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**PORTUGUESE DIGITAL NEWS COVERAGE ON THE
GLOBAL SOUTH: THE CASE OF LATIN AMERICA**

Dissertation to Universidade Católica Portuguesa to obtain
a Master's Degree in Communications Studies with
specialization in Journalism.

By

Mayra Paloma Durán Blanquel

Faculty of Human Sciences

(October, 2023)



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Resumo

Nos últimos anos, as exigências de uma melhor representação jornalística de todas as regiões têm-se intensificado, tendo em conta que o argumento de que a maioria das notícias partem de uma perspetiva ocidental, a qual muitas vezes deturpa e sub-representa os não ocidentais. Embora muitos dos estudos sobre a representação dos não ocidentais tenham sido realizados em países com grandes indústrias jornalísticas, os estudos realizados em Portugal continuam a ser escassos. Além disso, os que se centram em regiões, tais como a América Latina, são menos numerosos, tendo a investigação portuguesa até à data ficado predominantemente centrada no Brasil.

O objetivo desta investigação é analisar em profundidade a cobertura de todos os países da América Latina nas versões online dos jornais portugueses Público, Diário de Notícias e Observador. Para realizar este estudo, foi utilizado um quadro teórico sobre o imperialismo dos media e a representação dos não ocidentais, bem como uma metodologia mista que combina a análise de conteúdo (utilizando o SPSS versão 28), análise crítica do discurso (abordagem sociocognitiva) e entrevistas. É importante referir que, no final, foram recolhidos 557 artigos, entre 1 de maio, 2023 e 30 de junho, 2023. Os resultados mostram que os jornais portugueses continuam a cobrir a região em eventos maioritariamente negativos, como a crise e a violência. Para além disso, verificou-se que os países histórica e culturalmente próximos de Portugal e os países mais estáveis economicamente têm uma melhor cobertura do que os restantes. A perspetiva ocidental de superioridade foi também encontrada em alguns artigos, revelando que os jornais online portugueses continuam a promover a assunção de que os ocidentais sabem mais do que os não ocidentais. Os resultados corroboram estudos anteriores, segundo os quais os jornais portugueses representam a região de forma pobre e insuficiente, demonstrando que pouco se avançou na melhoria da sua representação.

Palavras-chave: media, representação, América Latina, Portugal, jornalismo, pós-colonialismo, deturpação, sub-representação, Norte Global, Sul Global, não ocidentais, ocidentais

Abstract

In recent years, the demands for better journalistic representation of all regions have intensified, as it is argued that most news stories have a Western perspective, which often misrepresents and underrepresents non-Westerners. Although many of the studies on the representation of non-westerners have been based in countries with large newspaper industries, those conducted in Portugal remain scarce. In addition, those focusing on entire regions such as Latin America, are fewer in number, as previous Portuguese research focused only on Brazil.

The objective of this research is to analyze in depth the coverage of all Latin American countries in the online versions of the Portuguese newspapers Público, Diário de Notícias and Observador. To conduct this study, a theoretical framework on media imperialism and the representation of non-westerners was employed, as well as a mixed methodology combining content analysis (SPSS version 28), critical discourse analysis (socio-cognitive approach) and interviews. In the end, 557 articles were collected between May 1, 2023 and June 30, 2023. The results show that Portuguese newspapers continue to cover the region in mainly negative events such as crisis and violence. In addition, it was found that countries historically and culturally close to Portugal and economically stable countries have better coverage than the rest. The Western perspective of superiority was also found in some articles, revealing that Portuguese online newspapers continue to promote the assumption that the West knows better than non-Westerners. The results corroborate previous studies, according to which Portuguese newspapers represent the region poorly and insufficiently, demonstrating that little progress has been made in improving their representation.

Key words: media, representation, Latin America, Portugal, journalism, post-colonialism, misrepresentation, underrepresentation, Global North, Global South, Western, non-Western

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

In journalism, Western standards and perspectives have been taken as global norms due to the current business model that has granted the monopoly of news to the Global North and placed its conglomerates in a position of power and privilege. However, Mutsvairo et al. (2021) argue that the current model is no longer sustainable. Nowadays, the Global South is further challenging Western journalism discourses, views and approaches, accusing them of being inadequate to explain reality outside of the Global North. The new calls aim to recognize the diverse contexts of journalism beyond the West to better orient, define and establish the role of journalism around the world (Mutsvairo et al., 2021). Current efforts are focused on addressing concerns that are often overlooked, such as non-Western perspectives and eliminating the field's paternalistic attitude toward the Global South.

Within the Global South, Latin America's representation has been the subject of much debate in recent decades. Studies on Latin America have shown that the way the region is portrayed in the news influences what others think of Latin Americans and how they see themselves. Ordway (2020) said that there are two problems with the representation of Latinos in the news: one is that the underrepresentation of them and their concerns in news makes them invisible to society and two, is that when coverage of Latin America does occur, it tends to be inaccurate or promote stereotypes. Together, these two issues limit the visibility and opportunities for Latinos as they cause the public to have a negative attitude towards them and their countries.

In the case of Portugal, research on how newspapers cover Latin America is scarce. There is more research on the coverage of Brazil due to its cultural and historical connection with Portugal, as well as the fact that in 2022 Brazil represented the largest foreign resident population in the country with 30.7% (Portuguese Chamber of Commerce in the UK, 2023). However, the rest of the region remains unstudied in depth. The only study that focused on the representation of all Latin American countries was that of Sousa in 2002, which showed that in 1997 the main coverage of the region was negative and that a fair representation of the Global South had not been achieved in Portugal.

This dissertation aims to contribute to the academic knowledge of the field by filling the 21-year study gap on the representation of Latin America in Portuguese newspapers. The main objective is to provide updated information on how Portuguese newspapers cover all the countries in the region, considering the changes that the field has experienced in values and priorities due to digitalization. The importance of this research lies in the fact that not only the coverage of Brazil is studied, but also of the rest of the countries, which will allow to identify advances in the representation of other Global South nations by Portuguese newspapers. Furthermore, unlike Sousa's study (2002), the research will study each country individually to find out how representation changes depending on the country's categorization as stable or crisis. The study aims to assess whether efforts are being made to improve the representation of all countries in the region or only those with a direct connection or high relevance for Portugal, such as Brazil.

1.2 Motivation and Purpose

The motivation for this thesis comes from my personal and professional experience as a Mexican journalist. Throughout my life, I noticed that newspapers always focused on what was happening in the United States or Europe, which allowed me to be aware of issues that were not related to Mexico. However, I was rarely aware of what was happening in non-Western countries, and even stranger, I was unaware of what was happening in my own region.

It was during my degree in international relations that I came to understand that some countries, due to their economic, cultural or political resources, attract most of the media attention, while the rest are only occasionally mentioned by the media. Moreover, during my career I also read Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), which allowed me to understand how Western countries dictate how other regions are seen. By understanding that this process of otherness is not exclusive to the Orient, I realize that the West also dictates how my country and region are. These descriptions are often made by outsiders who do not take local voices into account, leading to these descriptions often being biased and stereotyped.

I wanted to become a journalist to join the fight in the Global South for fair representation to better inform and empower people around the world. In 2021, I immigrated to Portugal

to study journalism and I realized that many people I met already had a negative stereotyped idea of me because of the country I come from. For example, many people have asked me if I knew drug dealers and/or treated me as if I could not be intelligent for coming from a non-Western nation. Considering that the negative media has limited how I see myself and how others see me, I wanted to know what representation of us (Latin America) is being given to the Portuguese public. As can be seen, my cultural and professional background inspired and directed the research. Consequently, my position as a person from the Global South must be taken into account when reading the approach of the thesis and the analysis of the journalistic field.

Although it is known that the field of journalism is making progress in terms of diversity, I wanted to study specifically the case of Portugal, as its journalism industry is smaller than that of other countries. Consequently, demands and advances for better representation may be less numerous than in countries with larger industries, such as the United Kingdom or the United States. In addition, I was curious to see how this struggle for fairer representation of the Global South looks like on the other side of the coin, i.e. the Global North. After observing that studies on Portuguese representation in Latin America are scarce, I thought that a more recent study focusing on the current situation would be valuable for both Portugal and Latin America. Its value lies in the fact that the study will show how representation in a Western country with a historical connection to Latin America has evolved in the digital age, allowing the entire field to see where efforts are still needed.

1.3 Research Questions and Hypothesis

The objective of the research is to better understand the coverage of Portuguese newspapers in Latin America, in terms of which countries and topics are most covered and what criteria events must meet to be considered newsworthy. This thesis aims to broaden the scope of previous research to study the entire region and identify how the representation of countries changes depending on their internal situation or connection to Portugal.

To achieve this objective, the research questions I intend to answer are: what criteria do Portuguese newspapers prioritize when choosing which event to cover about Latin America in their digital offer? and what are the main differences found in the representations of

countries with a close relationship with Portugal (Brazil), stable countries and countries in crisis?

More specifically, this thesis aims to analyze the current advances that Portuguese newspapers have made to achieve a fairer representation of the Global South and what are the main barriers for this to advance further. In point of fact, the hypotheses that this dissertation aims to test are:

HP1: "Representations of Latin American nations by Portuguese newspapers are still dominated by negative criteria."

HP2: "Economically relevant countries and those that have a closer relationship with Portugal have a more balanced representation in the news."

1.4 Dissertation Overview

For what concerns the dissertation outline, the first chapter provides a general introduction that includes the background of the research, its motivation, the research questions and hypothesis, and the structure of the thesis. The second, third and fourth chapters are devoted to the literature review. The second chapter focuses on the literature on media imperialism, globalization and media representation. Key concepts such as imperialism, colonialism, postcolonialism, decoloniality and otherness are essential for the reader to understand why it is argued that Western countries dictate how non-Westerners are represented in the media. Likewise, the chapter provides insight into the colonial background behind the division of the world between the Global North and the Global South. The third chapter focuses on media systems and cultures, covering industry norms, values and priorities in news production. The aim of this chapter is to show how Western standards have shaped the field of journalism around the world and the problems this has raised. The fourth chapter focuses on the values and guidelines of Portuguese journalism. The chapter focuses on the field's current priorities, progress in diversity and its transition to digital news, noting that the field is in a current crisis.

The fifth chapter illustrates the methodology applied in the research, which includes the content analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the interviews conducted. This

chapter presents the selected methods, their advantages and disadvantages. In addition, the process of classification and coding for content analysis in SPSS is explained and more details about the period, articles and interviews selected are provided. The sixth chapter presents the statistical and discursive analyses performed, highlighting the main results and the relative discussion. Finally, the last chapter is the conclusion, which summarizes the most relevant results, their connection with previous research, along with the limitations of the dissertation and some suggestions for future studies.

2. Media Imperialism, Globalization and the Representation of the Other

This chapter discusses the concepts of Media Imperialism, Globalization and Representation, and is divided in three sections. The first section discusses whether there is a media imperialism with the aim of demonstrating if the world continues to reproduce structures established in colonial times, which divides the world between those who are newsworthy and those who are not. The chapter begins by explaining the concept of term media imperialism in the 1960s, the changes that the term has undergone over the years and its current importance, in order to verify if its structures continues to strongly influence media content. In addition, it draws on Tomlinson's (1991) discourse of media imperialism, which seeks to discover if the media have imperialist interests and if people are defenseless against these media messages. The concept of globalization, designated as the new media imperialism, will also be addressed. This discussion aims to verify if globalization has changed the supposed structure of media imperialism and if Western countries continue to be benefited over others.

The second section of the chapter aims to reflect upon the process of creating representations and identities of the world as well as the reasons why some representations are considered universal. In this section, concepts of typification and stereotype are discussed in order to understand whether their use is necessary to make sense of the world or not. Additionally, it examines the type of media representations that have contributed to the subjugation and repression of non-Westerners. Journalistic representations, especially about Latin America, are also analyzed in this section, as the aim is to identify whether these representations are fair or biased.

Finally, the third section closes the chapter, discussing the creation of the *Other*, which refers to creating the image of other regions as a contradiction of the ideal West and its implications. This latter section begins with a more detailed explanation of what it means to be the *Other*, and how it tends to follow the division of the world between the West and the rest more often than not. In addition, the extent to which this creation of otherness has influenced perceptions on Latin America is analyzed. This section draws on the work of postcolonialist Edward Said (1978), one of the first authors to point to the problem of otherness. Latin American decolonial authors such as Aníbal Quijano (2019) and Walter

Mignolo (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021) also provide an insightful understanding of how the region has been framed, and to what extent there is a discrepancy between what Latin America really is and the Western vision of it.

Taking how much media influence the way people think, my goal in this chapter is to problematize how they visualize Latin America, since it is through media that people get information about what is happening in the region, its main problems and virtues. It also seeks to raise the problem that the media have never been objective when representing the region since for years it has portrayed an image of Latin America as failed, in danger and in need of guidance and help.

