells Tory MP to “F*** off You C***”’, *Daily Mail*, 22 May, 2016, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3603246/Winston-Churchill-s-grandson-MP-Nicholas-Soames-tells-fellow-Tory-MP-F-c-party-s-civil-war-deepens.html>.

⁶⁹⁴ Ben Riley-Smith, ‘EU Referendum: David Cameron Invokes Churchill’s Battle against Hitler in BBC Question Time Grilling’, *The Telegraph*, 19 June, 2016, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/19/eu-referendum-david-cameron-to-appear-on-bbc-question-time/>.

⁶⁹⁵ Andrew Roberts, ‘Was Margaret Thatcher Right to Fear a United Germany?’, *The Telegraph*, 13 November, 2009, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/margaret-thatcher/6179595/Was-Margaret-Thatcher-right-to-fear-a-united-Germany.html>.

⁶⁹⁶ AP Margaret Thatcher EN 2004-2009.

poorer countries” – an agreement which, according to the *Telegraph*, was now endangered by Prime Minister Blair.

2013 is the year of Thatcher’s death, an opportunity for newspapers to look back on her legacy, which naturally included her support for the Common Market, as well as her unsteady relationship with the EU. The *Telegraph* praised her for not being pushed around “by Argentine dictators or Brussels bureaucrats”, in spite of how often “other European governments...tried every trick and obstruction to block” Britain’s designs.⁶⁹⁷ The *Mail*, in remembering her, mentions her defence of the Common Market, but stresses that as Prime Minister, “she grew ever more opposed to greater European integration” and in a “famous speech in Bruges...made an eloquent defence of national sovereignty”.⁶⁹⁸ The *Mirror* appears to make no mention of her death in relation to the EU, whereas the *Guardian* argues that while the most important leader of post-war Britain, “she left Britain’s relations with the European Union in a mess from which they have never recovered”, precisely as a consequence of the stances she assumed in the Bruges speech.⁶⁹⁹

When it comes to some of the other Bi-Grams, such as “Ratko Mladic”, “Radovan Karadzic” and “Slobodan Milosevic”, they peak in specific years: 2006, 2008 and 2011. These occasions are explained by the circumstances surrounding their capture, arrest and conviction (and in the case of Milosevic, his death in a prison cell in the Hague). The EU is mentioned in these articles as an institution that had a vested interest in establishing peace in the Balkans. “Mikhail Gorbachev” achieves some prominence in 2005, due to a few articles in the *Guardian* where he is mentioned. The same happens with “Lech Walesa” in 2007, where he is mentioned a few times in the *Telegraph* and in the *Guardian*. They are connected to the EU in the context of the political configuration of Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union.

⁶⁹⁷ Charles Powell, ‘Margaret Thatcher Dies: PM Was No Diplomat in World Affairs’, *The Telegraph*, 12 April, 2013, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/margaret-thatcher/8523952/Margaret-Thatcher-dies-PM-was-no-diplomat-in-world-affairs.html>.

⁶⁹⁸ Leon Watson, ‘She Will Be Held in Honour for as Long as English Is Spoken: The Definitive Account of Margaret Thatcher’s Incredible Life’, *Daily Mail*, 8 April, 2013, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2305996/Margaret-Thatcher-The-outsider-core-steel-held-honour-long-English-spoken.html>.

⁶⁹⁹ Robert Skidelsky, ‘Margaret Thatcher – a Strong Leader, but a Resolute Failure by Any Other Measure’, *The Guardian*, 18 April, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/business/economics-blog/2013/apr/18/margaret-thatcher-leader-failure-strong>.

What is very noteworthy in our analysis, by using the collocations and by referring to the text of the articles themselves, is how historical events and characters are very concretely invoked in debates about the EU and surrounding affairs. The events and characters that do appear frequently have a very direct connection to the origins of the EU (such as World War II, as we examined in chapter 2) or to Britain's entrance and membership, such as Edward Heath and Thatcher. In this sense, there is a coherence in the way historical events are used. For different actors, whether political or part of the media (columnists, journalists), World War II is used both as a cautionary event, one that looms large behind major political events, such as Russia's invasion of Georgia and Ukraine (in 2014) as well as against the growing power of Germany and the EU itself, as can be seen from our analysis of the Winston Churchill Bi-Gram. The war also appears as something that is mentioned as the EU's *raison d'être*, as can be seen from the Daily Mirror's interview with the war veterans. At the same time, we can see the elasticity of historical interpretations: both Churchill and Thatcher were used by pro and anti-EU supporters in order to further their goals. The political context in which Churchill and Thatcher existed and the intricacies of their position are not as important as their present-day appropriations: the past can be simplified in order to transport these key characters into the present. This way of looking at historical characters supports the point we made previously: specific historical events are catalysts from which we can deepen the media's interpretation of European ideas, including European integration.

The Concept of History in the Portuguese Corpus

In the Portuguese corpus, from 2004 to 2009, a similar trend to the English is found, in the sense that "History" collocates most frequently with "Portugal", "europeia" ("european"), and "pais" ("country").⁷⁰⁰ When we look closely at the term "Portugal" using the Concordance Tool, we verify that it refers to the History of Portugal. In this context, there are two particularly noteworthy articles. The first from 2006 by historian Paulo Varela Gomes, traces the history of Portuguese pessimism, which he argues began in the late 19th century and became progressively stronger once Portugal lost its colonies in the course of the second half of the 20th century. The point the article

⁷⁰⁰ AP História PT 2004-2009.

also tries to make is that the “belief in Europe”, which was for a while seen as an alternative to the Empire, became blurred by the “economic failure represented by the last place that the country occupies in the European Union”.⁷⁰¹ A different tone is struck in *Expresso*, with an article in 2009 marking the anniversary of Portuguese membership of the EEC (11 June 1985). The article interviews a specialist in European affairs, Isabel Meirelles, who argues that “membership brought democratic stability to national institutions, modernised the State, created infra-structures that provided social and economic improvement”. The journalist writing the article concludes: “the balance is positive”. However, the article also points out that the European funds which were attributed to Portugal throughout the decades were often misused or badly applied. A good example is how investment in infrastructure took precedence over investment in education, which meant that Portugal still had in 2009 a population with lower qualifications when compared to its EU neighbours.⁷⁰² Interestingly enough, the Concordance Tool shows that “Europeia” during this period refers not only to European History, but to the history of European integration. A good example is an article in *Expresso* on the anniversary of the Treaty of Rome which quotes Durão Barroso, who said that the “balance is very positive” when it comes to the last half a century of European History, which ended up with “27 countries ‘freely associated’ in a project ‘notable for its freedom and solidarity’”. *Expresso* also quotes Barroso on the position of Portugal in the EU, a country whose membership meant leaving “near obscurantism” and “economic, social and cultural backwardness” for a position of “‘great dignity’ amongst the most advanced countries in the world”.⁷⁰³

From 2010 to 2014, the collocation list remains unchanged. “Historia” still collocates frequently with “Portugal” followed by “Europeia”. An important change here from the previous period, however, is the presence of the word “recent”, which in context refers to the expression “recent history”.⁷⁰⁴ Once more, when it comes to Portugal, analysis using the Concordance Tool in AntConc shows that it refers to the History of Portugal. In this context, the economic crisis still

⁷⁰¹ Paulo Varela Gomes, “18 de Dezembro de 1961: o princípio do ‘fim,’” *Público*, 23 December, 2006, <https://www.publico.pt/2006/12/23/jornal/18-de-dezembro-de-1961-o-principio-do-fim-113651>.

⁷⁰² Liliana Coelho, “Portugal: Duas décadas na UE,” *Jornal Expresso*, 6 November, 2009, <https://expresso.pt/economia/portugal-duas-decadas-na-ue=f520241>.

⁷⁰³ “Durão Barroso pede ‘orgulho’ pelo passado e ‘confiança’ no futuro,” *Jornal Expresso*, 21 March, 2007, https://expresso.pt/dossies/dossiest_economia/dos_tratado_roma/durao-barroso-pede-orgulho-pelo-passado-e-confianca-no-futuro=f95145.

⁷⁰⁴ AP História PT 2010-2014.

looms large. For example, a meeting between Hilary Clinton and the Portuguese Foreign Office Minister, has the latter guaranteeing that “Portugal has a different history than Greece” and fully intends to fulfil the agreements made with the IMF and the Troika. On the other hand, an article from *Correio da Manhã* quotes extensively from Mário Soares, former Portuguese Prime Minister and President, who criticised the Troika and the agreements Portugal made with the IMF and the EU in an attempt to recover from the financial and economic crisis. The article reads: “After pointing out that Portugal has a long history, Soares asked: “how is it possible that there are a few technocrats deciding our future and that people don’t feel vexed in their patriotism because we are essentially a protectorate of the Troika?” Soares, however, strong in his Pro-Europeanism, claims that one solution to the crisis and to “save the European Union” would be to allow the European Central Bank to issue money, rather than each national bank.⁷⁰⁵ Another interesting point, which shows a continuity with the previous period, is that when we look at “European” in context we see how often it refers to the History of “European Construction” or to the history of European integration. This is noteworthy in an article in *Jornal de Notícias*, where Durão Barroso is mentioned saying that the “history of European construction shows that Europe advanced precisely in times of crisis”.⁷⁰⁶ Another article from *Correio da Manhã* from 2012 on the possible exit of Greece from the EU, quotes a researcher in international relations who claims that “the history of the European integration is a positive one, [a history] of the intensification of the relations between member states”.⁷⁰⁷ Finally, *Público* has an article in 2012 that traces the History of European integration, highlighting the role of Robert Schumann and Paul Henri Spaak, “whose intuition determined the course of the last 50 years of European History”.⁷⁰⁸

Finally, in the period from 2015 to 2019, “Historia” continues to collocate more frequently with “Portugal”, “Europeia” and “Europa”.⁷⁰⁹ In line with the previous period, the Concordance tool

⁷⁰⁵ ““O que a troika faz é ganhar o seu dinheirinho,”” *Correio da Manhã*, June 20, 2012, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/economia/detalhe/o-que-a-troika-faz-e-ganhar-o-seu-dinheirinho>.

⁷⁰⁶ “Durão Barroso: Egoísmos nacionais e soluções unilaterais não resolvem problemas na UE,” *Jornal de Notícias*, 12 June, 2010, <https://www.jn.pt/nacional/durao-barroso-defende-que-egoismos-nacionais-e-solucoes-unilaterais-nao-resolvem-problemas-na-ue-1591699.html>.

⁷⁰⁷ “Saída Da Grécia Da Zona Euro Abre ‘Precedente Muito Grave’”, *Correio Da Manhã*, 2 June, 2012, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/economia/detalhe/saida-da-grecia-da-zona-euro-abre-precedente-muito-grave>.

⁷⁰⁸ Teresa de Sousa, “A história da reunião que acabaria por abrir as portas à fundação da CEE,” *Público*, 12 October, 2012, <https://www.publico.pt/2012/10/12/mundo/noticia/a-historia-da-reuniao-que-acabaria-por-abrir-as-portas-a-fundacao-da-cee-1567069>.

⁷⁰⁹ AP História PT 2015-2019.

shows that Portugal refers most of the times to “History of Portugal”. In this period, some of the articles refer to the death of Mário Soares, a figure we will approach in more detail in the following section. There are other occasions worth pointing out. In 2015, Cavaco Silva remembers Portuguese membership of the EEC, 30 years ago, underlining the importance Europe has in the political, economic and social life of the country, as well as how with its “ ‘History and universalist vocation’ Portugal added value to the European project”.⁷¹⁰ An interesting article in *Público* written in 2017 remembers that Portugal was the first country in Europe to abolish the death penalty (in 1867). The article quotes extensively from Victor Hugo, who hoped Europe would follow the example of Portugal, and finishes by saying that no EU member-state has the death penalty.⁷¹¹ When it comes to the term “europeia”, it often refers to “European History”, but also to “History of the European construction” and “History of the European Union”. Brexit is remembered in this period when *Jornal de Notícias* quotes Angela Merkel who said that “Brexit can be a rupture in the History of the European Union”.⁷¹² Another article in *Público* by several Portuguese public intellectuals calls for a European Federation as an answer to the several crises that the EU underwent in the past years, such as the economic crisis and Brexit. History is invoked because, according to the authors, “the topic of federalism is a constant in European History, nostalgic for the pax romana. Since the middle of the XX century, it returns again to guarantee the “perpetual peace”.⁷¹³

⁷¹⁰ “PR Recorda Adesão Às Comunidades Europeias - Política - Correio Da Manhã,” *Correio Da Manhã*, 28 December, 2015,

https://www.cmjornal.pt/politica/detalhe/pr_recorda_adesao_de_portugal_as_comunidades_europeias?v=cb.

⁷¹¹ Feliciano Barreiras Duarte, “A pena de morte como regresso ao estado selvagem,” *Público*, 11 November, 2017, <https://www.publico.pt/2017/11/11/sociedade/opiniao/a-pena-de-morte-como-regresso-ao-estado-selvagem-1790847>.

⁷¹² “Merkel avisa que Brexit pode ser ponto de ruptura para a União Europeia,” *Jornal de Notícias*, 26 August, 2016, <https://www.jn.pt/mundo/merkel-avisa-que-brexit-pode-ser-um-ponto-de-ruptura-para-a-ue-5357609.html>

⁷¹³ Adelino Maltez et al., “O estado atual da União Europeia,” *Público*, 30 October, 2017, <https://www.publico.pt/2017/10/30/mundo/opiniao/o-estado-actual-da-uniao-europeia-1790524>.

Historical Events and Actors in the Portuguese Corpus

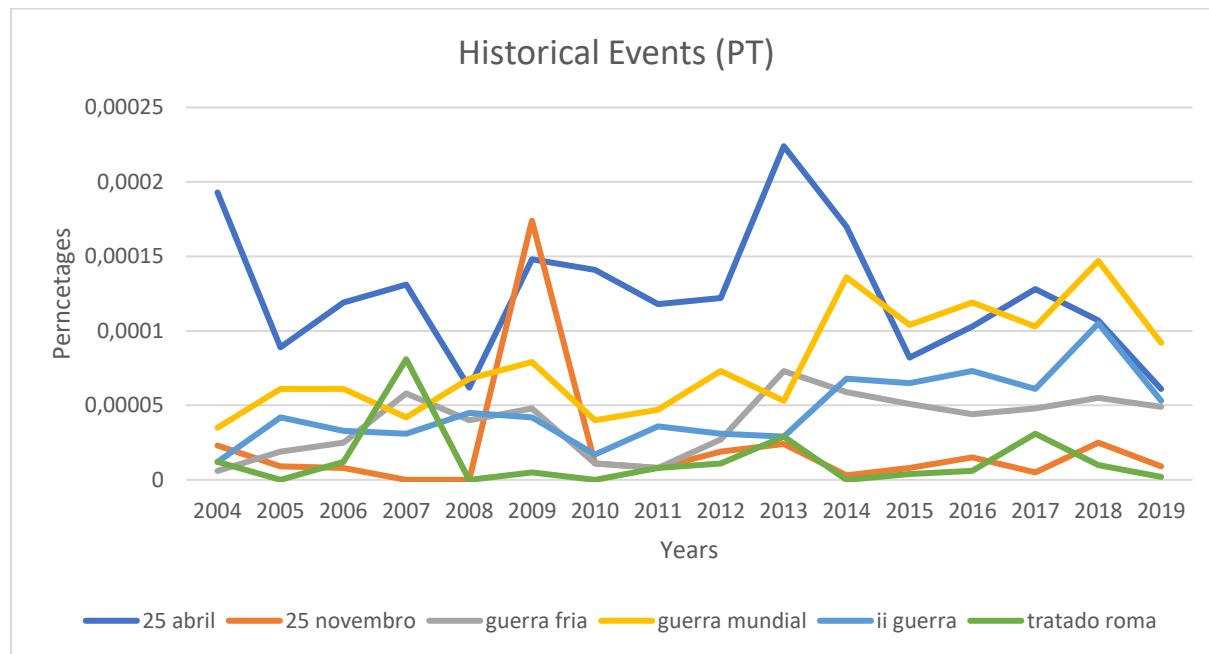


Figure 86. Historical events that appear in the Portuguese corpus

Looking at figure 86, we see that in terms of historical events there are several similarities between the Portuguese and the English corpora. “Guerra mundial” (“world war”), “ii Guerra” (“second war”), and “Guerra fria” (“cold war”) are shared between corpora. There are exceptions: “Tratado Roma” (Treaty of Rome), “25 abril” (25 April) and “25 Novembro” (“25 November)

In the Portuguese corpus, “25 abril” can refer to two distinct things: it is commonly used to refer to the Portuguese Revolution of 25 April 1974, which put an end to the right-wing dictatorship – which called itself Estado Novo – that had ruled Portugal since 1928. It can also refer to the 25 of April bridge in Lisbon, which connects Lisbon to the south of the country. Built in 1966, the bridge was original called “Salazar”, after the leader of Estado Novo, but was renamed after the Revolution.

If we look at collocations for the term “25 de abril” in the period between 2004 and 2009, we can see that one of its most frequent collocations is “ponte” (Bridge) and lower in the list “revolucao” (revolution). It is noteworthy that many of the words that appear collocated with “25 de Abril” relate to time: “depois” (“after”), “antes” (“before”) and “desde” (“since”) and “apos” (“after”).⁷¹⁴ It is likely that this indicates the revolution as a key point in Portuguese recent history, one which marked indelible changes in the political and social panorama.

“25 abril” peaks first in 2004, an important year as it marked the 30th anniversary of the Revolution. This was a period for reflection. In *Correio da Manhã*, an opinion article looks at the evolution of the Portuguese economy since the revolution, and argues that

(...) with EU membership, Portuguese companies lost the protection of national markets and the single currency put a stop to the “exchange umbrella” which always allowed them to be artificially competitive in the external markets, thanks to the systemic devaluing of the escudo. Now, to be competitive, they have to be productive.⁷¹⁵

The article further argues that although there was an evolution in terms of life conditions (higher salaries, social security, consumption levels) from 1974 to 2004, Portugal remains “the poorest [country] in Western Europe”.⁷¹⁶

Another article, this time in *Público* by Augusto Seabra, focuses on a book by Portuguese philosopher Eduardo Lourenço, who in 1978 published “*Labirinto da saudade*” (“labyrinth of longing”), a reflection about the crisis of Portuguese identity in the wake of the Revolution and the loss of the Portuguese colonies. Seabra argues that although Portugal has reclaimed a form of identity post-revolution, there is now a “symbolic deficit” in terms of politics and culture, as they are cheapened by constant associations with football and forms of populist politics. The example he gives is that the discourse around the European football championship, which took place in

⁷¹⁴ AP 25 de Abril PT 2004-2009.

⁷¹⁵ Escudo refers to the Portuguese currency which existed before the euro was introduced.

⁷¹⁶ ‘É PRECISO UM NOVO PREC’, *Correio da Manhã*, 25 April, 2004, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/opiniao/detalhe/e-preciso-um-novo-prec>.

Portugal, became mixed with the discourse of political parties on the European elections, which only further discredited the place of European politics in Portugal.⁷¹⁷

In 2009, another (smaller) rise in the mentions of the term, it is harder to find a defined theme relating to the mentions of 25 April. A few days after the annual anniversary of the Revolution, a small opinion article in *Correio da Manhã* argues:

the regime is obsolete...the best we have left of the 25 April are the fundamental rights and the European Union. And it is only the fact that we are in the European club that prevents our third republic from ending up like the first.⁷¹⁸

In *Expresso*, in the same year, the newspaper interviews the CEO of an important Portuguese company (CUF). To explain the historical context surrounding the growth of the company (mid-20th century), the newspaper points to the shift that occurred around the 60s and 70s, when investment made in the colonies began drying up in favour of investments made in Europe, which happened thanks to Portuguese membership of EFTA in 1959. Quoting historian Gervase Clarence-Smith, the author of the interview further argues that in the 1960s and 70s, “far from being a weak and stagnant country grasping to an obsolete empire, Portugal was an aggressive and recently-industrialised country, for whom the empire became a burden”.⁷¹⁹

From 2009 to 2014, “25 abril” collocates most frequently with “revolução” and “Portugal”, with “bridge” located much further down the list. The trend of having references to temporal terms is maintained.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁷ Augusto M. Seabra, ‘Nós e a Europa, outras razões’, *Público*, 27 June, 2004, <https://www.publico.pt/2004/06/27/jornal/nos-e-a-europa-outras-razoes-190185>.

⁷¹⁸ “Não houve festa, pá,” *Correio da Manhã*, April 28, 2009, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/opiniao/detalhe/nao-houve-festa-pa>. The Portuguese First Republic (1910-1928) was a period of great political instability. It was ousted by the military dictatorship which would result in the Estado Novo.

⁷¹⁹ ‘José Manuel de Mello, empresário sem medo,’ *Jornal Expresso*, 16 September, 2009, <https://expresso.pt/economia/jose-manuel-de-mello-empresario-sem-medo=f536119>.

⁷²⁰ AP 25 de Abril PT 2010-2014

In 2013, the year in the corpus with the most mentions of the 25 of April, we find that around the time marking the anniversary of the revolution there were often mentions of the EU. The traditional speech by the President of the Republic (Cavaco Silva), delivered in the Portuguese parliament, was the target of criticism from left-wing parties. The leader of the Communist party accused the President of failing to understand the main lesson of the revolution – “it is the people who are in charge” – by “placing European decisions, particularly the budget treaty, ahead of the Portuguese Constitution”.⁷²¹ MP João Galamba, from the Socialist party, refused to apologise after saying the Portuguese president had “gone insane”, as Cavaco Silva had argued in his speech that it was vital to fulfil the EU budget, but it was also important to fight austerity, a position Galamba considers highly contradictory.⁷²² As shown in chapter 4, the Portuguese financial and economic crisis required the intervention of the IMF and of the European Central Bank, which evidently created animosity between left-wing parties and the government (which was centre-right between 2011 and 2015).

At the end of the year, *Público* published an opinion article by Portuguese political scientist, João Carlos Espada, who reflected on the fact that 2014 would be the 40th anniversary of the Revolution. He places Portuguese democracy in the beginning of the “third wave of democratization”, which would have been followed by the end of the Soviet bloc. He also cites Mário Soares, former Portuguese President and Prime Minister, “one of the founding fathers of our democracy” who used to say that “democracy is the regime of the rules”, and unlike communism and fascism, “democracy is not defined by a final model of society to attain. It is defined by rules that guarantee the competition between rival political proposals”. Espada uses this argument to say that European elections also take place in 2014, and already some “self-nominated guardians of Europeanism” are saying that the Union is at risk if “Eurosceptic parties have the expressive number of votes polls have given them”. However, democracy demands that contrary voices should be heard, even “voices which are favorable to the devolution of powers to national parliaments”.⁷²³

⁷²¹ ‘Esquerda Contra Discurso “Partidário” de Cavaco’, *Correio Da Manhã*, 25 April, 2013,

<https://www.emjornal.pt/politica/detalhe/esquerda-contra-discurso-partidario-de-cavaco>.