2.1 Media Imperialism and Globalization: A Conceptual Discussion

Before delving into the concept of media imperialism, its evolution over time and definitions, it is necessary to understand imperialism and media separately to make more sense of the whole concept. According to Boyd-Barrett and Mirrlees (2020), we must refer to media as the medium that allows mass communication to pass from a few to many. When referring to the media, we not only refer to its content but also to the infrastructure that allows production, distribution, and consumption. The authors understand both media dimensions in terms of power relations, ownership, control, and symbolism. This means that special attention has to be paid to who is producing the content and what message they are trying to convey, as well as to who owns the media and has the resources to disseminate media content. Alternatively, imperialism must be understood according to Boyd-Barrett and Mirrlees (2020) as the imposition of power by one community over another through coercion and force, as well as the development of unequal relationships. The authors stress that the reasons behind imperialism can have economic, cultural, political, moral, and exploitative interests.

Moving to the concept of media imperialism, the term was first coined by academics in the 1960s and 1970s aiming to show that colonial structures were transversal to all fields, including the media. The concept gained relevance when the former USSR and the United

States of America (USA) fought for hegemonic¹ supremacy, in which propaganda and polarizing ideologies were massively promoted and imposed. Likewise, at the same time, the non-aligned countries demanded different ideological and representation options (Boyd-Barrett & Mirrlees, 2020). The demand for new perspectives arose from having only two ideological options, in which semi-peripheral and peripheral countries² have always been portrayed as inferior. This was believed to be the reason for their inequality and a legacy of imperialism.

To better understand the context in which the debates around media imperialism developed, reference should be made to the modernization paradigm that was promoted after World War II. This was an international campaign that sought the development of the Third World under the label that there was a need to move from traditional to modernization in order to improve countries' capacities to urbanize, industrialize and democratize. At that time, the role of the media was that of mobilizers to transform old habits into new ethics and practices (West & Fair, 1993). We can observe that the main problem with the paradigm was that it implied the existence of backward societies that needed help. This paradigm allowed Western countries to introduce their media campaigns in Africa, Asia and Latin America, justifying their interventions and imposing new economic, political and cultural rules.

The dominant modernization paradigm did not stop at mere suggesting that communication would be the key to development of Third World. It went further. The paradigm essentially argued the development of mass media systems is development. Thus, the role of the media in the national development process was not just defined a limited to the sphere of creating a climate for social change by introducing and/or changing values, attitudes, and behaviors of individuals. Rather, having media institutions and media forms (films, cinema seats, television and radio sets) present in

¹ Hegemony refers to the ability of an actor (usually a state) with a strong capacity to shape the international scene through coercive and non-coercive measures. The term is often used to encompass Western countries such as Great Britain and the United States, but also power blocs such as the European Union (Norrlof, 2015)

² According to Wallerstein's world systems theory (2019), countries are divided into three hierarchical levels: core countries, peripheral countries and semi-peripheral countries. Central countries are those that are highly developed and have high incomes. Semi-peripheral countries have an intermediate state of development, while peripheral countries are the least developed in the world and have low incomes.

particular quantities was equated with certain levels of development. More growth in media meant more national development, (West & Fair, 1993: 92).

West and Fair highlighted a major problem with the modernization paradigm, which was that Westerners were not only changing local needs and tastes, but were selling the idea that it was necessary, making it look like a good action instead of an invasion.

In the 1970s, the modernization paradigm failed to demonstrate that there was a relationship between technology and development, nor that media technologies could be disinterested when intervening in countries. West and Fair (1993) emphasize that criticisms were made mainly by scholars of dependency and world systems theories, who argued that the paradigm failed to acknowledge how social classes influence people's ability to access media and that there are different local types of communication, such as oramedia³ in Africa. However, a key aspect that was not discussed was the message of the media, which promoted the idea that modernization is necessary (West & Fair, 1993). It can be observed that the message is as much and even more dangerous than its access or form, since messages promote foreign ideas such as that there are backward societies that need help from Western countries. This legitimize West actions and allow their messages to be reproduced internally in each country.

The problem with the imposition and legitimization of the Western media and messages on other societies is that it excludes broad and alternative visions of what development and modernity are, as West and Fair (1993) explain. Subsequently, it was realized that the modernization paradigm, far from being successful in promoting development, gave rise to a new scenario of power struggle between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic voices that demanded new ways of communicating and messages. Therefore, as can be seen, the real struggle in the media is not to modernize the country through it, it is quite the opposite, to resist impositions and use this channel to promote local perspectives.

As has been explained above, the existence of an imbalance in the flow of media became more evident due to the Cold War. Earlier, scholars such as Galtung (1971) emphasized that

³ Traditional communication channel in Africa, in which news and information is provided through songs, dances, plays, drums, stories, sayings and gossip (West & Fair, 1993).

studies and debates were focused in the most notorious areas of direct imposition such as political, economic, and military. However, later attention was paid to the cultural and communicative spheres. Schiller (1976) and Boyd-Barrett (1977) argue that, above all, communicative and cultural discourses were used as a means of propaganda to impose and legitimize the invasive actions of certain countries. As can be seen at that time it was undeniable that the media were being used by the strongest countries to impose their ideas and manipulate other countries.

At the beginning, in the 1960s and 1970s, media imperialism was concerned with the power and influence of USA ideology, which spread from the state and its most popular media corporations to other countries, especially post-colonial countries (Boyd-Barrett & Mirrlees, 2020). In this conception, attention was paid to the negative influence that the USA media exerted on the receptionist countries. Herbert I. Schiller (1976) points out that the USA has a media imperialism over the world. *“This imperialism has pressured, forced and bribed societies to integrate with the US’ capitalist model but also incorporated them with attraction and persuasion by winning the mutual consent, even solicitation of the local rulers,”* (Schiller, 1976, pp. 9-10). As can be seen, since its inception, scholars pointed out that media imperialism was not always imposed by force, but at times requested and wanted by the local populations. However, it is never a fair choice, as Western content is favored because companies created and established in the West have greater audience reach, resources and promotion, making it almost impossible for local media to keep up.

Taking into account the context and the facts that raise the issue of media inequalities, it can be argued that the term media imperialism was initially created to show that Western countries impose media structures, with ideological messages, on less powerful countries with the aim of having power and control over them. However, it is important to highlight that just as the dynamics of the world have changed with the arrival of digital technologies and new needs, the concept has also changed to add new variables, thoughts and contexts.

In an effort to provide a more complete definition of what aspects are discussed when referring to media imperialism, Oliver Boyd-Barrett (1977) explains that the term should be understood as the process in which ownership, structure, distribution, and the content one

country's media are subject to external pressures from another country's interests, without this process of influence being reciprocal. We can observe that here the concept of media imperialism is deepened in order not only to focus on content but also to prioritize the import of business models, production standards and formats. This is important because, once the guidelines of how the media should be made are established, the reproduction of foreign hierarchies in line with the interests of the strongest countries by the locals is guaranteed.

In 1980s, the term media imperialism began to also encompass former colonial empires such as France, England, Spain, Portugal, Russia, among others, and even some peripheral countries such as China, India and Brazil that increased their ownership and distribution of media, influencing different geographies-cultural areas (Boyd-Barrett & Mirrlees, 2020). In this time, the concept of media imperialism recognizes the media power of other nations, which were not necessarily former colonizers. However, despite their relevance, they are considered to be weaker than Western countries, as they continue to be shaped by them. This means that Western media is still taken as the global standard and consumed by peripheral countries.

In the 1980s, the term also began to delve into internal media factors. For instance, McPhail (1987) stresses media imperialism is an electronic colonialism, in which the import of communication hardware and software, as well as talent such as engineers, technicians, establish a set of foreign standards, norms, and values. Siu-Nam Lee (1988) argues that the importation of these variables, especially talent, has disastrous consequences, as local values, norms and culture are lost. As it can be observed, Western labor and the training of human talent based on Western standards became key to exporting the canon to other parts of the world, denying the existence of other standards more in line with local needs and tastes.

In the 1990s, the theories of media imperialism became marginal due to the strengthening of left-wing ideas and movements, which advocated the strengthening of a society where there was equity and not hierarchies (Sparks, 2007). In addition, authors such as Tomlinson (1991) framed media imperialism within the scope of cultural imperialist discourse⁴, and

⁴ Tomlinson (1991) argues that within cultural imperialism there are four discourses: the media, national domination, the global domination of capitalism and the critique of modernity. Furthermore, the author stresses

argued that earlier approaches to the concept missed its discursive contours. As he argued, rather than thinking about media imperialism as an objective fact, one should perceive it as a discursive strategy used by the imperialist West to impose its own point of view.

Tomlinson's (1991) arguments on media imperialism discourse relied on the fact that most academic work around the concept by that time focused on the dangers posed by the burden of Western messages to peripheral countries. The author stresses that this research focused primarily on the extent to which Western media would arguably alter cultural values and destroy local ones. However, as he demonstrated such an effect had not been verified. In addition, he argues that the media imperialist discourse falsely assumes people to be defenseless against the bombardment of Western messages.

Tomlinson (1991) stresses that contrary to popular belief, media messages are not inevitable, as there are social barriers such as culture, language and law, as well as individual variables such as personal goals, values, socioeconomic level, among others, that give people tools to accept or reject them. Here it should be noted that this does not mean that people have total freedom to choose what they like, since as it has been explained certain messages such as the Western one will always be more promoted and favored than non-Westerns. However, it does mean that human beings are not helpless in protecting and shaping their culture.

Taking all these arguments into account, the discourse of media imperialism is wrong to insinuate that all cultures are negatively affected equally, since it denies other realities, people's ability to choose what to consume and the fact people understand different messages in the media. Furthermore, Tomlinson (1991) stresses that the discourse of media imperialism denies the premise of cultural imperialism, since if there are no cultural differences there cannot be one that dominates the others.

The appeal to common humanity or universalism is a denial of essential cultural difference. It has two implications. First implies that hermeneutic difficulties are overstated, that there is a common understanding between cultures at some deep level,

that, although media imperialism and cultural imperialism have been used as synonyms, the former is a category of the latter since culture goes beyond the media.

thus that we all laugh at the same thing. Second, it denies the possibility of cultural imperialism as it denies fundamental cultural differences: the ubiquity of a cultural form is thus separated from any question of domination since it can always be explained in terms of universal appeal (Tomlinson, 1991: 53).

What Tomlinson argues is that saying that the media affect all people equally means that the world shares a common cultural base, when that is not the case. Following this premise, it must be denied that there is media imperialism, because there is no homogenizing culture that changes behaviors and values all equally.

Furthermore, Tomlinson (1991) concludes that rather than assuming the media cultural domination, it is important to understand that the economic flows and structure allow for certain contents to be more popular than others.

It is not individual practices that we are blaming but a contextualising structure: capitalism⁵ not just as economic practices but as the central (dominant) position of economic practices within the social ordering of collective existence,” (Tomlinson 1991, p. 168).

Therefore, the media should not be seen as an agent responsible for domination in the world, but as a field that is also influenced by a wide range of power structures, which tend to be controlled by the West.

In the 1990s, while Tomlinson (1991) started criticizing the discourse of media imperialism, scholars thought that with the advent of globalization, the world had already left imperialist structures behind (Sparks, 2007). This led scholars to consider media imperialism as a phenomenon of the past and to replace it as the mainstay of media studies with globalization. Media studies based on globalization became confusing as opposed to media imperialism, the term encompasses many spheres for which it is difficult to isolate the media aspects.

⁵ Tomlinson (1991) explains that capitalism is the economic system in which private agents dominate ownership, business, and industry. According to the author, capitalism creates a consumer experience in which all cultural behaviors and experiences are commodified.

Before proceeding, it is worth explaining the term globalization. According to Kolb (2022) the term is known worldwide as the flow of products, services, technologies, people and information that has made the world's economies and cultures more integrated and interdependent. The aspect of interdependence is key, as previously the State had greater control over what was done and consumed within its borders.

It is important to note that while the term globalization is well known around the world, there is no consensus on a thorough definition. Thus, considering that it is not possible to have a definition of globalization that is fully accepted by all media academics, it has been decided to use that of Thompson (1995), since it is more focused on the media. First, he describes globalization as “*growing interconnectedness of different parts of the world, a process which gives rise to the complex form of the interaction and interdependency,*” (Thompson, 1995, p.149). Regarding the media, he points out that there is an asymmetry in the flow of information and products provided by transnational media conglomerates, which are the new protagonists in the global communication and information scenario. “*Significant inequalities remain in terms of the capacity of individuals in different parts of the world, and in different parts and social stratification of the same country to gain access to the material which are difussed through global networks,*” (Thompson, 1995, p. 164). Here, although Thompson raises an important issue about the inequalities that globalization brings between and within countries, his criticism only remains in the degree of media content access and not in the content itself. Therefore, it is important to remember that as Harry G. West and Jo Ellen Fair (1993) pointed out in their critique of modernity paradigm, the message is also dangerous. We can even suggest that it is more dangerous, since through the messages foreign structures, production, distribution, content and power relations are presented to the locals and promoted so much that they are accepted and even requested by them.