⁷²² ‘João Galamba diz que é Cavaco Silva quem deve um pedido de desculpas’, *Jornal de Notícias*, 26 April, 2013,

<https://www.jn.pt/politica/joao-galamba-diz-que-e-cavaco-silva-quem-deve-um-pedido-de-desculpas-3187991.html>.

⁷²³ João Carlos Espada, “Bom Ano,” *Público*, 30 December, 2013,

<https://www.publico.pt/2013/12/30/mundo/opiniao/bom-ano-1617866>.

When it comes to the 25 April Revolution, 2014 is an important year because it marks its 40th anniversary. *Público* asks several Portuguese intellectuals to reflect on the state and identity of the country 40 years after the Revolution. Paulo Borges, philosopher and activist, describes Portugal as a culturally Southern European country. “They [southern Europeans] are a people averse to the ideology of work. They are closer to non-European cultures which privilege leisure rather than work, who see life as a game, a pleasure, [who privilege] the search for time, to be with our friends, to do what we want. These are civilizational values we must rediscover”.⁷²⁴ This claim dovetails with what we said in the previous section about Southern European identity. Clearly it is an argument born not simply out of the reaction to the statements by hostile Northern European politicians, but something that was thought of as part of Portuguese identity. However, what is fascinating in Borges’s argument is that it does fundamentally agree that the Southern Europeans are “averse to work”, which is what Disselbloem hinted at in his declaration about Southern Europeans, only Borges sees it as a positive trait.

Another article in *Público* in 2014 by Portuguese historian José Pacheco Pereira, traces the history of the Revolution to the present day, including the entry into the European Union as an essential step in the consolidation of Portuguese democracy, together with other important events such as free elections, the return of the Portuguese population from the former African colonies, constitutional revisions, and the constitution of autonomous regions (Madeira and Acores).⁷²⁵

It is noteworthy that 2014 was also a year of European Elections. Albert Joao Jardim, President of the autonomous region of Madeira, gave an interview urging people from Madeira to vote in the elections as “the future of Europe is more important to Madeira than the future of the Portuguese Republic.” Despite this, he also claims that the financial crisis showcased the failures of “European solidarity”, as the solutions found to address the crisis, namely the austerity measures, were “inhumane”.⁷²⁶

⁷²⁴ Paulo Moura, “Podemos agora ser um país normal?,” *Público*, 18 May, 2014,

<https://www.publico.pt/2014/05/18/portugal/noticia/podemos-agora-ser-um-pais-normal-1636200>.

⁷²⁵ José Pacheco Pereira, “Portugal 1974-1976: o nascimento de uma democracia,” *Público*, 16 April, 2014,

<https://www.publico.pt/2014/04/16/politica/noticia/portugal-19741976-o-nascimento-de-uma-democracia-1632346>.

⁷²⁶ “Jardim Apela Ao Voto Porque Europa Tem ‘Mais Importância’ Para a Madeira Do Que Portugal,” *Correio Da Manhã*, May 19, 2014, https://www.cmjornal.pt/cm-ao-minuto/detalhe/jardim-apela-ao-voto-porque-europa-tem-mais-importancia-para-a-madeira-do-que-portugal?ref=Mais%20Sobre_BlocoMaisSobre.

From 2015 to 2019, the term collocates with “Portugal”, “Revolucao” and “democracia”. As in the previous periods, “depois”, “antes” and “pos” are part of the most frequent collocations.⁷²⁷ The term undergoes a small rise from 2016 to 2017. In 2017 an article in *Público* about the death of Mário Soares – a personality we will look into further in the next section – credits the former Portuguese President with having “imposed” the integration of Portugal in the EEC in order to break “with the Africanist myths of Portuguese nationalism”. Soares did this by “restoring the centrality of European and Western ties in the definition of Portugal’s international positionings”.⁷²⁸ The 25 of April is clearly, then, in the Portuguese corpus a watershed moment in recent Portuguese History, the moment in which there is a total re-definition of political, social and economic priorities. From an imperialistic logic based in African colonialism, Portugal begins to re-imagine itself as a European country.

This re-imagining was not always consensual. Indeed, another event that reaches a peak in 2009 is “25 de Novembro”. This date refers to a military intervention in November 1975 supported by a coalition of joint forces (from the right to the centre left) directed against an alleged revolutionary power takeover by the radical left, which had achieved prominence since the 25 of April 1974. In 2009, there is a long interview in *Correio da Manhã* with former April Captain (one of the people who planned and executed the 25 of April Revolution) Rodrigo Sousa e Castro, who had just published a book about the subject. Sousa e Castro is using the interview to defend the importance of 25 of November in Portuguese History as well as to point out that in 1975 several political parties in Europe were very concerned about the possibility of an armed conflict in Portugal, potentially instigated by the Communist party. He also points out that the current President of the European Commission, Durão Barroso, began his political career in the revolutionary left, but he became, in Castro’s words, “bourgeois” as part of the “democratic normalisation” that followed the 25 of November, in which Portugal entered the path of a “parliamentary, liberal democracy” rather than following more radical, revolutionary solutions.⁷²⁹ In this sense, the presidency of the European Commission is a symbol both of this normalisation and of the necessary abandonment of the ideals Barroso had held when he was young. However, the 25 of November is also, according

⁷²⁷ AP 25 de Abril PT 2015-2019.

⁷²⁸ Carlos Gaspar, “Mário Soares e a história do século XX,” *Público*, 7 January, 2017, <https://www.publico.pt/2017/01/07/politica/analise/mario-soares-e-a-historia-do-seculo-xx-1756042>.

⁷²⁹ Carlos Gaspar, “Mário Soares e a história do século XX,” *Público*, 7 January, 2017, <https://www.publico.pt/2017/01/07/politica/analise/mario-soares-e-a-historia-do-seculo-xx-1756042>.

to Sousa e Castro, the date that cemented Portuguese democracy, by decidedly pushing away from power parties that would align Portugal with pro-communist forces in the international scene.⁷³⁰ This, we can easily conclude, was a necessary condition for Portugal's "democratic normalisation" that would lead, eventually, to EEC membership.

When it comes to the other events mentioned, we can see how "guerra mundial" reaches some relevance in several years of the corpus. By doing collocation analysis on the entirety of the Portuguese corpus, we see how "Guerra mundial" collocates with "II", "segunda" ("second"), and "I".⁷³¹ As such, we can see how the second world war is mentioned more often than the first, although the first remains important.

In 2009, when there was a slight rise in the number of mentions, (as seen in figure 86) close reading analysis shows that these mentions are quite different and there does not seem to be a common theme. The exception is the 20th anniversary of the Fall of the Berlin Wall, mentioned in two articles (in *Expresso*⁷³² and *Correio da Manhã*⁷³³), where World War II appears as part of the historical explanation for the division of Germany. *Correio da Manhã* interviews two Portuguese people born on the day the Wall fell who were invited by the European Parliament to take part in the celebrations, which is how the EU is mentioned in the text.

When we examine the coverage in 2014 using the Concordance tool in Antconc, we see that "Guerra mundial" is often used in the context of the commemorations of the centenary of the First World War, with president of the European Commission, Durão Barroso, arguing that European integration was "humanity's most revolutionary advance" when it came to relations between countries, "but warned against reappearing nationalisms". Additionally, he uses the centenary of World War I to say that "a hundred years after, the European Union assumed and proved its role in the promotion of a more decent world...which protects and defends the universal human rights".⁷³⁴

⁷³⁰ "25 de Novembro é a Data Fundadora Da Democracia Portuguesa," *Correio Da Manhã*, 29 November, 2009, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/domingo/detalhe/25-de-novembro-e-a-data-fundadora-da-democracia-portuguesa>.

⁷³¹ AP Guerra Mundial PT 2004-2019.

⁷³² "Muro de Berlim caiu há 20 anos," *Jornal Expresso*, 9 November, 2009, <https://expresso.pt/actualidade/muro-de-berlim-caiu-ha-20-anos=f546360>.

⁷³³ "Berlim em festa celebra a liberdade," *Correio da Manhã*, 9 November, 2009, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/mundo/detalhe/berlim-em-festa-celebra-a-liberdade-com-video>.

⁷³⁴ "Barroso adverte contra nacionalismos", *Correio da Manhã*, 16 April, 2014, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/cm-ao-minuto/detalhe/barroso-averte-contr-nacionalismos>.

This harkens back to what we said about the idea of Europe in chapter 2 and how for Barroso there is practically no difference between ideas of Europe and the political incarnation of European integration - the EU. There are other noteworthy mentions. An opinion article in *Público* traces the History of nationalisms in Europe, in the wake of its most recent crisis, and argues that the EU was born from World War II, into the cold war, and “cooperation was an imperative”. In spite of this, the project failed in creating a “nationalism of Europe itself, a pan nationalism”, which according to the author, could have been done based “on the principles of freedom and democracy”. The author underlines that “we must not forget that Democracy was invented in Europe, just like the modern sense of science and even the Social state, which took millions of Europeans out of poverty”. The article concludes that this legacy incurs the risk of being lost to nationalism precisely because the Union failed to create a feeling of belonging to this civic identity.⁷³⁵ Continuing the trend of analysing current events through the lenses of history, *Correio da Manhã* published an article by historian Manuel Amaral, who argued that Germany’s policy towards Ukraine – in the wake of the invasion of Ukraine by Russia – resembles Germany’s policies towards East Europe during the 19th century. These policies included the colonisation and Germanisation of Eastern European territories. Amaral argues that Germany did something similar in the 21st century by “supporting the policy of attracting Ukraine to the European Union field of influence without previously discussing it with Russia”. The article then advances the idea (remembering the centenary of World War I) that Germany was responsible for starting the war, as in 1914 it forsook all attempts to arrive at a diplomatic solution with Austria, Serbia and Russia. Amaral argues that other European states – especially “the southern states” – are unable to “fight against Germany, again the dominant continental power”, and so it should fall to the United States to “control German policies”.⁷³⁶ This article is particularly interesting for how it uses history to support the notion that the European Union is under the control of Germany. Europe’s historical past is used to portray Germany as a threat in European politics, one that has to be kept under control. It is perhaps not an accident that the article also mentions that Southern European states are the ones

⁷³⁵ Micael Sousa, ‘Um nacionalismo para a União Europeia (sobreviver)’, *Público*, 8 May, 2014,

<https://www.publico.pt/2014/05/08/p3/cronica/um-nacionalismo-para-a-uniao-europeia-sobreviver-1819988>.

⁷³⁶ “Os interesses nacionais da Alemanha, no mundo atual, e os europeus,” *Correio da Manhã*, 16 April, 2014,

<https://www.cmjornal.pt/opinioao/detalhe/os-interesses-nacionais-da-alemanha-no-mundo-atual-e-os-europeus>.

most interested in keeping Germany under control. This is clearly an echo of the prominence that Germany attained during the financial crisis that affected Southern European countries.

In the year of Brexit, 2016, “Guerra mundial” collocates with “segunda” and “refugees”.⁷³⁷ This once again underlines how the 2015 refugee crisis was the worst crisis of its type in Europe since World War II. However, there is space for reflection. An opinion article in *Público*, entitled “2017 and the end of the XX century” argues that the result of World War II, with its Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the foundation of the European Community, “is the greatest institutional legacy that the modern generations of Europeans inherited”. This was consolidated by the fall of the Berlin Wall. However, 2016, the year that saw the election of Donald Trump and the Brexit referendum, indicated a shift: history did not end. “Together with the fall of the Berlin Wall and September 11, the 2008 financial crisis was another event that tore down the order inherited from the XX century – what we saw in 2016 was the end of this process.” The financial crisis, according to the article, became a crisis of political legitimacy and “of the institutions of liberal democracy rooted in the post-World War II period – the European Union is one of the greatest victims”. Accordingly, the crisis is indeed so acute it reminds one of the 1920s and 1930s. There is, however, one fundamental difference: “a century ago, it was Europeans who wouldn’t leave the world in peace. Now, it is the world that won’t leave Europe in peace”.⁷³⁸ This article is noteworthy not only for the analysis it makes of Europe’s role in the world, but because it is an attempt to historicize the financial crisis of 2008. For our thesis, it is particularly important that the author of the article compares it to the fall of the Berlin Wall and September 11, because as we saw in chapter 4 – and in several articles in the present chapter – it was an event that changed the discourse on Europe in the Portuguese corpus. It does make sense, therefore, that it is the Portuguese corpus that identifies the crisis as a catalyst for subsequent radical changes.

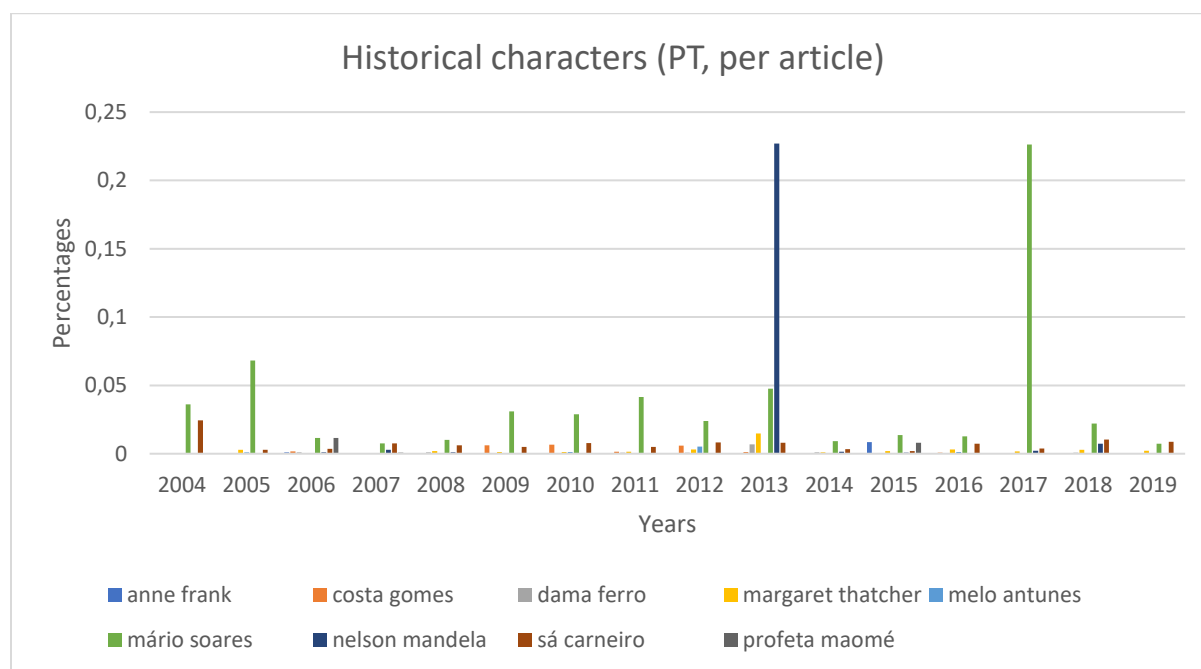
In 2018, the Concordance Tool in AntConc shows that there is a combination of mentions of the First and the Second World War, with more mentions of the second. The subjects vary. An article by Carlos Moedas (elected in 2019 as mayor of Lisbon) in *Correio da Manhã*, for example, praises the internment of Simone Veil in the French pantheon, stressing her commitment to European

⁷³⁷ AP Guerra Mundial PT 2016

⁷³⁸ José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes, “2017 e o fim do século XX político,” *Público*, December 27, 2016, <https://www.publico.pt/2016/12/27/mundo/opiniao/2017-e-o-fim-do-seculo-xx-politico-1756212>.

Unity as well as the fact that she was in Auschwitz.⁷³⁹ Moedas stresses that Veil was the incarnation of a “right wing humanism and progressivism” which no longer exists in France. The implication here is that the right in France has been absorbed into Marine Le Pen’s far right and that figures like Simone Veil are a rarity.

An article in Público with the title “the return of the 1920s and 1930s: radicalism in Italy and in the European Union”, traces the growth of Matteo Salvini’s career in Italy, comparing him to Mussolini, and establishing a parallel between Europe in the 1920s and 1930s and contemporary Europe. The author wonders whether present Europe is also ripe for nationalistic movements. The EU, built originally to “construct a ‘perpetual peace’ between European peoples – precisely due to the tragedies brought about by nationalisms (...)”, made several mistakes, among which the author counts its monetary policy and the failure to build a genuine feeling of solidarity between states. The solution does not lie with “Europeanist utopias”, but with showing European citizens that Europe is a synonym for well-being and growth.⁷⁴⁰



⁷³⁹ Carlos Moedas, “Na casa dos grandes homens,” *Correio da Manhã*, 7 July, 2018,

<https://www.cmjornal.pt/opiniao/colunistas/carlos-moedas/detalhe/na-casa-dos-grandes-homens>

⁷⁴⁰ José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes, “O regresso dos anos 1920 e 1930? O radicalismo em Itália e na União Europeia,” *Público*, 6 July, 2018, <https://www.publico.pt/2018/07/06/mundo/opiniao/o-regresso-dos-anos-1920-e-1930-o-radicalismo-em-italia-e-na-uniao-europeia-1837147>.

Figure 87. Historical figures who appear in the Portuguese corpus, quantified by article

When it comes to historical figures, Figure 87 shows us those that appear in the top 50 Bi-Grams of the Portuguese dataset. Interestingly, “Anne Frank”, “Margaret Thatcher” and “dama ferro” (iron lady) are a reference to non-Portuguese people. The reference to Mário Soares is the one that stands out in most years.

Mentions of Anne Frank and “Profeta Maomé” can be said to happen within the context of very specific events. The mention of the Prophet Mohammed occurs in 2006 due to the scandal of the Danish cartoons and again in 2015, due to the Charlie Hebdo massacre. On both these occasions, EU leaders were heard on the subject of tolerance and freedom of speech. The mention of “Anne Frank” happens in 2015 in the newspaper Público on account of the copyright of Anne Frank’s diaries, which according to EU copyright law should enter public domain in 2016.

In a similar manner, 2013 is also the year of the death of Nelson Mandela. It is interesting that Mandela has more mentions than Thatcher in that year. This is largely thanks to a number of articles published in *Correio da Manhã* highlighting the reaction of European and world leaders to Mandela’s death. For example, the newspaper reports on how Durão Barroso, then President of the European Commission was sent to South Africa to represent the Commission at the funeral. For Barroso, Mandela was a “global symbol of hope and reconciliation”.⁷⁴¹

The references to Margaret Thatcher and the epithet “iron lady” occur in the year of her death, 2013. An article in *Expresso* compiles some of the reactions to her death, including that of the Portuguese president who praised her for her convictions and principles, and stressed her role during a “decade of profound changes in Europe and the world, having participated in several decisions by the European Council in favour of Portugal’s development”. Durão Barroso said Thatcher was a “circumspect but keen” participant in European politics, as she contributed a great deal to “the United Kingdom as we know it today, including its particular role in the EU.”⁷⁴² Earlier in the year, *Jornal de Notícias* published an article on the reaction to the news that David Cameron

⁷⁴¹ “Cerimónias Fúnebres de Mandela,” *Correio Da Manhã*, October 12, 2013, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/mundo/detalhe/cerimonias-funebres-de-mandela>.

⁷⁴² ‘Reações à morte de Margaret Thatcher’, *Jornal Expresso*, 8 April, 2013, <https://expresso.pt/internacional/reacoes-a-morte-de-margaret-thatcher=f798607>.

promised a referendum on UK membership of the EU. One of the remarks comes from Joseph Daul, who expressed surprise that this promise came from a Conservative Prime Minister “who is trying to erase the contributions of his predecessors: ...like Winston Churchill, Harold Macmillian, Edward Heath, Margaret Thatcher (...) who helped building the European Union”.⁷⁴³

Some of the references to “General Eanes”, “Melo Antunes”, “Sá Carneiro” and “Costa Gomes”, all important personalities from the period immediately after the 25 of April Revolution, come from a moment in 2012, in a long interview with Medeiros Ferreira, who was Foreign Office Minister in the First Constitutional Government (1976-78) and a proponent of Portuguese membership of the EEC in the 1970s and 80s. In the interview, those Bi-Grams are often mentioned in the context of Portuguese relations with the former African colonies after the 25 of April. Interestingly enough, some of these personalities are mentioned after a slew of questions about who were the biggest supporters of European integration in Portugal at the time.⁷⁴⁴ Eanes, for example, President of Portugal from 1976 to 1986, was one of the people who, unlike Mário Soares about whom we will talk shortly, thought Portugal should deepen its connection with the former colonies.

Mário Soares was Prime Minister from 1983 to 1985 and President from 1986 to 1996. He was an important figure in the opposition to the dictatorship, and afterwards in consolidating Portuguese democracy after the Revolution (25 of April). He was also a great proponent of European integration. We saw this previously, with Soares himself commenting on the situation in Europe during the years of the crisis.

His Bi-Gram comes into prominence in 2005, a year where Soares was campaigning for the Presidency of the Republic, an election he would lose to Cavaco Silva. We can see too that the Bi-Gram gains some importance in the years of the crisis, especially 2010 and 2011. In 2010, Soares appears in the news defending “European federalism”. According to him, Portugal should align itself with Spain so they can “face up to the European leaders who are still sponsoring an obsolete and orthodox financial policy, which is jeopardising the European Union”. The solution for Soares

⁷⁴³ ‘Cameron entrou num “jogo perigoso”, diz presidente do Parlamento Europeu’, *Jornal de Noticias*, 23 January, 2013, <https://www.jn.pt/mundo/cameron-entrou-num-jogo-perigoso-diz-presidente-do-parlamento-europeu-3010682.html>.

⁷⁴⁴ ‘Sentia-me capaz de exercer qualquer cargo’, *Jornal Expresso*, 28 June, 2012, <https://expresso.pt/actualidade/sentia-me-capaz-de-exercer-qualquer-cargo=f742244>.

is not less Europe, but rather more Europe. As a project of “peace and development”, Europe must walk towards a federal solution, “the United States of Europe”.⁷⁴⁵ Soares admits, however, the difficulties in doing so, given how weakened some European leaders were at the time, primarily Sarkozy in France and Berlusconi in Italy. It is noteworthy that Soares’s references to countries that should take up leadership in Europe were to Southern European countries and that in this sense, Portugal should align itself with Spain.