With globalization, one of the most notable changes in media was the rise of supranational conglomerates and other political organizations that replaced state power. Morley and Robins (1995) emphasized that with globalization a process of deterritorialization of the media began, which means that media started to transcending the barriers of the nation state and their interests. For instance, media conglomerates such as USA Cable News Network (CNN) became the most popular news provider around the world after its coverage of the

Persian Gulf War since it was the only global 24/7 news channel with live coverage unedited. Likewise, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the French Euronews became news monopolies (Schiller, 1992). These examples show that the world's major media corporations became the leading providers of news and information, leaving behind the state narrative to offer a new one according to their style, economical gains or to secure the largest readership. We must understand that state power was never nullified, as the state continued to approve media policies and regulate national media systems, influencing its production, content and distribution. However, it was clear that these media conglomerates now enjoyed more freedom than in previous times.

In the 2000s, while media conglomerates continued gaining strength worldwide, state power regained relevance due to USA and NATO military actions. In 2003, the United States' invasion of Iraq revived the memory of state propaganda promoted during the Gulf War, bringing the concept of media imperialism back to the center of the study. Unlike the previous decade, the USA and NATO actions were more criticized then as it became clear that Western countries were promoting a narrative to legitimize their military actions. The problem with these critiques was that they were rare, and those published received little attention (Boyd-Barrett, 2019b). As can be seen, although there was a renewed push for more critical research in state power, studies with positive narratives about the West remain more popular in the field. Thus, although the debate on media imperialism was reborn, it was not strong enough to challenge the state narratives of the media.

In 2007, Thussu notes that Western media remain the hegemons of the communication and information sphere due to the political and economic power of their countries. The author stresses that this power enables them to supply more media options around the world that reach wider audiences and have greater economic value. For the West, this creates a virtuous circle, as more media provided means more promotion of its national interests, which in turn increases its political and economic power.

In addition, it is important to note that the USA began to glocalize its media, which refers to the adaptation of its media to other cultures. For instance, CNN has created versions such as CNN En Español, which despite selling itself as a Latin American product follows the

Western canon. Thussu (2007) stresses that while other subaltern streams have emerged, such as the Arab channel Al Jazeera, their soft media power continues to be overridden by the hard political and economic power of the hegemonic countries. Therefore, while media flows and counter-flows are in constant struggle, the West continues to have a great advantage over the other.

It was in 2010 when media studies focused on social networks and their flows, rather than on the power the state had over the media. Although social media became popular since 2005, in 2010 there was a boom in social media studies for their role in the Arab Spring protest. However, instead of deep analysis on social media influence, most studies followed the narrative that social platforms such as X, formerly known as Twitter, and Facebook were liberators of society (Boyd-Barrett, 2019b). In this sense, the new studies did not recognize that Western structures were maintained in these social media companies and that the content promoted had a specific Western ideology. It should be noted that the fact that ideologies exist in the media is problematic, as they should not be transmitted in order to achieve a diverse and non-manipulated place. However, the reality is different. Thus, it can be seen that social media intervention in events such as the Arab Spring protests is not disinterested, as it continues to support the Western ideology.

In the 2010s, it was also observed that the government's drive for strategic alliances intensified. Boyd-Barrett (2019a) said that during this decade it was proved that conglomerates and media outlets had ties to USA agencies such as the CIA to favorably represent USA military and political actions. The rise of alliances between state agencies and media conglomerates demonstrates the need for the government to adapt in order to remain relevant and approved in today's environment. It should be noted that while conglomerate alliances have become key for states to mobilize their messages, the danger of state content has never abated, as Western state narratives continue to be seen as universal. Therefore, the power of the state should not be seen as less, but only as a new adaptation of its actions and policies.

In 2015, non-Western countries such as China and India started to become key leaders in the media market, especially in hardware and software solutions. However, USA companies

such as Apple, Cisco, Dell, as well as platforms such as Amazon, Facebook, Google and X (formerly known as Twitter) continue to retain capital and talent in the media field (Boyd-Barrett, 2019a). This means that although emerging countries became the leading media providers by having a large pool of well-trained human resources, large investments and rapid productivity growth, they still lag behind the Western countries. The main reason for this is that there has never been fair competition. Globalization structures continue to favor Western companies by promoting them and encouraging their use, while offers from non-Western countries find it more difficult to enter the market, can be criticized and even banned.

In 2020, Dale Yong Jin points out that with the rise of social media platforms such as Instagram, Western dominance continues to be reinforced. He explains that since most of social media companies are USA-based, it sets them up with a Western logic. Moreover, Yong accuses that these social networks censor non-Western perspectives since too often these platforms prohibit information and opinion under the argument of fake news⁶. However, most of the time, content is banned because it is contrary to the Western perspective. In addition, Cobbe (2019) said that there is a danger in regulating technologies such as algorithms, as it can lead to the exclusion of certain behaviours, and with it groups of people.

The introduction of commercially driven algorithmic censorship into the structural conditions of online communication allows social platforms to insert commercial considerations deeper into communications and relationships of many kinds: social, familial, commercial, political, and others. As a result, the ability of those platforms to provide sites for open and inclusive discussion, discourse, communication, and connection is further undermined (Cobbe, 2019, p. 744)

As can be seen, the debate on media imperialism no longer questions the fact that some states and companies decide what content is published and promoted on social networks around the world. While the fake news phenomenon has led to greater regulation and verification of

⁶ Fake news are articles that are deliberately and verifiably false, with the goal of manipulating people's perceptions of reality, events and people (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017).

content to avoid misinformation, it must be considered that media conglomerates may not be the best judges to decide whether a content is worthy. Cobbe (2019) affirms that media conglomerates act according to the economic interests and political logic where they are located, which makes their content parameters to be aimed at attracting more readers and increasing their monetization instead of providing various perspectives. Considering this, it can be concluded that social media platforms continue to reinforce biased discourses either for their profits or for the countries where they are located, in most cases Western ones.

Taking into account the history of the concept of media imperialism since its inception in the 1960s, it can be seen that the idea of the media changed. It went from being accused of being an imperialist agent that decided to control others to being seen as a vehicle for Western messages. In other words, over time it has become clear that the media do not have imperialistic intentions by nature, but are used by agents such as conglomerates and states for private interests. The situation shows that the colonialist structures that positioned Western countries as superior to non-Western countries in all areas have never gone away.

The definition of media imperialism used in this thesis will be that of Boyd-Barrett (1977), already discussed above. The definition includes variables such as the ownership, structure, distribution and content of the media of one country and considers them as pressures to control or persuade in favour of the interests of another country. This definition was chosen because it is the most complete in terms of all the processes involved in the media and shows the power relations of some actors over others. However, it should be stressed that the definition is almost 50 years old, so it will only be used as a basis for understanding the concept. For this reason, it is necessary to consider the technological changes that the media have undergone, which have led to the arrival of new actors, such as conglomerates and platforms such as social media. Here it must be emphasized that, although the actors and the mediums have changed, the imposition of messages and structures that divide the world between the West and the non-West continues.

It is important to note that media imperialism is a concept around which debate continues to be relevant. However, there has been a lack of more updated studies and theories in recent years, as globalization and media imperialism have been considered synonymous,

decreasing studies on media imperialism (Boyd-Barrett, 2019a). Initially, as previously explained, globalization was believed to be a new stage in the world after colonialism and media imperialism. The fact that it was not states but various interconnected actors that held media power was seen as the end of imperialism. However, Boyd-Barrett et al. (2020) explained that globalization was later understood not to provide a level playing field for all competitors, but rather to be tied to most Western or hegemonized states and corporations. This made globalization to be seen far from being the world's next step but as a new form of imperialism by media conglomerates and states. The identification of Western structures in globalization led the public to use the two terms interchangeably.

Despite their use as synonyms, Boyd-Barrett (2014) emphasizes that media imperialism and globalization are very different, mainly because the latter is less a cultural process. Following Tomlinson (1991), Boyd-Barrett stresses that while imperialism was an intentional project to spread a system of ideology, culture and economy, globalization is the interconnection and interdependence of processes in various areas (political, social, economic, among others), and most importantly, it does not have a single intentional goal. Moreover, as globalization is no longer tied solely to national interests, the power is decentralized.

Sparks (2007) stresses that the emergence of more media competitors is opening the door to other non-Western perspectives. However, scholars such as Huggues (2011) explained that even in local societies, the mass media are mainly controlled by a small elite who use their power to consciously or unconsciously maintain the national and international status quo. Therefore, we can see that the world is far from achieving equality in media diversity, as it would require the whole society to be represented without any group been shown as superior. While globalization has opened the door for non-Western perspectives, we need to examine how much power they have compared to Westerners, and whether they have a local perspective. This last aspect is important because, even if a country's media elite is local, its ideals, perspectives and ambitions can respond to the Western capitalist logic.

As mentioned above, the first section of the chapter confirms that there are imperialism interests within the media. This does not imply that all media have imperialist purposes, but it does intend to demonstrate that the current world structure, i.e. capitalism, globalization

and modernity continue to benefit Western content. It is worth noting that it is not only their structures, but also the discourses and narratives that are promoted about them. Following these arguments, it is concluded that there has never been a fair competition, a market or a space that allows all actors to interact in the same way and have the same opportunities. Thus, while it is true that globalization has enabled non-Western peoples to produce and distribute content as never before, their media influence is not comparable to that of the West.

Given the arguments that the media have been used as a means to promote and favored Western ideology and content, the second section of the chapter will explain how the media is key to giving meaning and sense to the world to us and others. In addition, it will be emphasized that there are several problems in media representation, as non-Western societies continue to be imprisoned in erroneous roles and attitudes.

2.2 Representation, Identity and Difference in Media

The media is a medium that has been key to understanding the world, since it is through its representation that human beings form their perception of events, things, countries, other people and themselves. Hall (1997) argues that through representation, people identify common historical traces and experiences that form their cultural identity, allowing them to enter a particular group to which they feel connected. However, representations also help to identify differences between cultural identities, which leads to the exclusion of others in certain spaces. As we can observe, media are, therefore, one of the tools with which people begin at an early age to make sense of who they are, the group to which they belong, the aspirations they can have, and the role they and others play in the world.

It should be noted that Hall's analysis of representation is based on Foucault's discursive approach. According to Foucault (1992), discourse should be understood as statements that allow people to represent and have knowledge of a certain subject. However, Foucault warns that the discourse becomes a set of rules that limits the way of thinking about things, people and events. Therefore, it can be seen that it is through discourse that material things and actions acquire importance rather than their mere existence.

Hall (2005) explains that, contrary to what has been argued, representation is not something that is already fixed, but something that people learn progressively and that are socially, culturally and politically endowed. Thus, the construction and perception of the world is a constant learning process that is defined by representations that are internalized unconsciously and consciously. In addition, Hall points out that, although some representations allow people to have a level of understanding of others, they should not be taken as static, since these change from one culture or time to another.

The representations are likely to be very different as you move from one person to another, one group or another, one part of society or another, one historical moment and another – just as those forms of representation will change, so the meaning of the event will change. Representation is not outside the event, not after the event, but within the event itself (Hall, 2005, p. 8).

With this quote, Hall explains that the representation we have today is not the one that existed a few years ago or even today, but in different parts of the world. For example, the idea of what a family is is something that was previously only shown in the media in its most traditional representation, that is, a couple of the opposite sex and children. Today, however, it has accommodated various forms of family: same-sex couples, childless, or even single parents. Therefore, although we may have an idea of what a family is, its representation changes according to time and place, as it is constantly shaped by the actions of the present.

Although it has been shown representation is an ongoing process, Hall (2005) claims that outside forces constantly intervene to completely fix it and have power over it, closing off opportunities for other realities to be known.

They want a powerful definition of it to become naturalized so that that is the only meaning it can possibly carry. Whenever you see that, you will think that whenever you see that, you will think that whenever you see those people, you will assume that they have those characteristics. Whenever you see that event, you will assume it has that political consequence. That is what ideology tries to do, that is what power in signification is intended to do: to close language, to close meaning, to stop the flow (Hall, 2005, p. 19).

We can observe that although the perception of the world changes according to time and place, there are certain representations that society takes as universal. The problem is that many of these universal representations are often based on Western ideology, which causes society to exclude other realities or have negative perceptions about them.

Hall's conclusions connect with the findings of Richard Dyer (1999), who states that since there is no true order in which the world is unproblematically and transparently revealed, representations based on stereotypes and typifications are necessary to make sense of the world. Dyer argues that through typification, categories are established for people who share similar traits belong to the same groups, which allows them to know their role in the world. On the other hand, Dyer explains that, according to Lippman's 1956 understanding of the term, the stereotype is a distorted image in a person's mind, not based on personal experience, but culturally learned. Dyer stresses that Lippmann's work shows that while stereotypes are useful, they can limit people's minds if they have a negative connotation.

For when a system of stereotypes is fixed, our attention is called to those facts which support it, and diverted from those which contradict. What is alien will be rejected, what is different will fall upon unseeing eyes. We do not see what our eyes are not accustomed to take into account. Sometimes consciously, more often without knowing it, we are impressed by those facts which fit our philosophy (Lippman, 1956, p.3).

Therefore, although stereotypes and typification are necessary to understand the configuration of the world, there is a danger in the use of stereotypes, as they can often lead to discriminatory and racist perceptions. Dyer (1999) emphasizes that dominant groups usually use negative stereotypes in universal representations to appear superior, normalizing their position to the point of making it natural and inevitable.

This is the most important function of the stereotype: to maintain sharp boundary definitions. To define clearly where the pale ends and thus who is clearly within and who clearly beyond it. Stereotypes do not only, in concert with social types, map out the boundaries of acceptable and legitimate behavior, they also insist on boundaries exactly at those points where in reality there are none (Dyer, 1999, p. 5).

As Dyer points out, the problem with these universal representations is that the West considers bad what does not fit its canon. Furthermore, Hall (2005) argues that the media has become the main channel for promoting these universal representations with negative stereotypes about non-Westerners. Examples include the racialization of crime, misogynistic narratives about gender, and the exclusion of minorities. As can be seen, media structures have made it possible to impose Western ideology to the point where everyone believes that the division of the world into those who live well and those who do not is natural and normal. Moreover, it has led to ignoring other perceptions, as society has been taught what to worry about.

Van der Meer et al. (2018) highlighted that these negative universal representations pose a great risk in journalism, as it is the medium in which news, information and opinion are offered, allowing people to get to know others and make better decisions. However, when there are misrepresentations in the news and only Western criteria decide what to pay attention to, citizens are informed through biases and incomplete information. Today, the division of cultures continues in the news, where the good of the West and the bad of non-Westerners are highlighted. Examples are the global news agencies, mostly Western, which have made the negative factor (war, violence, protests, among others) the main criterion for reporting on Latin America (Sousa, 2002; Brito, 2014). This does not mean that all Western news agencies are bent on making regions like Latin America look bad. However, they follow Western ideology due to their location, which makes events be judged according to their values.

Apart from misrepresentation, another issue in media is the absence of coverage of certain people, countries and events. Hall (2005) explains that absence of coverage means as much as presence. It is important to highlight that within marginalized groups there are subgroups that are more marginalized. For instance, while there is a lack of news coverage on Latin America, when there is, special attention is only given to hegemonic countries such as Brazil and Mexico or to countries in crisis such as Venezuela and Cuba. This shows that there is a marginalization in the news of countries that are not hegemonic or are not in an imminent

crisis. The lack of coverage is a serious issue because it makes people not even think about these countries, giving the impression that they are not important.

The second section of the chapter allows to conclude that people make sense of the world, connect with specific groups and also differentiate themselves from others through media representation. Second, it was found that typification and stereotyping are, in fact, normal in the process of people's understanding their surrounding. However, the error especially in stereotypes lies in who elaborates them and for what purpose. Third, although there cannot be universal representations of cultures because they are never permanent, there are external forces such as the West that constantly try to fix representations to retain their dominance. Fourth, Western structures hold a higher power in the decision of which topics remain relevant in journalism. This has serious consequences, because if the news is laden with misinformation and bias, it surely cannot be objective. Finally, it was found that the lack of representation of certain groups is also dangerous as it causes certain people to be left out of people's minds, distancing them and making them invisible to the world.

Having understood the power of the media in creating identities and marking differences between cultures, the following section will show in more detail what it is to be represented as the *Other*, which refers to what opposes the ideal of the West. This section will use Edward Said's (1978) *Orientalism* to better understand how the West's creation of a false regional identity such as the Orient has been used since colonial times to represent others in an inferior way and to have power over them. In addition, it will discuss how the otherness process has specifically influenced Latin America. It should be noted here that, although Said's work is very much focused on the Orient, he opened the door to analyzing and understanding the reality of non-Western regions. However, to further shed further light on how this process of otherness has specifically influenced Latin America, the work of Latin American decolonial authors such as Quijano (2000) and Mignolo (*Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia*, 2021) will also be analyzed. In addition, the current division of the world: the Global North and the Global South, will be studied to see if there has been an improvement in the representation of the world or if it continues to replicate colonial structures.

2.3 Representing the Other and the Epistemological Decolonial Detours

There are different perspectives on what colonization was and its repercussions up to the present day. This clearly differs depending on the country in which a person is located and the discourse that has been promoted; whether it is said that colonization was a process of good faith that sought to guide other countries or whether it is recognized that there was a conquest and exploitation of other cultures. While the Netherlands, Denmark, the United Kingdom and the European Parliament have apologized for the colonial past and its repercussions, other countries such as Belgium and France have said that although colonization caused wounds, each country must be responsible for its current situation (Tidey, 2022). As can be seen, the perception of colonization depends on the country. In recent decades demands for a new world narrative have come mainly from peripheral countries, as they have perceived that imperialist structures persist, making their situation more difficult than that of others and influencing their cultural, social, psychological, political and economic life.

Academic studies on the colonial struggle of the Global South began in the 1960s. However, it was Palestinian writer Edward Said's major work, *Orientalism* (1978), that was taken as the foundational work upon which postcolonial theory developed (Elam, 2019). Said's work became a reference by shedding light on the Western colonial discourses that had been promoted in the Orient and have endured to this day.

In the book *Orientalism* (1978), Said starts explaining that the existence and development of any culture such as the West implies finding unique characteristics that differentiate it from other cultures. As a result, the creation of the *Other* must be taken as the product of Europe's efforts to build its own image, in which it takes anyone who is not European as an alien. "*The Other is everything that lies outside of the self* (Said, 1978, p. 144). *The Self is the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the Other is strange (the Orient, the east, "them"),*" (Said, 1978, p. 43). Said emphasizes that the Western creation and promotion of the discourse of the *Other* has been paramount to control not only the territories, but also the identity, history and culture of the invaded nations. Therefore, we can observe that for the West to create this narrative in which it is superior there had to be a comparison, in which everything else, that is, the rest of the countries, would always be lesser and never be part of them.

Said (1978) stresses that the Western division of the world made all peripheral regions see themselves as binary oppositions and even antitheses. This has caused insiders in peripheral countries to see themselves as a disaster in need of help and guidance from the West.

The Orient was created - or, rather as I call it orientalized by a hegemonic process that robbed it of its true identity, voice, and indigenous culture. This imagined reality was substituted with pictures, perceptions, and perspectives derived from what I like to call the "Western gaze." On one side are the Westerners and on the other the Arab-Orientals. The first are rational, peaceful, liberal, logical, capable of maintaining real values and are not suspicious by nature; the latter do not have any of these characteristics (Said, 1978 p. 80).

Said highlights a very important aspect in the process of otherness, and that is that other identities are "orientalized", which does not mean that characteristics of the Orient are put on, but rather that identities are created from scratch. These are created through a bombardment of Western messages that impose their perspective, which far from showing the true reality of these countries shows a worse position than their own.

The construction of the *Other* by Said (1978) connects with what is proposed in Foucault's theory (1992) of the regime of truth, a system in which dominant groups have imposed a specific narrative of how the world can be known. Foucault (1992) argues that Western discourse originated from the point of view of the colonizers, which meant that centuries of previous cultural existence were ignored. Although Said and Foucault agree that the imposition of the Western perspective through discourses has shaped the world, it is important to note that there is a fundamental difference between the two: Foucault denies that resistance is possible, while Said stresses that structures can be challenged through decolonized discourses and by warning about the intentions of Western thought. Said says that the current narrative of *Orientalism* serves to demonstrate global intellectual dishonesty, as well as to highlight cruel and inhumane divisions. Furthermore, he stresses that *Orientalism* serves as a push for social deconstruction, arguing the world's distinctions are socially constructed rather than natural.

If Orientalism has any impact at all, it is to remind us how seductively knowledge can be degraded, no matter what knowledge, where or when it is produced. But the bottom line is that human history is written by human beings. Since the struggle for control of a territory is part of that history, so is the struggle for its historical and social meaning (Said, 1978, p. 431).

Thus, it can be observed that the influence of discourse in the elaboration of worldviews has been widely accepted, recognizing their crucial role. However, disagreements remain as to whether it is possible to change their narrative. In this sense, Said's position will be chosen, since we can observe how social movements such as the feminist and indigenous have improved their situation through new discourses. In the case of colonization, Said (1978) recognizes that changes are slow and difficult to achieve, as the whole world functions through imperialist structures. Moreover, it is difficult for peripheral countries to accept their subjugation within a system. However, it is precisely through works such as *Orientalism* that people can begin to question their positions in the world.

While Said's work provides insight into the postcolonialism current that focuses on the influence of colonialism in the Orient, the decolonial current has important contributions to studies of the colonial struggle in Latin America (Tsang, 2021). Decolonial authors such as Quijano (2000) and Mignolo (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021) emphasize that Western colonialism never ended, as it continues throughout the discourse of modernity.

Before delving into the current of decoloniality, it is important to point out that decolonization and decoloniality are not the same thing. The first was a 20th century project in which local populations in Asia, Africa and South Africa attempted to regain control of their countries. However, the project failed when it was found that the new elites in the countries that replaced the colonizers continued to maintain Western colonizing structures. This became the origin of the current of decoloniality, as it sought to expose the relationship between colonialism and modernity (Tsang, 2021). The current explains that, although colonialism and modernity are considered different processes, both were imposed by the West for its benefit. Thus, while Said's debate focuses on the colonial phenomenon and its influence on the Orient, other authors such as Quijano (2000) open the debate further by

stating that a legacy of colonialism was the creation of the modern capitalist system. According to Quijano, this is the new dominant system that continues to benefit the West above all others.

In his work *Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America*, Quijano (2000) explains that in the case of Latin America, two colonizing processes led to the constitution of a new domination of world power. First, the idea of race and, second, the control of labor, resources and products around capitalism. The author explains that the racial division in the region naturalized the fact that white Europeans dominated blacks, indigenous people, mestizos, among others. On the other hand, the exploitation of labor and the control of resources were also associated with race, causing the so-called inferior races to have unpaid work, while Westerners had more profits. Thus, Quijano demonstrates that skin color and labor were key areas for Western domination in Latin America. In fact, Avilés (2023) emphasizes that today skin color is the main reason for discrimination in Latin America, which shows that colonial structures have never left the region.

Quijano (2021) calls coloniality of power the prolongation of Western colonial structures in the capitalist system. The author argues that this coloniality has been maintained thanks to the hegemony of Eurocentrism⁷ as an epistemological perspective, i.e., the structures of colonization continue as Europe continues to dominate knowledge.

Coloniality and modernity/rationality were from the beginning, and have not ceased to be until today, two sides of the same coin. Two inseparable dimensions of the same historical process (Quijano, 2021, p. 20). By its nature, the Eurocentric perspective distorts, if not blocks, the perception of our social-historical experience, while leading us to admit it as true. Consequently, our problems can only be perceived as distorted (Quijano, 2021, p. 8).

Quijano argues that, like colonialism, modernity, being based on European life, marginalizes realities outside of the Western context. Consequently, the discourse and structure of modernity also underpin the division between the West and non-West. Quijano's work

⁷ Eurocentrism refers to a worldview and mentality that centers the white European perspective as the main one and compared to all others is superior (Trembath, 2023).

became a key basis for studies on decoloniality as it demonstrated that knowledge also became a space of conquest for the West.

Quijano's work (2014) connects very well with that of Said (1978) as both authors emphasize that the regions experienced a reconstruction of identity with colonization. Quijano (2014) argues that it was the Europeans who gave new identities to the countries of the region and forced them to enter the world-system, which refers to the global division of labor that classified countries into central, semi-peripheral and peripheral countries.

The category Orient would not have been elaborated as the only one with sufficient dignity to be the Other - albeit, by definition, inferior - of the West, without some equivalent being coined for Indians or blacks. But this very omission reveals that these other factors also acted within the racist pattern of universal social classification of the world's population (Quijano, 2014, pp. 786-787).

As can be seen, Quijano is one of the scholars who points out that otherness has not been exclusive to the Orient; this process has occurred in other regions and races. Furthermore, it was not an exclusive process of colonization, since its discriminatory and hierarchical relations can be found in modernity.

Another author working in the intersection of postcolonialism and decoloniality who analyzed the process of otherness in Latin America is Walter Mignolo. This author argues that contrary to what Western education has said Latin America was never discovered but completely invented (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021).

The name Latin America is not the representation of an identity, but ontological. That is to say, it is completely the Western discourse on the region. Knowing how Latin America was formed shows that the world was never divided into continents; it was all an invention of Europe, said Mignolo (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021, 21:40)

We can observe that saying that Latin America was discovered marginalizes the life that existed before colonization. Europe did not discover a new region, it invaded it and imposed a narrative that excludes local knowledge and experiences. Mignolo explains that the original peoples who inhabited the region did not call or understand Latin America as we do today; there were different concepts, names and divisions (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021). As can be seen, although Said focuses on the creation of the Orient and Quijano and Mignolo on that of Latin America, all authors believe that the experiences of the peripheral and semi-peripheral regions are entirely a Western construction.

To delve deeper into the Latin American experience, Mignolo explains that at a certain point, when the struggles for Independence began in the region, strong empires such as England and France realized that they no longer needed a coloniality of settlement, that is, to be present in a territory (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021).

At that time it was understood that coloniality no longer needed territorial colonialism because there were other means. Submission could be achieved through the region's dependence on exports, imports and trade. Most importantly, there was a coloniality of subjectivity, said Mignolo (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021, 29:27).