Another noteworthy instance of the Bi-Gram Mário Soares perfectly illustrates the importance of European membership in Portuguese life. In a 2010 interview made by *Correio da Manhã* to Jorge Coelho, a former Socialist Party minister, he tells a story of how when Soares was Prime Minister, the President of the Portuguese Central Bank called him during the night to tell him that there was a serious danger of the bank being unable to issue currency for the next days. Coelho uses this story to illustrate how desperate the situation was in the years following the Revolution (when Soares was Prime Minister) but also how different it is in the present due to the fact that Portugal “is in the single currency, because we got into the European Union”.⁷⁴⁶

In another instance where Soares is asked about the current state of the EU – this time in 2011 – he argues that European leaders refuse to see that neo-liberalism failed: “many Europeans have started to understand that either the Union changes its social-economic model or it will enter in irreversible decadence”. He also laments the transformation of the old “Christian democracy” parties into “popular parties”, committed to neo-liberalism, especially in Angela Merkel’s Germany.⁷⁴⁷

Soares died in 2017, a year in which the Portuguese newspapers wrote several articles about his life. According to *Expresso*’s deputy director, Soares wrote in the early 1970s that Portugal’s isolation in Europe worsened after Franco’s victory in Spain, a situation which was aggravated by World War II and by the personality of the Portuguese dictator, Salazar. The article also stresses Soares’ criticism of the last leader of *Estado Novo*, Marcello Caetano, who thought he could enter

⁷⁴⁵ “Mário Soares defende federalismo europeu,” *Correio da Manhã*, 5 July, 2010,

<https://www.cmjornal.pt/politica/detalhe/mario-soares-defende-federalismo-europeu>.

⁷⁴⁶ “Ninguém tem peso para pôr ordem nas coisas,” *Correio da Manhã*, 30 January, 2010,

<https://www.cmjornal.pt/politica/detalhe/ninguem-tem-peso-para-por-ordem-nas-coisas-c-video>.

⁷⁴⁷ “Soares: ‘Cavaco podia ter evitado a crise,’” *Correio da Manhã*, 2 July, 2010,

<https://www.cmjornal.pt/politica/detalhe/soares-cavaco-podia-ter-evitado-a-crise>.

the Common Market as well as maintaining a war with the colonies. Soares's positions would be vindicated after the Revolution, as he was the one who negotiated Portuguese membership in 1986.⁷⁴⁸

An article in *Público* by Socialist MP Francisco Assis argues that without the Socialist Party and Soares, Portugal's contemporary history would have been radically different. He ends the article by arguing that Portugal needs the Europeanist socialist party that defended social justice, particularly to "combat the projects and political forces which remain committed to denigrate the European project in its different historical materializations," just as had happened 30 and 40 years ago in Portugal. Assis is here referring to the far-left opposition to the EEC membership, particularly from the Communist Party.⁷⁴⁹ We see here Soares, like Thatcher and Churchill in the English corpus, can also be used by present-day politicians in their arguments against political opponents, in this case the Communist Party.

Mário Soares is therefore the most important historical character in the Portuguese corpus. His legacy is connected to the 25 of April Revolution because it was the Revolution that made his action possible – indeed, before the Revolution Soares was a political exile in France and he returns to Portugal immediately afterwards. In the corpus, he occupies a dual function: he is one of the founding fathers of Portuguese democracy, but when it comes to the EU, he is the politician who made Portuguese membership possible. Because of this, he is a voice heard by the media on EU affairs. Although critical of the direction of European affairs, Soares remains unwavering in his belief in the European project, even defending that the path forward should be further integration. As we mentioned in chapter 2, Soares's action towards Europe meant a firm turning away from the connection with Africa, whether from an imperialistic perspective or from a third worldism perspective. This "European option" was also an "important factor" in the assumption of "an anti-Communist and anti-revolutionary dimension".⁷⁵⁰ This is why in his article, Francisco de Assis, another member of the socialist party, highlights the Communist Party's opposition to Europe.

⁷⁴⁸ Martim Silva, 'Portugal amordaçado: quando Soares viu o futuro', *Jornal Expresso*, 7 January, 2017, <https://expresso.pt/politica/2017-01-07-Portugal-amordacado-quando-Soares-viu-o-futuro>.

⁷⁴⁹ Francisco Assis, 'O Partido Socialista, um legado de Mário Soares', *Público*, 12 January, 2017, <https://www.publico.pt/2017/01/12/politica/opiniao/o-partido-socialista-um-legado-de-mario-soares-1757975>.

⁷⁵⁰ António Costa Pinto and Nuno Severiano Teixeira, "From Africa to Europe: Portugal and European Integration," in *Southern Europe and the Making of the European Union*, eds. António Costa Pinto and Nuno Severiano Teixeira (New York: Social Science Monographs, 2002), 32

Europe was an indelible part of what Captain of April, Rodrigo Sousa e Castro, quoted in an interview above, called “the democratic normalisation”, pulling Portugal away from radical left-wing solutions.

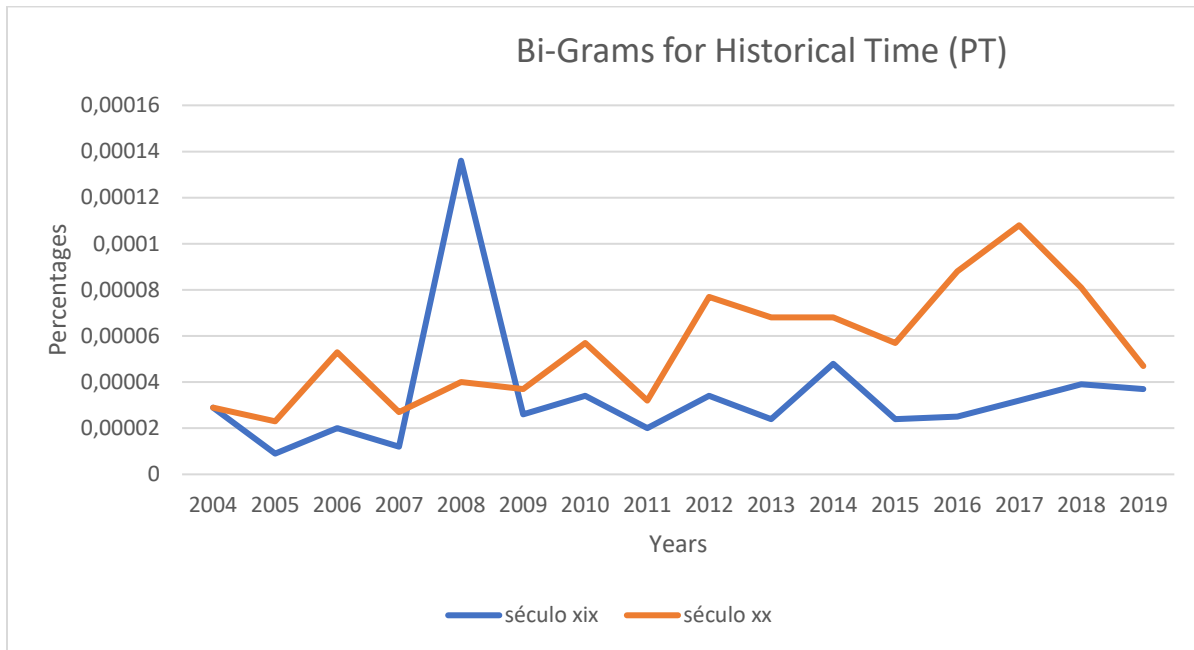


Figure 88. Bi-Grams referring to historical periods in the Portuguese corpus.

Another interesting aspect of the Portuguese corpus is the mentions of “século XX” (“XX century”) and “século XIX”, (“XIX century”). According to figure 88, Bi-Gram “século XIX” peaks in 2008, and Antconc analysis shows that many of the references comes from a Público interview with historian Patrick Geary, author of “the myth of nations”, in which the author explains the origins of nationalism in Europe. When asked specifically about the European Union, Geary espouses the interesting argument that the EU offers a degree of stability that was not there before. Taking Belgium as an example, he argues that before the Euro, Belgium could not have spent 6 months without a government: “without government, there’d be no Belgian franc, the financial system would break...Europeans can give themselves this luxury of revivalism, of micro-nationalism”. He also warns that nationalism in Europe forces Christian identity as something

indelibly European, as a “cultural identity”, which necessarily provokes the exclusion of the non-Christian.⁷⁵¹

When it comes to “seculo XX”, the figure points to several peaks, but here we are looking at the 2017 one. Many of the mentions appear in relation to Soares’s death, who was remembered as one of the most important politicians in 20th century Portugal. However, similarly to the 2008 article about nationalism which we just mentioned, there is a 2017 article (this time in *Expresso*) on nationalisms in Europe, this time taking Catalanian separatism as an example. Asked for a view, Portuguese historian Pedro Aires de Oliveira argues that “it is not nations that define nationalisms, but nationalisms that engender nations.” In Europe, it is particularly difficult to “realise a model of homogenous national state” as this is a continent built over “layers of cultural and ethnic history”, a “patchwork”. In this sense, the EU would emerge as “channel to calm these aspirations”.⁷⁵²

Analysis

In the Portuguese corpus we see the emergence of several narratives appearing in connection with the History of Portugal and the History of Europe. Several of the articles we examined insert Portugal within the context of relations with other European countries, from Victor Hugo’s hope that Portugal would influence Europe in abolishing the death penalty to Cavaco Silva’s statement that Portugal’s “universalist vocation” could enrich European Construction. In this sense, the Portuguese corpus fits Portuguese history in a much more seamless way within European history than the English corpus. As in the English corpus, there is some tension between Portuguese History and European History (in the Portuguese case, there are some hints of this during the years of the crisis), but this tension does not seem to be understood in antagonistic terms. It is also noteworthy how the Portuguese corpus remembers Portuguese History within the EU and EEC as an eminently positive thing, even though there were problems, throughout the decades, with how

⁷⁵¹ Teresa de Sousa, ‘E assim nasceu o nacionalismo étnico’, *Público*, 5 December, 2008, <https://www.publico.pt/2008/12/05/culturaipsilon/noticia/e-assim-nasceu-o-nacionalismo-etnico-217960>.

⁷⁵² Luciana Leiderfarb and Carlos Esteves, ‘Este não é o meu país’, *Jornal Expresso*, 29 October, 2017, <https://expresso.pt/internacional/2017-10-29-Este-nao-e-o-meu-pais>.

Portugal performed economically and socially within the EU and in comparison with other countries. It is particularly striking how the idea that the EU is a guarantee of peace and prosperity in the Continent is present in the Portuguese corpus.

This is much more contentious in the English corpus, which in historical terms is dominated by World War II and its legacy. The war and its main figure, Churchill, are marshalled either to attack or defend the EU. They also exist in the corpus as a background to clarify what the UK's role in Europe should be, which is far more contentious than in the case of Portugal. The differences in opinion regarding the UK's historical development in the 20th century culminate in the debate about whether Britain should stay or leave the EU. The figure of Margaret Thatcher becomes so prominent in the corpus because she herself seemed to have been both pro and against European integration, depending on the circumstance, and so liable to be used by both remainers and brexiteers.