Therefore, the presence of settlers was no longer necessary to impose Western ideology in Latin America, since the perceptions, arguments, language and points of view of the locals already acted according to Western logic.

Mignolo explains that before the 1960s no one spoke of Latin America as a subregion, but of the Americas as a whole. However, with the Westernization of the social sciences promoted by the region's universities, a new way of controlling thought and, with it, subjectivity began (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021).

The idea of Latin America appears in the European imaginary, which at that time, although it no longer invaded in person, continued to decide how the structures of the world were. It was until this dependence of ideas towards Europe was made that the narrative began to be accepted by the inhabitants of the continent who were from Latin America said Mignolo (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021, 42:20).

Like Quijano, Mignolo argues that the Latin American discourse has survived so long thanks to the West's control over subjectivity. Mignolo affirms that the educational system in the region has been the basis for the maintenance and promotion of this discourse. There are two important points when we refer to Latin American education, one is that unlike other regions, Latin Americans believe that education is the only way to have a good life and be competitive in the world. Second, the educational system continues to support Western ideals. For example, when teaching about colonization in the region, it is said that although it was a process that in some aspects was abusive and exploitative, it also brought much enlightenment to the region. Now, if we take both factors: one, education is seen as the only acceptable path to growth and two, the content is biased towards the West, we can understand why the region continues to be created by the West.

In the third section, it has been found that otherness was born out of Europe's eagerness to promote the idea that it was superior in the colonial era. For this promotion to work, the West needed agents to compare itself with and these had to be seen as inferior. The misconception of the regions was maintained after the colonization because the West had already succeeded in having its discourses of superiority internalized by the non-Western inhabitants. To close this chapter, I will discuss whether the current world division between the Global North and the Global South continues to give prevalence to Western narratives over the rest of the world.

2.3.1 The Global North and South Divide.

The Global North-South division was first introduced as a more open and fairer alternative to the 1950s-1960s concepts of First World, Second World and Third World (Figure 1), as well as to the terms Developed and Developing Countries. The collective efforts aim to eliminate the colonialist and neocolonialist relationships and hierarchies that previously

dominated the international scene (Levander & Mignolo, 2011). As can be seen, the aim was to create a new division of the world that would break with the custom of labeling non-Westerners as inferior to the West.

Figure 1

Map of the First, Second and Third World Countries



Note. From *Development Classifications* by R. Gamesby, n.d. (https://www.coolgeography.co.uk/gcsen/EW_Development_Classifications.php). Copyright ©2015 by Cool Geography.

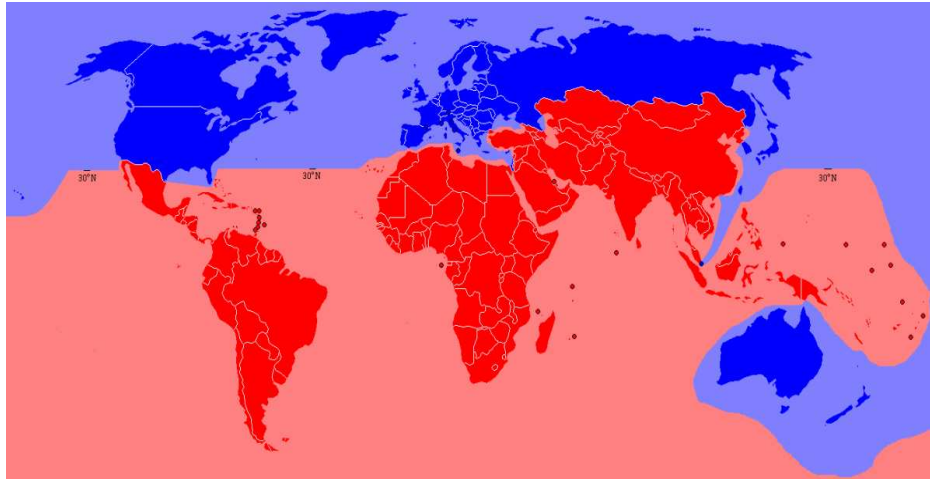
The term "Global South" first appeared in the 1970s, when revolutionary movements demanded new perspectives that considered the difficulties some countries faced in achieving political and economic goals (Dirlik, 2007). Subsequently, the terms Global South along with Global North became more popular after the publication of the so-called Brandt Commission studies in 1980 and 1983, written by an independent commission chaired by the German politician Willy Brandt, both with the title "North-South." Meanwhile, the term Global was introduced to relate to the current globalization setting (Dirlik, 2007).

Subsequently, it was decided to use the terms Global North and Global South to divide the world based on socioeconomic and political factors, alluding to the fact that the most developed countries are mostly in the north (Figure 2). The Global North is correlated with Western countries such as the United States, all European countries, among others, while the Global South, a term that mainly refers to countries with a shared history of colonization, is

composed mainly of countries from Africa, South Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East, (Levander & Mignolo, 2011).

Figure 2

The New World Division: Global North and the Global South



Note. From *North-South divide: More complex than it looks*, by G. Canzi, 2015 (<https://eciu.net/insights/2015/north-south-divide-more-complex-than-it-looks>). Copyright © 2023 by Energy & Climate Intelligence Unit.

Since 2003, the UN has been one of the most vocal supporters of the Global North and South, stating that the countries of the South must now decide their own development and modernization rather than the North (Dirlik, 2007). Thus, once again the demands of peripheral countries for better representation lead to a change in the way the world is divided. However, it should be noted here that the new map does not differ much from the one that divided the world into First, Second and Third World Countries. Essentially, instead of having three categories that divide the globe, it is now separated into two. It is important to note that, far from a significant reconfiguration, most of the countries previously categorized as First World Countries were once again labeled as the core group, the Global North. Meanwhile, the rest of the countries, which is the majority, were located in the group of the Global South, considered the weakest group.

The fact Western social and political parameters were used to create the North-South divide have questioned whether the division really represents the world better or continues to

reproduce Western hierarchies. Levander and Mignolo (2011) emphasize that the Global South was created by the West in the struggle between imperialist and decolonial movements. Therefore, the authors emphasize that the Global South must be understood as the concept that replaces the Third World, which continues to categorize regions as Latin America countries as underdeveloped that still need the support of the Global North to improve their situation. Furthermore, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2016) emphasizes that, despite efforts to change the relationships and hierarchies between countries, the Global North-South division of the world remains one-sided. Thus, since the new division was made by a Western committee which, although independent, sees life according to Western values, the global division of the world was once again dictated by the West. While the new division no longer refers to a first class of countries, it still promotes the binary distinction between developed and developing nations.

Nevertheless, Levander and Mignolo (2011) argue that the new divide offers new opportunities, especially to the Global South, because it is becoming a center where decolonization is taking place and new ways of life are emerging. Grovogu (2011) highlights that the term Global South rejects colonial structures and allows it to focus on its own context. Therefore, the new division did bring new opportunities, as it is now recognized that the South has different objectives and needs, which makes it possible to further reject the idea that the Westernization of countries is necessary to improve their situation. However, it is important to note these empower discourses remain within the Global South as the Global North continues to see it as inferior.

Another aspect that has been raised by the Global North and the Global South division is that neither term is exclusive, that is, a country/region can have both. For example, although Europe is part of the Global North there are countries such as Italy, Portugal and Spain that are considered as the Global South of Europe, showing there can be a Global South inside the Global North. In addition, marginalized people within countries such as minorities should also be considered as the Global South within the Global North. Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2016) highlights that the coexistence of both realities shows that there is not only one Europe and that there is internal colonialism on the continent.

I argue that the Portuguese and the Spanish were described by the Northern Europeans in the same terms that the Portuguese and the Spaniards attributed to the indigenous and native peoples. They were described as lazy, lascivious, ignorant, superstitious, and unclean (de Sousa Santos, 2016, pp. 17-18) The South also exists in the geographic North (Europe and North America), in the form of excluded, silenced and marginalised populations, such as undocumented immigrants, the unemployed, ethnic or religious minorities, and victims of sexism, homophobia, racism and islamophobia (de Sousa Santos, 2016, pp. 18-19).

We can see that there can be a Global South within the Global North, which is extremely important because it shows that not everyone benefits from this narrative in the same way and that even in the hegemonic group there are those who are marginalized, which can be entire countries or minorities within them. This conclusion is very important for the thesis because the Portuguese journalism narrative promoted about Latin America is being studied. With this finding, it is possible to understand that although Portugal benefits from being part of Europe, it is also influenced by stronger Western countries.

In terms of how the Global South-North Global divide influences the media, Ranji (2021) states that negative distinctions between the two persist. The author stresses that the issue is that most media outlets have a Western perspective that tends to focus only on the problems of the Global South, such as violence and state limits on press freedom. As a result, negative stereotypes of the region continue to be promoted. Thus, it can be observed that while many articles portray non-Western nations from a Western perspective, there are few that portray the West from the perspective of the Global South. This means that the concerns, priorities, needs and desires of the Global South are barely known outside of the group.

The Westernization of the media has led several scholars such as Quijano (2014) and Mignolo (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021) to express their concern about media Eurocentrism and to call for studying the world from non-Western perspectives in order to understand Asia, Africa and Latin America on their own terms. Quijano (2014) calls on society to learn to free itself from the Eurocentric mirror because "*our image is always, by force, distorted,*" (p. 828). Quijano emphasizes that only by rejecting what the West has categorized as ourselves can we truly find who we are.

Meanwhile, Mignolo argues it is necessary to question the entire social sciences field. The author proposes that far from social academics being more interdisciplinary, they all have to be undisciplined with the Western canon (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021).

We have to start looking for alternatives that are outside the Western canon, those that are far from being accepted. It's not about abandoning everything, but about questioning it. Because of the logic of the world we have to work with Western structures but not justify them, said Mignolo (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 202, 1:43:03).

It is important to note that when Mignolo proposes to do undisciplined research, he does not mean that anything can be considered research. He means that research should be done in such a way that its results are reliable, but ignoring Western norms and parameters in order to find new alternatives. The aim of being undisciplined is not to reject everything that the West has done, but to stop seeing the world through its lenses.

2.4 Conclusions

The first key conclusion of the second chapter is that the media is not objective, often having a Western perspective that can be a carrier of imperialist interests. Far from being an imperialist agent, the media is part of global structures that continue to benefit Western interests and content at the expense of others. This means that Western representation of regions such as Latin America is neither objective nor impartial, as they judge the region according to their values. Furthermore, the idea that bad news is good news continues to be a tactic used by the West when covering Latin America, pigeonholing the region into problems such as violence, poverty, crime, among others.

Second, the chapter demonstrates that the process of otherness was not exclusive of the West against the Orient, but against all non-Western regions. Moreover, the narrative of Western supremacy has been maintained because the local population has internalized the discourses of Western supremacy, self-feeding these unequal and unjust hierarchies. Finally, the current division of the world into Global North and Global South has only partially changed the picture of the world, as the division was made through Western standards. Therefore,

although this division has given more power to the South by allowing it to assert that it has different needs, the Global North continues to decide how the world sees it.

3. Journalism Media Systems and Cultures

This chapter departs from the assumption that journalism did not evolve or function in the same way in different contexts. These differences depend on the various media systems that shape journalism in different contexts. The aim of this chapter is to analyze the concept of media system proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004a) and, in particular, to map the variety of media systems that exist in the Global North. In addition, it also aims to address the universal norms, principles and values of journalism found in the Global North, as well as to determine whether they are applicable to the Global South. The chapter aims to discuss all these issues before focusing on the particularity of the Portuguese media system, which will be analyzed in depth in the following chapter.

3.1 Journalism Media Systems: Global North

The relevance of the study of the media system lies in the relationship between the media, politics and the functioning of democratic countries. Academics such as Hallin and Mancini (2004a) argue that the media, more specifically journalism, plays a key role in informing inhabitants, making them more politically aware and boosting democratic activities. However, the behaviour and influence of the media in a given society will differ from one place to another, as it depends on specific factors such as the government, culture, history and economy in which it is located. Therefore, it is not possible to generalize the behavior or influence of the media in all countries. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify similar situations by the classification of media systems.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to understand what is meant by media systems. This concept has been difficult to describe because, although its definitions do not differ much, it lacks a clear definition. De Fleur and Ball Rokeach (1989) point out that media systems do not exist by themselves, but, on the contrary, their definition is proposed as abstract constructs. For example, Hallin and Mancini (2004a) state that media systems should be understood as a complete universe, whose media are interconnected and cannot be considered separately. Meanwhile, Henrik Bastiansen (2008) says that the definition of media systems is self-evident, as it clearly means several media interacting in a given place. Thus, while there is scholarly agreement that several media are connected, everything else is ambiguous. The lack of a clear definition lies in the fact that as it has been said media

systems differ from place to place, making it impossible to have a universal conception. However, to better understand the importance of the term, Hardy's (2008) definition will be used, as it is the clearest and has served as a reference for important studies such as Hallin's *Comparing Media Systems and the Digital Age* (2020). According to Hardy, "a media system comprises all mass media organized and operating within a given social and political system (usually a state)" (2008, p.185). Hardy's definition allows to understand that when studying media systems, scholars cannot focus only on the media as an instrument through which communication is produced. Other variables such as norms, habits, values, among others, should be considered since these also influence media behavior and its development.

Research on media systems began in 1956, with Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's *Four theories of the press: the authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do*, which argues that a communication system reflects the structure of the society in which it operates. The main objective of the authors was to contrast the liberal-democratic, communist and authoritarian political systems that prevailed during the Cold War, classifying the communication systems according to what the media and the press should be. The study resulted in countries being classified into: liberal democracies such as the West, Soviet communist regimes and authoritarian states, where most of the less powerful countries were located. The main criticism of the book was that the division of media systems reinforced the division of the world into First, Second and Third countries (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Although in Cold War times the different types of government were very distinguishable, the mistake was to consider everything that was not the West as bad. Thus, the first studies on media systems were loaded with Western hierarchies and values, ignoring other realities and needs. Moreover, the work reinforced the division of the world into First, Second and Third countries at a time when it was already being criticized and a fairer one was being demanded.

Despite its difficult beginnings, scholars such as Seymour-Ure (1974) and Picard (1985) continue to study media systems. However, it was not until 2004, with Hallin and Mancini's book *Comparing media systems*, that a classification of the media systems of various countries was considered successful. The study compared 18 Western democracies; nine were from Northern European countries (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany,

the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland), five from the south (France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Greece) and four from the Atlantic (Canada, Great Britain, Ireland and the United States). The book became a reference in media systems studies because it objectively identified the main variables that construct media and political systems and the different relationship that may be between both structures.

In *Comparing media systems* (2004a), Hallin and Mancini propose four dimensions for their conceptual framework of media systems. The first is the structure of media markets, which is related to the development of the mass press. The characteristics studied were newspaper circulation, the relationship with readers, the importance of the press as a source of news, among others. The second dimension is political parallelism, which seeks to observe whether a country's media have political ideologies. The variables studied were the degree of political orientation, organizational connections, internal pluralism, state regulation, among others. The third dimension is the professionalization of journalism, which seeks to see the independence of the branch. The variables studied were degree of autonomy, rules of professionalism and public service ethics. The last dimension was the role of the State, which refers to the power that the political system has over the media. The characteristics studied were censorship, subsidies, media ownership and regulation, among others.

On the other hand, Hallin and Mancini (2004a) propose five core dimensions to analyze the political influences on media systems. The first dimension is State role, which categorize the countries between liberal democracies and welfare states. In liberal democracies the government does not intervene as much and lets the market regulate the economic system, while in welfare states the government intervenes more as it protects and promotes economic welfare. The second dimension is called consensus vs. majoritarian democracy, which seeks to study the countries' variety in political parties. Countries that experience a consensus political model have a multi-party system, in which proportional representation and cooperation between opposition forces are fundamental. While majoritarian democracy systems have two dominant parties, in which the winner usually concentrates all power to further differentiate itself from the opposition. The third dimension is the difference between individual (liberalism) and organized pluralism (corporatism). The first holds that the relationship between government institutions and citizens depends on individual interests.

Corporatism, on the other hand, is an integration of various social groups into the political process in order to be fair represented. The fourth dimension is rational-legal authority and clientelism. In the first, it is established that there are independent and autonomous apparatuses that are not affected by political interests. Whereas in clientelism, apparatuses are influenced by individual interests and private relationships. Finally, the last dimension is the distinction between moderate and polarized pluralism. The former is characterized by having political parties that are more towards the center of ideologies and there is a greater possibility of consensus during political polemics. While polarized pluralism has very little consensus, the political apparatus is constantly questioned and there are few similarities between political parties.

As is evident, the authors' goal was to identify all the factors that influence the media in Western countries. It is crucial to remember that even in relatively similar countries, a difference in a single variable can completely alter the picture. Therefore, the ultimate goal of the study was to identify distinct patterns of media systems based on their geographic location and historical context. Hallin and Mancini's study (2004a) found three types of media systems in the 18 countries: the Polarized Pluralistic Model found in Mediterranean and Southern European nations, the Democratic Corporatist Model, which is typical in Northern Europe, and the Liberal Model found in Anglo-Saxon cultures (Tables 1 & 2).

The Polarized Pluralistic Model is characterized by newspapers controlled by the media elite and politicians, which makes their circulation less than that of the other two models. As the press is full of political bias, the defense of journalism in these countries is greater than in other countries. The authors explain that these characteristics of the Polarized Pluralistic Model have to do with the fact that the State used to be the owner, regulator and financier of these media. Despite this, more and more journalists in these countries are advocating autonomy. Hallin and Mancini (2004a) emphasize that the Polarized Pluralist Model is mainly for countries that had a late development of liberal institutions, leading to delayed democratization and polarized pluralism in ideology.

Countries with the Democratic Corporatist Model have developed a significant professionalization of journalism and a solid base of rational-legal authority. Since the media

are considered social institutions for which the state is responsible, freedom of the press and government interference coexist in these nations. This coexistence translates into media regulation, government funding of the press, and public service broadcasting. Most of the national press is outwardly pluralistic, while the commercial press is very neutral. In addition, because of their low illiteracy rates, these nations also have the highest percentage of newspaper circulation (Hallin & Mancini, 2004a).

Finally, the Liberal Model is characterized by having a press freedom with low political intervention. The reason, according to Hallin and Mancini (2004a), is that in these societies, unlike the other two models, liberal institutions were created early. In terms of the political setting, democracies exhibit majoritarianism, moderate pluralism, and rational-legal authority. As we can see, in this model there is a greater penetration of the market than of the State in journalism. This leads to an autonomous system, without institutionalization and regulation for journalists. Although there are risks in not having state frameworks, their early development in the commercial press has allowed them to offer good quality information and have a strong professionalization of journalists.

Table 1
The Three Models Media System Characteristics

	Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain	Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Model Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland	North Atlantic or Liberal Model Britain, United States, Canada, Ireland
Newspaper Industry	Low newspaper circulation; elite politically oriented press	High newspaper circulation; early development of mass-circulation press	Medium newspaper circulation early development of mass-circulation commercial press
Political Parallelism	High political parallelism; external pluralism, commentary-oriented journalism; parliamentary or government model of broadcast governance – politics-over-broadcasting systems	External pluralism especially in national press; historically strong party press; shift toward neutral commercial press; politics-in-broadcasting system with substantial autonomy	Neutral commercial press; information-oriented journalism; internal pluralism (but external pluralism in Britain); professional model of broadcast governance – formally autonomous system
Professionalization	Weaker professionalization; instrumentalization	Strong professionalization; institutionalized self-regulation	Strong professionalization; noninstitutionalized self-regulation
Role of the State in Media System	Strong state intervention; press subsidies in France and Italy; periods of censorship; “savage deregulation” (except France)	Strong state intervention but with protection for press freedom; press subsidies, particularly strong in Scandinavia; strong public-service broadcasting	Market dominated (except strong public broadcasting in Britain, Ireland)

Note. From *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (p.67), by D. C. Hallin and P. Mancini, 2004, Cambridge University Press. Copyright 2004 by Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini.

Table 2

The Three Models: Political System Characteristics

	Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model	North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist Model	North Atlantic or Liberal Model
	France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland	Britain, United States, Canada, Ireland
Political History; Patterns of Conflict and Consensus	Late democratization; polarized pluralism	Early democratization; moderate pluralism (except Germany, Austria pre-1945)	Early democratization; moderate pluralism
Consensus or Majoritarian Government	Both	Predominantly consensus	Predominantly majoritarian
Individual vs. Organized Pluralism	Organized pluralism; strong role of political parties	Organized pluralism; history of segmented pluralism; democratic corporatism	Individualized representation rather than organized pluralism (especially United States)
Role of the State	Dirigisme, strong involvement of state and parties in economy; periods of authoritarianism, strong welfare state in France, Italy	Strong welfare state; significant involvement of state in economy	Liberalism; weaker welfare state particularly in United States
Rational Legal Authority	Weaker development of rational legal authority (except France); clientelism	Strong development of rational-legal authority	Strong development of rational-legal authority

Note. From *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (p.68), by D. C. Hallin and P. Mancini, 2004, Cambridge University Press. Copyright 2004 by Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini.

Although Hallin and Mancini's work (2004a) has been taken as a reference for many studies on media systems around the world, its results are based on Western countries. Consequently, using the same parameters to study media systems in other regions would be erroneous.

We wanted to avoid the kind of universalizing approach to comparative analysis in media studies that we believed had held back the field for many decades, producing superficial analyses not based in detailed research on particular media systems and often riddled with ethnocentric assumptions, (Hallin & Mancini, 2012, p. 1).

Therefore, as it can be seen, it is necessary to reconceptualize the parameters of their study so that they are accurate and valid for nations other than those analyzed. For instance, Guerrero and Márquez (2014) explain that the relationship between media and politics in other regions is more complex than the one described in Western studies. In the case of Latin America, there is a Captured Liberal Model, which means that the communication is used as a weapon by governments, politicians and companies to threaten and dominate the masses. The authors explain that although some governments have tried to curb the power of some actors, it has not yet been possible to ensure uncorrupted communication.

Regulation has been difficult to implement, either because of the lack of regulatory capacity of the State, the inefficiency of regulatory institutions, or because regulation is subordinated to the powers of media consortiums or to the political interests of the rulers in power. In some cases, States have tried to contain their power and influence, but it has not been enough (2014, pp.161-162).

Thus, as it can be seen, the parameters used for studies in Western countries are insufficient to understand the dynamics in other regions. Books such as Martínez and Ramírez's *Media systems and communication policies in Latin America* (2014) have shown that new local perspectives are needed to question the old Western theoretical frameworks, which, although useful in these countries, are far from working in Latin America.

In addition to reconfiguring the framework of media studies to study new regions, Mancini (2020) states that it is necessary to reconsider the parameters of the study to adapt them to the contemporary era. He argues that the digital revolution has significantly changed the landscape, adding new paradigms that must be studied and interpreted.

Today, we are facing a completely different situation, and digital media have become so important that, in some aspects, they challenge the entire interpretative framework that we suggested in *Comparing Media Systems*. Specifically, it seems to me that the idea of the media system itself must be readapted and reshaped to the new media ecology, (Mancini, 2020, p. 5671).

Mancini (2020) stresses that, although deepening the analysis of digitization is key to understanding current media systems, it is important to remember that its influence depends

on the context. This means that the adoption of new technologies varies drastically from one place to another.

Digital communication may be a liberating force as it has been interpreted in large parts of the western world. ... At the same time, depending on different economic and political contexts and their assumed future developments, digital communication may represent a powerful instrument for increasing control and censorship, (Mancini, 2020, p. 5765).

As we can see, the author proposes to reconsider the parameters and framework to add new technological developments and conditions. For instance, the Internet has completely changed the media landscape, as production and distribution can now be 100% digital. Meanwhile, for politics, the Internet has become a key tool, as it is a faster channel that reaches wider audiences. While it has given both spheres more tools, it has also given them more challenges, such as less control and greater competition. Moreover, if misused, far from technology opening the door to more players and content, it can do the opposite.

Mancini (2020) stresses that the main changes to be taken into account in future studies is that with the advent of digitalization the media is no longer influenced only by internal forces, but also by external forces such as foreign companies. Another factor to take into account is that the power of institutions in shaping the media system has weakened, as digitalization has promoted a process of deinstitutionalization and reinstitutionalization. Mancini explains that deinstitutionalization refers to the process of transformation of established institutions into others, while reinstitutionalization refers to the process in which new institutions are established. Today, the new institutions are empowered citizens that participate in the creation and circulation of media, which together with large conglomerates such as Google, Facebook and Amazon, undermine the hierarchies of power that benefited the state. Mancini's conclusions tie in with those of chapter 2, namely that globalization has weakened the power of traditional structures. However, Mancini goes further and adds that even the media conglomerates have also weakened, especially the traditional ones, as new companies are now strong competitors.

The most important conclusions of this first section are that media systems go beyond the field, as external forces such as economics, politics and the culture in which they develop must be taken into account. Hallin and Mancini (2004a) successfully classified countries' media systems into the Polarized Pluralistic Model, the Democratic Corporatist Model and the Liberal Model, which allowed identifying similar behaviors among Western countries and, therefore, better understanding how different contexts influence the media and its future development. However, it should be noted that the parameters need to be readapted, as they cannot describe the current digital context. In addition, more research is needed on media systems in the Global South, as most studies cannot describe their situation.

Although Hallin and Mancini's 2004 study has been essential for understanding journalism in some countries, to get a complete picture of the sector it is necessary to delve deeper into its internal elements, such as values and practices. These internal variables are important for the thesis, as it will be possible to observe whether the Portuguese sector follows universal or local norms and values. With this in mind, the second section will delve specifically into the culture of journalism, which includes the norms, standards and objectives of the sector.

3.2 Journalistic Cultures: Values, Principles and Practices

Since 2005, a year close to the rise of media systems studies, Zelizer warned that media studies has not yet paid attention to the culture of journalism. Zelizer stresses that journalistic culture is a key area for an in-depth understanding of the field, as it encompasses the sector's values, education and newsroom customs. The author defines journalistic culture as:

unlike the institution, which focuses on journalism's role in the large-scale representation of power in society, the culture of journalism focuses on how journalistic practices, routines and conventions acquire meaning internally for and among journalists, (Zelizer, 2005, p. 20).