This aspect is interesting because it reveals that the employment of historical figures and events serves as a background for wider anxieties regarding the two countries' roles in world and European politics. Portugal and the UK begin the 20th century from similar historical positions as colonial powers. Both had been colonial powers since the Early Modern period and both lost their colonies in the 20th century. Indeed, Portugal was the last country in Europe to grant independence to its colonies. However, there is no point in the Portuguese corpus at which European integration is seen as a hindrance to Portugal's history, or as a "demotion". Integration is generally seen as a positive development and the role Portugal occupied as a colonial power is even liable to be harnessed in favour of the EU – Portugal can see itself as a privileged link between Africa and Europe. This does not occur in the English corpus, where the EU is sometimes interpreted as hindering Britain's global power. These differences can be explained by the configuration of both Portuguese and British colonialism: Portugal went through 13 years of colonial war (1961-1974), which debilitated and ultimately ushered the end of the Portuguese dictatorship (Estado Novo). The 25 of April revolution was in fact planned by army officers who were vehemently opposed to the war. Colonialism was therefore directly associated with the dictatorship, a page that Portugal had to overcome in order to become democratic and recover credibility, which it did by joining

European institutions.⁷⁵³ The British went through no such traumatic process of decolonising, even though the legacies of colonialism still linger. In the British case, World War II looms much larger in the imagination. The British opposition to liberation struggles in India and East Africa is forgotten in favour of World War II and because of this, imperialism can be seen as something more benign.⁷⁵⁴ Britain can become a global power independent from the EU because it was one before, whereas Portugal could not because of the inevitable association with the dictatorship. This might also be why the Portuguese corpus seems more concerned with the growth of nationalism, which was a staple of the *Estado Novo*.

As will be discussed in more depth in the conclusion to the thesis, there are key similarities but also differences in the way historical events and characters are discussed in the two corpus. Some of the events and people mentioned are similar, but the way they are used to support an argument is different. In the English case, generally, historical events and characters are integrated in a narrative that seeks to explain why Britain should be pro or against the EU, and tries to define what should be the place of Britain inside this organisation. In the Portuguese case this is not a debate that exists. In the Portuguese media, there exists a concern with trying to validate the idea of Europe through the examples of history, both national and international, as well as a concern with the dangers that the abandonment of this idea would bring, such as nationalism.

The final question is to see whether there is a correlation between the uses of History and the notions of vertical and horizontal Europeanization, that is, the coverage of European institutions, events and actors. We argue that this correlation exists in the sense that a more positive interpretation of the role of the EU in European and Portuguese History matches a higher level of vertical Europeanization, which in the Portuguese corpus translates to more mentions of European

⁷⁵³ For more on this see Nuno Severiano Teixeira, "Portugal and European Integration (1974–2010)," in *Portugal in the European Union*, ed. Laura Ferreira Pereira (London: Routledge, 2014), chapter 2, kindle. and Teresa De Sousa and Carlos Gaspar, "Portugal, the European Union and the crisis," *Relações Internacionais*, no. 48 (2015), 99-100. Also Almeida suggests that the end of colonialism and the democratization symbolized for Portugal a "return home", this home being the European Continent. In

José Carlos Almeida, "Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa," *Nação e Defesa*, no. 107 (2004), 149.

⁷⁵⁴ Nadine El-Enany clarifies how the view of the Empire as a benign institution brought on a feeling of nostalgia, which fuelled Brexit. In Nadine El-Enany, "Europe's Colonial Embrace and the Brexit Nostalgia for Empire Are Two Sides of the Same Coin," *LSE BREXIT* (blog), April 29, 2020,

<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2020/04/29/europes-colonial-embrace-and-brexit-as-nostalgia-for-empire-are-part-of-the-same-story/>.

institutions and events that relate to the functioning of the European Union. In the English corpus a more conflictive view of European integration and the role it played in recent British history correlates with an insistence on horizontal Europeanization and an emphasis on national actors, be they British or European. This, too, is a correlation which will be expanded upon in the last concluding chapter of this thesis.

Finally, this chapter also demonstrates that the media talked about Europe and the European Union in varied, specific ways. These differ between countries and newspapers. It is possible to say that the Portuguese newspapers are generally more positive and that they engage with ideas of Europe in a deeper, more diverse way. This might be because the political class in Portugal is generally much more pro-European than the political class in the UK. In Portugal, former President and Prime Minister Mário Soares openly advocated for a United States of Europe. No politician in the UK of comparative status advocated the same.

Conclusion

This thesis looked to answer several research questions. The first questions were methodological: how to analyse and interpret a large corpus in two different languages throughout a long chronology and how to develop and deploy a methodology that could be used by other Humanities and Social Science students. From these questions arose our main research question: what correlation is there between how historical events are interpreted in the media and how the media interprets the European Union?

To answer these questions, we used DH methodologies to think about the digitality of our sources and how those methodologies and tools shaped the analysis. It is very clear that the digitality of the sources changed the analysis, as it necessitated a more quantitative and generalized view of the sources. However, we maintain that by combining both quantitative, distant reading methods and close reading, it continues to be possible to retrieve detailed interpretations. In other words, the process of hermeneutics which is so important in the study of History is not diminished by the use of distant reading and digital methods. In our case, close reading of the texts was not a possibility, so we chose an approach that “zoomed in” on our sources, allowing both a wide overview of what the corpus contained, as well as allowing us to identify points of interest that merited more detailed examination.

We believe our approach was successful, both in the results it yielded and also in providing a framework that can be adopted in full or in part by other researchers, including those with relatively limited technical skills. The historical sources of the 21st century are overwhelmingly born-digital and we believe our thesis contributes to providing a methodology and tools that allow students and researchers to explore them. Our method is not the only method; there are other tools, other programming languages, other software that could have been used instead. However, as we said in the Introduction, every digital method has to take into account the learning curve involved and the time researchers can dedicate to learning. This method allowed us to develop and expand on our digital skills while it also gave us time to explore other relevant subjects which turned out to

be key to our thesis, such as the conceptual world of the public sphere and the study of Europeanization.

We have also successfully highlighted some of the problems of using digital methods, in particular when it comes to accessing the sources. It has emerged from our research that the modern web does not prioritize historical information; as mentioned in chapter 3, Google is not an archive, and businesses such as newspapers do not always curate their web-based content, making it very difficult for users to access older data. At the same time, paywalls and logins make it very difficult for web archives to archive such information. It is very likely that there are vast amounts of data that are being lost or are becoming very hard to access. This is particularly concerning when we consider that born digital content, including websites, will be among the most important historical sources of the 21st century. It will be impossible to document in-depth and interpret events that are taking place without proper web preservation.

Other technical problems emerged throughout the thesis, which we described in detail in chapter 3. Working with large quantities of unstructured data that had to be gathered and cleaned was challenging and time consuming. As is clear from the section “limitations of the dataset” in chapter 3, this is not a perfect dataset. It is incomplete and unbalanced, as we did not scrape every single article in these newspapers throughout our chronology. We also faced several challenges, such as the repetition of titles and how to quantify the corpus. There are no perfect solutions because the data itself is not perfect. Historians and social scientists working with born-digital data have to accept the imperfectness of the data, just as they accept historical source scarcity. The problem with born-digital web-based sources is not only that there are too many of them, which requires a careful selection of sources, but that to process and analyse them takes time, and there are several unpredictable issues that can arise along the way due to the nature of the web (for instance, web sites might disappear or change). In this sense, the issue of time management and the need to factor in these unpredictable elements cannot be underestimated.

This thesis also highlighted specific issues with using a multilingual approach, especially those surrounding stopwords, naming conventions, and concepts that have multiple meanings. For example, the way names work in Portuguese, with several of them being composite, is the kind of knowledge that can only come from deeper understanding of the language. With both English and Portuguese, lists of stopwords from libraries such as SpaCy or NLTK were too incomplete to fit

the purposes of our approach, which relied heavily on cleaning the top words list so they revealed valuable data. SpaCy, for instance, cannot easily distinguish between two people with the same surname,⁷⁵⁵ and as mentioned in chapter 1 in the section “text mining: techniques and approaches”, these libraries tend to be underdeveloped when it comes to the Portuguese language. As Lorella Viola and Paul Spence argued “the topic of multilingualism in Digital Humanities seems to be gaining momentum” at the present time, and with it has come a challenge to Anglocentrism, as “computation resources for languages other than English continue to remain...scarce”.⁷⁵⁶ Although often in Digital Humanities this translates to a need for better access to “training, data and tools” that promote multilingualism, in areas such as machine learning and NLP, our approach demonstrated the benefits of familiarity with the languages used in this study, English and Portuguese, precisely as a way to solve problems brought about by the use of Natural Language Processing libraries.⁷⁵⁷ It is important to note that multilingualism is also not simply about the knowledge of a specific language, but it is a question of integrating a different culture into a research project, allowing for a wider understanding of the social, political and cultural of a specific country or geographical space. We believe that this knowledge remains necessary for any in-depth research project in the humanities.

This thesis also offered contributions to the field of Media studies, not only because our sources were newspaper articles, but because we made use of theories regarding the public sphere. These theories draw heavily on how the media, including newspapers and other vehicles of mass communication, shape the public sphere, and by extension, the political, social and cultural issues that are discussed in those spaces. Our space is the newspaper, in both English and Portuguese. Attached to our examination of the public sphere, there emerged the notions of horizontal and vertical Europeanization, which in this thesis are applied to how the media treats European events, institutions and actors. The use of these concepts allowed us to retrieve a series of conclusions about how each corpus approaches Europeanization.

⁷⁵⁵ Caio Mello, “Data Scarcity and Methodological Limitations in Multilingual Analysis of News Articles Published in Brazil,” in *Multilingual Digital Humanities* eds. Lorella Viola and Paul Spence (London: Routledge, 2023), 170. In this article, the author uses wikifier to “disambiguate the entities.”

⁷⁵⁶ Lorella Viola and Paul Spence, “Introduction” in *Multilingual Digital Humanities* eds. Lorella Viola and Paul Spence (London: Routledge, 2023), 2.

⁷⁵⁷ Viola and Spence, “Introduction”, 4.

If we go back to the conclusions in our fourth chapter, we can argue that in general terms the Portuguese corpus is stronger in vertical Europeanization, with more mentions of European institutions and European wide events, such as the European elections, while the English corpus is stronger in horizontal Europeanization, as it contains a diverse set of European countries and leaders. This is an interesting perspective, when we think, for example, that one of the criticisms levelled at the British negotiators during the Brexit process by Michel Barnier was that the British repeatedly tried to negotiate with individual state leaders and politicians, such as France's and Germany's, rather than the Commission.⁷⁵⁸ Perhaps the British media has more global concerns and sees the country more as an independent actor rather than a country integrated in a large organization where decisions are taken collectively. In this sense, History in the English corpus is employed to support a largely national narrative. In the Portuguese corpus the weight of nationhood is also present, but we simultaneously see an integration of Portuguese history within a wider frame of European history, that serves to justify political decisions taken by Portuguese leaders since the Revolution.

Our reflections on the European Public Sphere and our uses of the concepts of horizontal and vertical Europeanization were vehicles to explore the correlation contained in our main research question. After measuring the levels of Europeanization in each corpus, we then turned to our historical analysis, and this is where our contributions to the field of History are strongest. It is also through this analysis that our main research question is answered.

Chapter 5 demonstrates how deeply the Portuguese corpus analyses the concepts we discussed (history, the idea of Europe). There is recourse to a more diverse crowd of people, including politicians, academics and personalities from the artistic world, such as Wim Wenders and Michel Houellebecq. These figures are either quoted or interviewed in the articles. However, when it comes to the analysis of ideas of Europe, the English corpus privileges the presence of politicians and newspaper columnists. Inevitably what this means is that, with some exceptions, the coverage

⁷⁵⁸ Barnier writes in his diary: "Boris Johnson mentions rather heavy-handedly that he wants to have a meeting with Emmanuel Macron to discuss fisheries, and with Angela Merkel to discuss the level playing field. These are two Community remits that must be dealt with by the European Commission, and President von der Leyen told him so. A few hours later, we learned that both the French President and the German Chancellor had refused to accept Boris Johnson's calls, in order to preserve a single negotiating line." In Michel Barnier, *My Secret Brexit Diary: A Glorious Illusion* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2021), chap. Monday, 7 December 2020, kindle.

of the understanding of the idea of Europe and of certain historical events seem to be more detailed and articulate in the Portuguese coverage. Furthermore, the British insistence on the political and not the cultural goes in line with what we saw in chapter 4 where the English media includes a greater number of politicians in their top 50 Bi-Grams, with mentions of several prime ministers and presidents from other European countries.

When it comes to the idea of Europe, we can conclude from the analysis that the Portuguese preoccupations are not as parochial as in the English corpus. By this we mean that there seems to be a real engagement with the intellectual and ideological underpinnings of the idea of Europe, whereas in the British corpus the concept is mostly employed negatively, such as in the case of Boris Johnson's comparisons between the EU and Hitler in order to criticise the EU or in the case of Labour MPs to criticise David Cameron. The debate on the idea of Europe in the English corpus is very dependent on specific events, such as Brexit, the refugee crisis, or the Iraq War. Fintan O'Toole is given space to engage with ideas of Europe in the Guardian in 2015, but he does so in a very critical way. To a certain extent, the same criticism is present in the Portuguese corpus, where the idea of Europe is mentioned a few times in connection with austerity or Brexit; however, the angle is different. Both through the declarations of Schultz, or the questions asked to Wenders, Barroso or to Houellebecq, there is a much more constructive view of the idea of Europe, as something that is still – despite austerity and the failure to deal with the refugee crisis – worth salvaging, or at least engaging with. It is precisely in the Portuguese corpus, too, that the idea of Europe appears associated frequently with other values and concepts, such as humanism, justice, diversity, peace and democracy. In this narrative, the idea of Europe and associated ideals have been placed in danger by the repeated failures of the EU, on the one hand, and by growing nationalistic tendencies in the world and Europe, on the other. Indeed, overall, nationalism as a historical phenomenon seems to be a preoccupation in the Portuguese corpus to an extent that – in connection with the topics we have chosen to discuss in this chapter – is not reflected in the English.

As we have seen extensively in both the section on the History of the idea of Europe and the section on the definition of the concept of “Europe”, Europe's borders were always fluid and hard to pin down. This question is also approached in the corpus. In the English corpus it comes through the discussion of Turkey's possible membership of the EEC and in the Portuguese through declarations

by politicians on the discussion of open borders. Where Europe begins and ends is transformed into a debate about European integration and the issues of nationalism and exclusionary politics. This preoccupation with borders is also evident in chapter 4. We saw how the English corpus shows a great concern about the problem of immigration and how the media oscillates between using the concepts of “migrants” and “refugees”. The presence of Eastern European countries and the presence of the concept “Eastern Europe” reveal this anxiety about people coming in from a place which has, since the Enlightenment, occupied an otherized place in the minds of Western Europeans.⁷⁵⁹

We saw in chapter 5 how history is also called forth to support or attack ideas of Europe, as with Boris Johnson’s comparisons. This also happens in the Portuguese corpus: the communist party used the values associated with the 25 of April to criticise European financial impositions on Portugal. However, history and historical events and people contain other dimensions. Mentions of these events and people in our corpus are an interesting negotiation between memory and history.

Enzo Traverso argued that “memory is a representation of the past that is built in the present”⁷⁶⁰ and crucially that “the past becomes collective memory after having been selected and reinterpreted according to the cultural sensibilities, ethical interrogations and political convenience of the present”.⁷⁶¹ This makes the role of historians hard, as they have to be aware that they exist in the present – and so are influenced by those sensibilities and interrogations – while having to “exile” themselves from the present in order to look at the past.⁷⁶² At the same time, historians are often invited to participate in what Traverso calls a “commemorative obsession and the valorisation, sometimes sacralisation of the realms of memory”.⁷⁶³ These “realms of memory” are borrowed from French historian Pierre Nora, and can be defined as a group of memories, material and immaterial, such as commemorations, symbols, monuments, practices, that contribute to the construction of national memory, which in turn make up an “imagined community”.⁷⁶⁴ Nora also

⁷⁵⁹ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 95.

⁷⁶⁰ Traverso, *La Historia como campo de Batalla* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de cultura economica, 2012), 285.

⁷⁶¹ Traverso, *O Passado: Modos de Usar*, 10.

⁷⁶² Traverso, *O Passado: Modos de Usar*, 50.

⁷⁶³ Traverso, *O Passado: Modos de Usar*, 11.

⁷⁶⁴ Lawrence Kritzman, ‘Foreword’ in Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), IX.

distinguished memory from history by saying that “memory is life, always embodied in living societies... subject to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting” whereas “History is the reconstruction, always incomplete, of what is no longer. Memory is always a phenomenon of the present...history is a representation of the past”.⁷⁶⁵

What we see in the media coverage is, we believe, a representation of the past which, although reporting on historical events and people whose actions were vital in the past, remains subject to the constructions and representations of the present. In this sense, we are more interested in Traverso’s definition than Nora’s, whose distinction between History and memory is more marked. Traverso indeed solves the problem of the distinction between “History” and “memory” by arguing that the practice of history is subjected first to “contextualization”, which “places an event or an idea in its time, in a social framework, in an intellectual and linguistic environment” and it is also subjected to “historicism...the historicity of the reality that surrounds us, the necessity to approach facts and ideas from a diachronic perspective”.⁷⁶⁶ Although sometimes they engage with historians (particularly the Portuguese corpus), newspapers are not writing History and so they are not subjected to the necessity of trying to distance themselves from memory – be it “personal, individual and collective” – and “inscribing it in a vaster historical context”.⁷⁶⁷ History as a method is not often employed by the newspapers, but history is often evoked, and with it we can understand how newspapers’ understanding of historical events is informed by the present that they are experiencing.

The collocation analysis made on “History” already reveals some of these tendencies. The fact that it collocates frequently with the respective nationality of the corpus (“British”, “Britain”, “Portugal” or “Portuguese”) indicates the importance of national history. In both corpora, History is something that explains the formation of communities, people and nations. This is in line with how the newspapers deal with contemporary issues and not just with mentions of historical events; the overwhelming presence of mentions of Portugal and Britain, and the frequency with which national politicians appear, reveal a view of politics which remains centred around nationhood. It is also interesting how “political” is a word often collocated with History in the English corpus.

⁷⁶⁵ Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, 3

⁷⁶⁶ Traverso, *La Historia como campo de Batalla*, 25.

⁷⁶⁷ Traverso, *O Passado: Modos de Usar*, 41

Political history is still the prime vehicle that explains current phenomena, to the detriment of other variants of History (social, cultural etc).

When it comes to historical events, the most significant difference between the two corpora is the prominence that the world wars occupy in the English corpus as opposed to the prominence of 25 of April in the Portuguese. In the English corpus, as we have seen, the war is often used in an attempt to explain or frame present conflicts, such as the Russian invasion of Georgia and Ukraine. However, mentions of it are also made in order to establish parallels between the behaviour of Russia and Nazi Germany. Similar parallels are drawn between historical figures – such as Churchill – and present conflict. Churchill is evoked in the debate about Islam by Nick Griffin and then obliquely in the Brexit debate through the presence of his grandson, Nicholas Soames, who appears to gain his legitimacy from his family connection to Churchill rather than from the fact that he was a Tory MP. This authority argument is also used when it comes to Thatcher, whose relations with the EU were debated at different points of our corpus, usually in order to stress her opposition to more than her support for the European project.

There is another strand of interpretation regarding the world wars which is present in both the English and Portuguese corpora. This is the idea that the world wars serve as a cautionary tale in a Continent whose countries were involved in many wars with each other. In the Portuguese corpus, this argument arises during the commemorations of World War I and when evoking the memory of fascism, to warn against the danger of nationalism and the benefits of international cooperation. In the English corpus, this tendency is part of David Cameron's reasoning for standing up for Remain, and why he was so criticised by the Daily Mail and the Telegraph; but it is also part of Fintan O'Toole's expanding on the *raison d'être* of the EU and Timothy Garton-Ash's explanation as to why Britain did not have a historically close relationship with the EU – it had not suffered like other European countries under fascist or communist occupation. In this sense, Europe does become, as Kant thought it could, a “promise of peace.”

It is noteworthy that the World Wars are so present in the English corpus. Peter Hitchens, in one Daily Mail article goes as far as saying that “the second world war was my religion for most of my life”, as “brave, alone, bombed, defiant, we, the British, had won it on our own against the most evil and powerful enemy imaginable”. This rhetoric brings to mind not only the place that World War II occupies in the popular imaginary, but mentions of this “most evil” enemy also take us to

the treatment of the Holocaust, which has been amply examined by Traverso. In his view, the memory of the Shoah became in the West a “civil religion” to the extent that in the United States there is a museum dedicated to the Holocaust – a tragedy that took place on another Continent. Traverso stresses that nothing comparable exists in relation to the “two fundamental experiences of American history”: black slavery and the genocide of the native peoples. It is possible to wonder whether the world wars serve a similar function in the British memory, as exemplified by the media coverage we analysed here: they serve as a memory of heroism and justice, allowing Britain to ignore its role in the construction and perpetuation of colonialism.

At the same time, this also demonstrates the complex relationship Britain had with Europe throughout its modern History. Before World War II, when Britain was still the world’s foremost imperial power, it saw itself as an “arbiter of the European balance of power either by leading or controlling allies”.⁷⁶⁸ But after winning two world wars, with all the associated economic collapse, and the definitive loss of Empire, the EEC came to represent “an opportunity for the reluctant European to recalibrate its role in the world”.⁷⁶⁹ This became a problem for a country whose political system since the 17th century was based upon an idea of Parliamentary supremacy, as opposed to most other continental countries, which founded their modern political systems on the French Revolution and the liberal revolutions of the 19th century.⁷⁷⁰ These differences widened in the 20th century, as many Western European countries, including France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, were forced to reinvent themselves after the destruction wrought by the World War II. This reinvention necessarily included European integration.⁷⁷¹ However, Britain, as pointed out by Timothy Garton-Ash, did not suffer to the extent that other European nations suffered, and so it was excluded from the drive to integrate and reinvent itself. Integration came for purely economic reasons.

A similar logic could be followed when examining the importance that the 25 of April holds in the Portuguese newspapers. It is obvious from what we have analysed, that the 25 of April is the founding moment of Portuguese contemporary History, one that allowed Portugal to break free

⁷⁶⁸ N. J. Crowson, *Britain and Europe: A Political History since 1918* (London: Routledge, 2011), 7.

⁷⁶⁹ Sweeney, *The Europe Illusion*, 341.

⁷⁷⁰ Vernon Bogdanor, ‘Footfalls Echoing in the Memory. Britain and Europe: The Historical Perspective’, *International Affairs*, 81, no. 4, (2005), 695.

⁷⁷¹ Bogdanor, ‘Footfalls Echoing in the Memory. Britain and Europe: The Historical Perspective’, 696.

from a dictatorial regime, into EEC membership and with it, economic and social prosperity. In this scenario, the colonies were a problem of the past and the fact that Portugal was the last colonial Empire in Europe was relegated to History. This is what allowed the Portuguese Prime Minister in 2007, in the European-Africa Summit, to say that Portugal allowed Europe “to become known to Africa”.