As we can see, for years studies on journalism have focused on aspects such as its reciprocal influence with politics. However, there is still a significant academic gap on internal issues such as the culture of journalism. This is important because, although the behavior of the

field is influenced by external pressures such as the state and the market, it also has internal principles, norms and values that cause journalists to work in a certain way.

Schudson (2001) and Deuze (2005) stress that although there are different types of culture within journalism, there is a consensual occupational ideology that allow to recognize journalism work around the world. The occupational ideology of journalism is made up of values and principles that every journalist sees as the ones they should pursue, making them the foundation of the field. Deuze (2005) stresses that the first value is that journalism should be seen as a public service. This means that journalism is seen as a work that needs to be done for the benefit of society. Consequently, journalists are seen as watchdogs of the elites and the government. The second value is that journalism must be unbiased, fair and objective. Deuze explains that, although it has always been argued that there cannot be complete objectivity in journalism, it is possible to ensure that there is impartiality and distance between the journalist and the news. However, van Dijk (2016) argues that journalism cannot be objective, as the consensual occupational ideology has Western values that controls journalists' attitudes and their work. He stresses that this ideology leads them to give preference to Western perspective when choosing what is newsworthy, how to elaborate the news, what sources will be used, among other aspects.

The third value, according to Deuze (2005) is that journalism must be autonomous, free and independent. This value advocates that journalism should be free from censorship and from particular interests, whether political or corporate. Deuze (2005) explains that this value reduces doubts about the intentions of the field and gives legitimacy to journalists' work. The fourth value is that journalists must have a sense of immediacy. It is believed that if news is conveyed as rapidly as possible, the public would learn about crucial facts more quickly. The fifth is that journalism must have a strong sense of ethics, which implies that journalists must have moral principles to guide their work, such as the search for truth. Deuze (2005) explains that, although these values have been based on journalism in the Global North, it has become a global understanding that they should be pursued by all. Therefore, despite differences in location, these values have become universal in journalism.

In addition to values, the International Federation of Journalists' Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists (IFJ, 2003) has been taken as a fundamental pillar for journalists worldwide. These principles were first adopted in 1954 as a standard. However,

they have been refined to ensure ethical and quality journalism over the years. Some of these principles are closely related to the values identified by Deuze (2005). However, the complete list will be provided to show all the principles of journalism:

1. Honoring the truth and the public's right to know the truth.
2. Journalists must stand up for the freedoms of fair commentary and criticism and gather and publish news in an honest manner.
3. Journalists must use reliable sources to provide information.
4. The journalist must only gather news, photos, and documents using legal means.
5. The journalist must make every effort to correct any information that has been published but is later determined to be wrong.
6. The journalist must maintain professional discretion regarding the source of any confidential material.
7. The journalist must avoid discrimination based on color, gender, sexual orientation, language, religion, political beliefs, and national or social origins.
8. The journalist must see plagiarism, deliberate misrepresentation, calumny, slander, libel, and false charges as serious professional offenses. Accepting a bribe of any kind in exchange for suppression or publication is also an offense.
9. Journalists should consider these principles as their obligation.

Deuze (2005), Hanitzsch (2007) and Zelizer (2005) underline that although these values and principles are considered universal, they can be challenged depending on the political, social, ideological, historical, economic and cultural context of a place. For example, while Western journalism promotes impartiality, in Mexico it is considered that journalism should be critical as it can lead people to become more politically active (Meyer, 2013). Therefore, if journalism is limited only to the Western canon, suppressing local and hybrid canons, opportunities to alternatively inform and empower people around the world are subtracted. Furthermore, Deuze (2005) stresses that the idea of a universal culture within journalism is wrong, because like any other culture, it will never be static. Therefore, it is wrong to pigeonhole journalism's values in an era, since they are constantly changing. Consequently, having universal values in journalism that have lasted for decades shows that the field's framework has not been able to adapt to today's reality.

Although since the 2000s scholars such as Deuze (2005) and Hanitzsch (2007) have stressed that Western standards should not be considered universal, they continue to be sold as the obligation of all journalists worldwide. In 2009, Karin Wahl-Jorgensen stated that this problem has to do with the fact that the field is centered in newsrooms, which has limited its development.

Scholars have tended to focus on the culture of journalists as it emerges within the limited realms of newsrooms and other centralized sites for news production, generally paying scant attention to the places, spaces, practices, and people at the margins of this spatially bounded universe of news production, (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2009, p. 23).

As can be seen, the standards, principles and values are based on traditional journalism, i.e., in the newsrooms of Western countries, although it is known that these cannot fully represent other parts of the world. Deuze and Witschge (2017) emphasize that instead of looking for stability variables in journalism, such as routines and locations, journalism should be studied for the flexible and multidisciplinary field it is becoming. For instance, Van Der Haak et al. (2012) say that networked journalists, professionals that can work entirely online, are becoming more common. Deuze and Witschge explain that the fact that journalists do not need to physically work in companies has meant that media organizations are no longer seen as the macro-structurers of journalism values, but only as part of an open system. Another change, according to Deuze and Witschge, is that journalists have ceased to focus on an area of specialization to cultivate diverse cross-media and multitasking competencies. For example, now a journalist can do more than just write about a subject, he or she can diversify on topics, do photography, video, image and audio editing, among other activities, which used to be done by different professionals. In addition, there is a culture of convergence in which production and consumption processes are combined. One example is that there is more interaction with the audience and now citizens can do journalism.

Mutsvairo et al. (2021) stress that, although scholars have been pointing out for years that the field has changed and with it its structures, journalists in Global South countries are still being told that only by following traditional Western codes can they do good journalism. This training, far from empowering journalists, has limited their work and role in society.

The assumption that there is one way of doing journalism is problematic and fails to reflect on what is happening on the ground where regions in the Global South are countering global normative practices of journalism with local news epistemologies. The importance of history, tradition, and how they shape journalism cultures in the South cannot and should not be ignored (Mutsvairo et al., 2021, p. 997)

As has been argued throughout this thesis, the promotion of a Western canon in journalism is maintained despite the knowledge that it no longer fits the needs of the field. Thus, the field, far from having incorporated codes, values and norms from other cultures, has remained largely Western, which makes the sector and its studies incomplete and inaccurate.

Mutsvairo and Bebawi (2022) argues that, as the field is still configured in a biased way, studies on other regions continue to show only the Western perspective. The authors highlight that this has to do with the fact that most of the important journalistic works on regions outside the Global North, such as Latin America, are led by researchers from Western nations or by foreigners residing in the region. They stress that the lack of studies produced in and from the region shows the marginalization of non-Western works. As an example, Mutsvairo and Bebawi stress that the Journalistic Role Performance (JRP) project, which is a transnational study that analyzes the state of journalistic cultures in the world, is the only work that has been created, developed and coordinated in the region by Latin American academics. However, they explain that far from this study showing a new trend of studies on Latin America, it shows an exception. Thus, as can be seen, the lack of scholarly work on Latin America by Latin American scholars tends to leave great doubts about the representation and conclusions of these works due to their use of Global North filters.

One of the most important conclusions from this second section is that the global culture of journalism is based on Western's values and principles. These have become universalized across the industry, as news agencies and universities continue to promote a Western newsroom-focused approach to journalism. However, this is a mistake, as it suppresses realities, values and parameters that make sense outside the Global North. The lack of openness to other values and principles means that the industry remains unable to adapt to local needs and provide better tools for journalists to represent society more fairly. Furthermore, the approach of Western newsroom is also inadequate because the field has

changed over time. Today's journalists need more digital skills than traditional ones, and they can work from anywhere in the world. These changes do not mean that traditional values and principles are being overturned, but rather that they need to be reevaluated to determine their relevance today.

In order to delve deeper into the internal industry pressures that shape news, the following subsection will examine how journalists gather information and what newsworthiness and source parameters they use when working. In addition, it will be analyzed whether these parameters have changed over time to better ones.

3.3 News Values and News Sourcing

Caple and Bednarek (2013) state that for decades, the criteria for deciding what is newsworthy have been based on the most cited work of Galtung and Ruge's *The Structure of Foreign News* (1965), whose study focused on how specific events can become news. According to them, either the event possesses newsworthiness factors, or it should not be considered news. These factors are:

1. Frequency: the more frequent an event is on the news, the more significance it will acquire.
2. Threshold: the bigger or more intense a news is, the more it will be consumed.
3. Unambiguity: the clearer an event is, the more it will be noticed.
4. Significance: the fact that there is a cultural proximity between the event and the readers makes it more important.
5. Consonance: the news has to correspond to what is expected to happen and what is wanted to happen.
6. Unexpectedness: if a news is rare but rational, more attention is paid to it.
7. Continuity: once something is news, it will continue to be considered as such.
8. Composition: the more complete the news is, the more it will attract readers.
9. Reference to elite nations: powerful, highly industrialized countries or those most important for trade are relevant to everyone.
10. Reference to elite people: news about the elite are more important because they have more consequences than normal people.

11. Reference to people: when the news reports people's experiences, readers identify more.
12. Reference to something negative: bad news will always be better than good news because it is more unexpected.

The first eight elements, according to Galtung and Ruge (1965), should be interpreted as culture-free, meaning that they are based solely on how the news is produced and distributed. Meanwhile the other four factors are culturally conditioned, meaning that they depend on what the culture pays most attention to. Galtung and Ruge showed that the more factors an event has, the more likely it is to become news and make headlines. In addition, they showed that if an unimportant event scores high on a complementary factor it may be high to be newsworthy. While these factors have been useful to the field, to the point that in many parts of the world these parameters are still followed, it should be noted that there are many questionable points. For example, the consonance factor can lead to problems because, far from giving the citizens what they expect, the journalist must describe what is happening. In addition, covering only important nations or elites marginalizes people and their situations that are also worth knowing about. Finally, the idea that bad news is good news is wrong, especially since it is common to use it with certain groups or countries, which creates more misconceptions and prejudices.

Although Galtung and Ruge's work has been taken as a reference, it has been criticized over the years. Tunstall (1971) stresses that the study had limitations, as it studied little data, ignored daily news coverage and forgot to explain that there are other requirements, such as time, company procedures and objectives, which also influence the way news is made. Consequently, there has been a demand for the elaboration of new news values/factors, as an alternative to those of Galtung and Ruge. However, Caple and Bednarek (2013) emphasized that the problem is that there are many overlapping proposals. For example, what some consider Elite Relevance others call Social Power, Celebrities, among others, which makes these news factors confusing.

There have been also attempts to modify the old newsworthy factors to encompass important changes in the field, such as the closer connection between news criteria and political and socioeconomic conditions, which has led to new editorial policies and market demands.

Allern (2002) stresses that editorial priorities are now *"efforts that combine journalistic standards and editorial ambitions, on the one hand, with commercial standards and market objectives, on the other"* (2002, p. 137). Considering these changes, Brighton and Foy (2007) proposed new variables: relevance, topicality, composition, expectation, unusualness, value and external factors, which have helped to better understand the current context. However, Caple and Bednarek (2013) highlight that they have not had the relevance of those proposed by Galtung and Ruge and also present overlaps with other authors. As can be seen, it has not been possible to create up-to-date universal criteria that is considered by the entire sector as the one to be followed. As mentioned above, news criteria should not be universalized, since they change according to the context in which journalism is developed. However, the lack of a guide means that much of journalism is still based on the work of Galtung and Ruge, who are criticized not only for studying limited data and marginalizing voices, but also for not responding to current needs.

In addition to news criteria, Lecheler and Kruikemeier (2015) argue that it is also necessary to analyze sources to see how journalists cover news. Traditionally, journalists obtain information through a mix of techniques that are called structural and non-structural. Structural techniques refer to activities that are coordinated with key figures or events such as press conferences, interviews, among others. These techniques are considered primary sources, as journalists are eyewitnesses to the event. Unstructured techniques, on the other hand, are spontaneous and refer to events that become news without having been planned, resulting in background research, phone calls, among others. As they are based on research, they are considered secondary sources. Lecheler and Kruikemeier argue that, with the advent of new technologies, there has been an awareness that structured and unstructured information can be obtained online. Kožuh and Čakš (2021) stress that especially due to COVID-19, journalists have conducted most of their research on the Internet rather than having direct contact with sources. However, it is important to note that online sources, especially in COVID-19 times, have not been widely accepted, as most of them were neither scientific, verified, nor useful. Consequently, although it has been much questioned whether the advent of online sources means the displacement of traditional journalism, so far it has been found that traditional journalism sources are still more reliable (Hashemi-Shahri et al., 2020). Therefore, although the Internet has opened up new ways of finding information, it

does not mean that all of it can be used for journalism. Journalists often have to verify with primary sources that the information they find on the Internet is accurate, making traditional sources still necessary in the field.