The difference, however, between the Portuguese and the English context is that the events that followed the 25 of April did provoke a reflection about the role of Portugal in the world. After the 25 of April, Portuguese politicians who tried to define the parameters of the new democratic regime struggled with defining Portugal’s “vocation” in the world. Deprived of its Empire, some factions, the moderate right and left, thought that adherence to the EEC was Portugal’s only chance at consolidating democracy and economic prosperity. Other factions, such the euro-critical left and euro-critical right, thought that Portugal ought to maintain a connection with Africa, albeit for different reasons. The left thought that “the relationship with African Portuguese speaking countries was preferable as a horizon of identity affirmation”, whereas the right thought that these Portuguese speaking spaces would be a gradual continuation of what Estado Novo advocated.⁷⁷² This highlights, as well, the debate on Portugal’s role in European and World History. The weight of the Empire cannot be underestimated. Eduardo Lourenço, the Portuguese philosopher and essayist, argues that the Empire was important precisely because it attributed a power to Portugal in a “civilized and imperialistic Europe” (especially during the 19th and early 20th century) that otherwise it would not have had, despite the fact, as he points out, that the structures of the Empire were always very fragile.⁷⁷³ What happened after the 25 of April was an immediate redefinition of Portuguese identity: “from citizens in an oppressed state, without enjoying the civic rights of the European context, we became, by miracle, citizens of Europe and the democratic world”.⁷⁷⁴ But according to Lourenço, this image only makes sense if we counterpose it with centuries of Portuguese colonial history. Portugal, in his view, spent its modern history trying to “recreate a

⁷⁷² António Pedro dos Santos Teixeira, “As relações pós-coloniais no discurso parlamentar português (1976-1980)” (Master Diss., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2018), 33.

⁷⁷³ Eduardo Lourenço, *O labirinto da saudade: psicanálise mítica do destino português* (Tinta da China, 2016), chap.1, Kindle.

⁷⁷⁴ Lourenço, *O labirinto da saudade*, chap. 1.

soul like the XVI's century", that is, trying to recreate the feats and ambitions that led them to establish Europe's first modern imperialism.⁷⁷⁵

The answer to Portugal's role in the world after its colonies' independence (post 25 of April) was, according to Portuguese intellectuals such as Eduardo Lourenço, Miguel Torga and Manuel Antunes, Europe and integration. However, for them, it was insufficient to think of integration as only motivated by economic reasons. Culture was the key to integration.⁷⁷⁶ This was a view also sponsored by Durão Barroso, who wrote the Preface to the Portuguese edition of Steiner's essay "the idea of Europe", which we explored in chapter 2. For him, the strength of European integration lay precisely in Europe's "cultural diversity": "who says culture also says liberty and difference (...) condition and guarantee of its diversity".⁷⁷⁷

Interestingly enough, as we have seen from our exploration of the History of the idea of Europe, colonialism and racial theories were an integral part of the construction of European identity, as colonialism was underpinned by the idea of the superiority of European civilization. But colonialism is hardly ever approached when the respective corpora discuss either ideas of Europe or indeed historical events. In the English corpus, the often-distorted view of the EU frames it as an Empire, heir to Napoleon and Hitler, crushing the UK and other European countries. In Portugal, the idea of Europe and European integration appear as a culmination of the democratic process, which was initiated with the Revolution and by the hands of emblematic politicians, like Mário Soares.

In the second chapter we pointed out that for Pocock, Europe is an attempt to deconstruct nation-states and identities, to which we counterposed Anderson's and Hobsbawm's ideas that nation-states are also constructions, with their own foundational myths and narratives – usually from the top (the state and the media) down. Our media analysis also shows this. The idea of British independence against foreign intervention is arguably part of a wider narrative about Britain's role in European History, in which the British were able to observe European history develop from afar and only intervene when it was necessary, such as in the two great wars. In the Portuguese media

⁷⁷⁵ Lourenço, *O labirinto da saudade*, chap 1.

⁷⁷⁶ Isabel Baltazar, 'Repensar Portugal e a ideia de Europa' in José Eduardo Franco, *Repensar Portugal, a Europa e a Globalização: Saber Padre Manuel Antunes, SJ – 100 Anos* (Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra), 122.

⁷⁷⁷ Durão Barroso, 'Prefácio' in George Steiner, *A Ideia de Europa* (Lisboa: Gradiva, 2004), 7.

what emerges is an idea of a country freed from the shackles of a right-wing dictatorship into becoming, in the words of Eduardo Lourenço, “citizens of Europe and the democratic world”.

We must also wonder whether Europe itself is building its own narrative, its own “imagined community”. In chapter 1 we saw that for Anderson the necessary conditions for the emergence of such a community are that it be limited, as nation-states have a finite number of people and territory, and that those inside the community, although they will never know each other, imagine themselves as belonging to the same group and sharing a “horizontal comradeship”.⁷⁷⁸ An indelible part of this is the “development of a standardized language-of-state”,⁷⁷⁹ greatly aided by the development of the press. Indeed, according to Anderson, “the very conception of newspapers implies the refraction of even ‘world events’ into a specific imagined world of vernacular readers”. Events from other places “would appear similar to rather than part of” the events of the specific community receiving the news. In other words, the press created a notion of similarity and “simultaneity”, but not of belonging.⁷⁸⁰ This, together with the fact that the EU does not have a common language, that its borders are constantly expanding, that it is harder for Europeans to get a sense that they know each other, and finally that it is not sovereign as it shares sovereignty with other European states, makes it very difficult to say that Europe is a coherent, successful imagined community.⁷⁸¹ This is why Anderson asked rhetorically “who will willingly die for the Comecon or the EEC?”⁷⁸²

If, on the one hand, we agree that it is hard right now to make Europe an imagined community and that because of the reasons mentioned “the process of Europeanization remains an elite-driven project”,⁷⁸³ we cannot ignore that there is also an emergence in the national press, especially in the Portuguese, of a Europe connected to a set of ideals. These ideals range from Human Rights and democracy to diversity (a notion very much propagated by Durão Barroso, both in interviews and

⁷⁷⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

⁷⁷⁹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 56.

⁷⁸⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 63.

⁷⁸¹ Cirila Toplak and Irena Šumi, ‘Europe(an Union): Imagined Community in the Making?’, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 20, no. 1 (March 2012): 21-23.

⁷⁸² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 53.

⁷⁸³ Peter Van Ham, “Identity Beyond the State: The Case of the European Union,” <https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/wps/vap01/>.

in the preface to Steiner's book) and to a notion of humanist culture as something to which Europe is home.

With all this in mind, it is not strange that the Portuguese corpus pays more attention to certain European events, such as the Lisbon treaty and the elections, and institutions, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Europe, with all its problems, including the weight of the financial and economic crisis, is an eminently positive idea, whose recent incarnation – the European Union – is worth understanding and engaging with. In the English corpus, Europe and the EU are far more controversial ideas, often employed in confusing ways, from associations between the EU and the third Reich to a purposeful mixing between the EU and other non-political European institutions such as UEFA. This tendency seeps into the media coverage, and necessarily into the real world of politics. Brexit, which looms large throughout our corpus, can be interpreted as the culmination of years of this muddled debate about European affairs. If, as we argued in chapters 1 and 3, news values “inform” and “reinforce...ideological values in a society”,⁷⁸⁴ then the media coverage of the EU in Britain both feeds into Eurosceptic tendencies that were there before as well as generates those tendencies. It is worth noting that these trends do reflect the views of public opinion. If we look at Eurobarometer polling in the years 2004, 2009 and 2014 we verify that the UK consistently has one of the lowest positive views of the EU as well as a low sense of being a European citizen.⁷⁸⁵ By contrast, Portugal has a much higher positive view.⁷⁸⁶

⁷⁸⁴ Craig, *The Media, Politics and Public Life*, 82.

⁷⁸⁵ For detailed surveys on the European Union please see: European Commission, “Eurobarometer 62: Public Opinion in the European Union: National Report United Kingdom” (European Commission, 2004), 12-13.

<https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/455>

European Commission, “Attitudes towards the EU in the United Kingdom - Publication Reports” (European Commission, 2009), 11-13. <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/827>

European Commission, “Standard Eurobarometer Living Conditions in the European Union” (European Commission, 2014), 4 <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/827>. The 2014 poll measures the sense of belonging to the EU. If we compare it to the Portuguese results (see note 29), we see the Portuguese public has a higher feeling of being a European citizen than the British. (69% to 50%).

⁷⁸⁶ European Commission, “Eurobarómetro 62: A Opinião Pública Na União Europeia: Relatório Nacional Portugal” (European Commission, 2004), 12. <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/455>. In the Portuguese case, we were unable to find data for 2009, so we used a 2010 poll. It is noteworthy that even during the crisis, the Portuguese public tended to have more trust in the European Union than in their national parliament and government. See: European Commission, “Standard Eurobarometer 73” (European Commission, 2010), 3.

<https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/917>

European Commission, “Standard Eurobarometer 81” (European Commission, 2014),

4. <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2040>

These tendencies that were there in the media are necessarily historical. History informs contemporary affairs because History is, as Traverso understood, constantly being interpreted and reinterpreted in view of the present. As such, our use of Koselleck becomes even more pertinent. One very obvious aspect of how the media talks about History, both in the Portuguese and in the English corpus, includes the notion that historical time is a walk towards progress. In the Portuguese corpus, this is obvious from how the European ideal is often painted as a logical outcome from the 25 April Revolution, a line that goes from dictatorship to democracy to integration, all in the name of the country's betterment and improvement. In the Portuguese corpus, the EU is also in itself a symbol of progress born from the ashes of the 20th century. In the English corpus, this is made more complex because the debate is precisely whether Europe is a goal in itself or an interregnum before Britain regains its full potential. Regardless, the view is always that happiness/progress is within reach and that all the events and people mentioned are components in the fulfilment or slowing of such progress.

With this thesis, we have attempted to highlight how the media understanding of History colours perceptions of contemporary events. We attempted to demonstrate that modern events are often filtered through the historical past. This thesis has shown, through its analysis of media coverage of key concepts that there are logical correlations between the different levels of Europeanization in Portugal and the United Kingdom and the media's perception of national and European history. A correlation has emerged between the levels of vertical Europeanization, as practised in Portugal, represented by a greater emphasis on European institutions and elections, and the way Portugal sees itself as a player in 20th century European History. In the same vein, the UK's media emphasis on a more horizontal form of Europeanization, choosing to highlight the actions of individual countries in politics, correlates with a more conflicted historical relationship with European history and ideas of Europe. Historical events are not, therefore, something that merely exist in the past, but are an important part of the media discourse, an active part of the public sphere. We believe that such connections merit more and more exploration and we hope that modern media discourse becomes a more prominent object of study for historians.

This study has its limitations and there are avenues of research that have remained unexplored. For example, the connections between the EU and the concept of "Human Rights" in our corpus, a Bi-Gram that appears consistently throughout the years and in several newspapers, has not been

deepened. We hope to explore this connection in a future study. The effects of social media on news production, dissemination and consumption also merit further study. Likewise, the methodology we used could be applied to other European languages and countries, in order to provide further contributions to the study of the European Public Sphere. We hope that this research can incentivize other researchers to look at the European Public Sphere in connection with the historical roots of the Idea of Europe as well as with the interpretations and appropriations of historical events and personalities that are actively being produced by the media.

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