Moreover, Van Leuven et al. (2018) explain that new online sources have not drastically changed the field. Although it was initially thought that online sources would bring more diversity, there is still a dominance of elite sources in news media coverage. Knight asserted that journalists have ensured that "*traditional voices and sources are heard above the crowd*," (2012, p. 71). Therefore, as Lecheler and Kruikemeier (2015) point out, journalists continue to use elite sources in online work in the same way they would if they were not online.

So far, the available data contradict expectations about the democratizing and disruptive power of online sourcing techniques. Journalists continue to gravitate toward elite sources and do not show a decline in traditional news search techniques. In a sense, online news sources appear to have simply shifted a part of the information-seeking routine to a new space (i.e., standardization). Journalists remain gatekeepers, selecting (elite) sources for their reporting (Lecheler & Kruikemeier, 2015, p. 167).

As can be seen, online sources are not only less credible, but also have not provided diversity of content. Journalists continue to seek information from elites, i.e. institutions, politicians and celebrities, among others. This means that, although the non-elite audience has become more visible, it still does not have the same level of reach and attention as the elites.

It can be concluded, therefore, that Galtung and Ruge's parameters for newsworthiness continue to permeate the field even though they have been widely criticized for ignoring important parameters such as corporate guidelines and time, as well as for marginalizing voices. The problem is that, although new parameters have been proposed, there has been no consensus in the field. As a result, those of Galtung and Ruge remain the most popular among journalists. It was also concluded that the work around sources has changed, as it can now be done entirely online. However, journalists are often skeptical of the evidence they find. Consequently, they have to check the facts with traditional sources, which means that the information gathering process remains almost the same. In addition, online sources have

failed to diversify content, as the main content presented by journalists is still that of the elites.

3.4 Diversity and Pluralism in European Journalism

Awad Cherit (2008) points out that as multiculturalism discourse has gained importance throughout the world, now cultural diversity and pluralism have become a major priority for journalism. Consequently, news organizations are expected to recognize diversity of gender, race, social background, sexual orientation, among others, to better represent different social groups in their news agenda and in the newsroom, and to provide more diverse exposure of perspectives to the audience. For instance, news agencies have undertaken a number of initiatives, such as minority recruitment, cultural tolerance training and the production of special programs targeted to specific audiences.

Awad Cherit (2008) states that although cultural diversity has spread throughout the world, it is not always justified in the same way. There are two models: the interventionist and the laissez faire. The interventionist model achieves cultural diversity through the efforts of governments, which distribute economic resources and establish frameworks that guarantee access and representation of minorities in the media. On the other hand, the laissez faire model, found in Western countries, promotes diversity primarily as a commercial asset. Awad Cherit argues that these countries have taken pluralism and diversity as something to be managed, rather than as a social issue. This is dangerous, since without state regulation, the marketplace makes the interests of the wealthy take precedence over the rest. *"Even when spaces are opened up for more opinionated media, commercialization can impose significant ideological constraints,"* (Awad Cherit, 2008, p. 6). Awad Cherit raises an important point since if diversity and pluralism are considered a requirement for the market, far from ensuring that they are met at a deep level, they remain at a superficial level. This is due to the fact that the market does not have clear and universal diversity targets, so it is all general. In addition, Awad Cherit warns that, with laissez faire, minority programs in Europe are being replaced by cross-cultural programs tailored to the general public. This is a serious problem, as it favors popular genres of the dominant classes and takes away space opportunities for marginalized groups.

Here it is important to note that although, there are different media systems in Europe (Hallin & Mancini, 2004), the results on media diversity⁸ and pluralism are similar, as there has been political convergence through binding and non-binding laws. For instance, Sarikakis (2014) explains that the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (2007), the Audiovisual Media Services Directive (2018) and the European Electronic Communications Code (2018), give the European Union the competence to establish rules on the creation and functioning of the internal media market. However, despite the existence of these regional media frameworks, European press coverage continues to maintain old world divisions, nationalism, racism and inequality, especially in times of crisis (Sarikakis, 2014). The European Commission et al. (2022) stresses that the main obstacle to achieving media pluralism and diversity is mainly due to the fact that their definition changes from country to country and that there are no explicit pluralism and diversity objectives in EU internal market measures.

Furthermore, the European Commission et al. (2022) stresses that since the region lacks a regulatory framework for online media, the prominence and visibility of content is mainly based on commercial considerations, i.e. increasing market shares and popularity, rather than public interest. Another issue is that, although digital advertising is known to be on the rise, it remains unregulated. Thus, we can observe that the existing frameworks around media in Europe are mainly based on commercial aspects, such as access and service providers, rather than regulating how minority-related content will be made. In addition, the fact that key areas of online media, such as advertising, remain unregulated hinders minority representation.

3.5 Conclusions

The most significant conclusion of the third chapter is that the media change dramatically depending on external forces such as the government, the market and the culture of the place where they are located. Hallin and Mancini (2004a) successfully identified the Polarized Pluralistic Model, the Democratic Corporatist Model and the Liberal Model in 18 Western countries. This mapping is important as it shows the background in which the Portuguese

⁸ The degree to which a wide range of cultural, social and political viewpoints are portrayed in the media (UNESCO, n.d.).

media developed and how it compares with other models. Hallin and Mancini have recognized that their work needs new parameters to study countries outside the Global North, as well as an update to add new variables such as technologies, the Internet and social media.

In addition, this chapter revealed that industry norms, principles and standards are still based on the Western newsroom-centric approach. A problem as it suppresses realities, values and parameters that make sense outside the Global North. Moreover, with the rise of online journalism that can be done remotely, the newsroom-centric approach is no longer as effective as it once was. Another conclusion of the chapter is that, due to the lack of consensus, newsworthiness factors are still based on Galtung and Ruge's parameters of 58 years ago. These criteria not only ignore important aspects such as corporate guidelines and time, but also encourage stereotyping and the underrepresentation of certain minorities. Finally, it can be seen that Europe has not been able to ensure that there is plurality and diversity in the media. The main problem is that EU measures are based more on a business perspective than a social one. As a result, diversity and pluralism are treated superficially.

4. The Portuguese Journalistic Culture and System: How Has Portuguese Press Been Covering the Other

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the fourth chapter will analyze in depth the journalistic environment in Portugal based on the examination of the country's journalistic culture and values as well as the logic underlying Portuguese journalists' news production process. Ultimately, the chapter sheds light on the type of media system model that better describes Portuguese journalism.

The history of online journalism in Portugal will also be studied, as the thesis focuses on the representation of Latin America found in online newspapers. This subsection will identify the differences between traditional and online journalism and how newspapers have adapted to this new business. Finally, studies on minorities in Portuguese newspapers will be analyzed to identify whether negative stereotypes govern their coverage or whether it is a more balanced offer. Here it is worth mentioning that there are not many studies on how Portugal represents Latin America because, apart from Brazil, the country does not have a historical or cultural connection with the region. However, studies on other minorities such as the LGBTI+ and muslims will be studied, as they are also considered part of the Global South. The objective of these studies will be to analyze how the Portuguese coverage of marginalized groups is and to visualize whether there has been an improvement over time.

4.1 Portuguese Media System

As mentioned in chapter 3, Hallin and Mancini (2004a) created one of the most useful analysis models for media systems in Western countries. In their study, the authors classified the Portuguese media system in the Polarized Pluralistic Model, which refers to those countries characterized by parallelism between party systems and by having a politicized media sphere. This model mainly encompasses Southern European countries with an underdeveloped press market, low professionalization of journalists and strong state intervention. Referring specifically to Portugal, the authors stress that it has a weak press market and a small circulation that is read only by the elite, which means that Portuguese newspapers fail to communicate with the public. Thus, it can be observed that Portugal was categorized in the group of countries with the weakest media systems. The fact that the country has had a late democratization has meant that its media field does not have a solid

base to guarantee its autonomy, a press market without political influences and a strong professionalization, which are key to ensure that the information provided is unbiased and widely consumed by ordinary citizens.

Brüggemann et al. (2014) criticized the fact that Portugal has been placed within the Polarized Pluralistic Model claiming that the Portuguese state is less interventionist, and that journalistic professionalism is better than the one described within the Polarized Pluralistic Model. Furthermore, Traquina (2010) and Santana-Pereira (2012) argue that the country has less political parallelism than other countries in the group such as Spain and Italy. In Hallin and Mancini's *Comparing media systems beyond the western world* (2010), the authors acknowledge that political parallelism in Portugal has been decreasing as more stabilization has occurred with the move to a democratic regime. However, they argue that more studies are needed to identify whether the country really belongs to another model. Santana-Pereira (2016) says that the main confusion for not knowing which model Portugal belongs to is because the country belongs to different models depending on what is being analyzed. For example, in political parallelism the country seems to be better than the other countries of the Polarized Pluralistic Model. However, when analyzing aspects such as the country's press market, the country undoubtedly belongs to the Polarized Pluralistic Model.

With the aim of identifying to which model of media system Portugal belongs, Santana-Pereira (2016) conducted a research on the main characteristics of the Portuguese media system. Regarding the professionalization of Portuguese journalists, which includes editorial autonomy, values and codes, it was found Portugal is better positioned than other Southern and Eastern European countries. However, its average compared to other European countries is low, as there is a need for more ethical competencies, the impartial presence of political parties in the media and getting journalists to work without fear of losing their jobs. In terms of state intervention, it remains strong as the State continues to contribute significant funds to public broadcasting services. In terms of diversity, Portugal falls back into the Polarized Pluralist Model, as its media concentration poses a risk to editorial independence and plurality. According to the author, as large conglomerates own many media outlets, such as Impresa, which controls SIC, Expresso and Visão, or Global Media Group, which controls TSF, Diário de Notícias and Jornal das Notícias, there are few different perspectives offered

to the public. Therefore, although Portugal appears to be better in terms of diversity than Spain and Italy, compared to other European countries, its diversity remains low. Finally, Portugal has an underdeveloped newspaper market, as its newspaper circulation and titles offer have declined in recent years. With all these variables, Santana-Pereira (2016) concludes that Portugal does belong to the Polarized Pluralistic Model. Thus, although Portugal is the best positioned country within the Polarized Pluralistic Model, its performance is not yet sufficient to be transferred to another model. This is because, compared to other Western countries, Portugal has a weak media system.

Santana-Pereira (2016) states that one of the most worrying aspects of the Portuguese media systems is the weakening of the newspaper market. According to PORDATA Estatísticas Sobre Portugal e Europa (2022a), in 2009 the circulation of newspapers in the country was about 536 million, in 2013 it was 383 million and according to the most current data in 2021 it was 86 million. As for the number of newspapers, in 2010 there were 732, 510 printed and 36 electronic. However, in 2021 the figure dropped to 349 newspapers, with 156 printed. No information was provided on the number of electronic newspapers (PORDATA, 2022c).

In addition, Santana-Pereira (2016) highlights that the decline in the number of newspaper and magazine titles has been worrying. Current PORDATA data (2022b) shows that titles decreased from 1,852 in 2010 to 888 in 2021. As can be seen, the Portuguese journalism sector has not improved, in fact it has experienced a steady decline over the last 20 years, which shows that the country has a weak media system.

The conclusions of the first section are that Portugal does belong to the Polarized Pluralistic Model. According to Santana-Pereira (2016), although Portugal's media system has improved in areas such as professionalization, the country still lags behind in key areas such as market strengthening and diversity. The reasons for the weakening of the journalistic market in Portugal can be understood by analyzing the history of online journalism in Portugal, which began in 1995. Consequently, the following subsection will analyze the introduction of online journalism in the country, the dynamic changes that online brought to the sector, the internal and external pressures that put it in crisis and how its strategies have changed over time.

4.2. Portuguese Online Journalism

According to Bastos (2023), the history of the country's online journalism can be divided into three phases: from 1995 to 1998 was the implementation phase, from 1999 to 2000 the boom phase and from 2001 to 2020 the stagnation phase. The first phase covers the transition from traditional media to the Web, which was mainly based on a "shovelware" model. This model states that, instead of creating new content online, journalists stick to the information generated for their print edition and put it on the Web. This made the first phase unclear, especially in terms of what the journalist should do differently and how to profit from an online business. Moreover, although more journalists considered the Web as an excellent tool for seeking information that complements or deepens the news, arranging interviews, accessing new sources of information and interacting with readers, only a few mastered it. In addition, at this stage most online journalists were young and inexperienced, who used to copy information from other sources, such as Lusa, which Bastos describes as a cheap solution that detracts from the credibility of online journalism.

Cyberjournalists and cyberjournalists were rarely given space for the development of an identity of their own, allowing them to take on some of the traditional functions of journalism, namely investigating, cultivating their own sources, scrutinizing institutional powers, influencing public opinion, providing analysis and interpretation on complex issues, etc (Bastos, 2023, p. 172).

As can be seen, the Portuguese newspaper industry wanted to be part of the revolutionary changes brought by digitalization. However, it seems that its introduction was impulsive, as it lacked deeply analyzed strategies and a change in the culture and logic of journalists. Instead of focusing on learning new skills and finding a new market offer different from print, the industry copied and pasted the traditional model, missing the opportunity to create a solid foundation for the future of journalism in Portugal.

The second phase, the rise of online journalism (1999-2000), is a period marked by the optimism of investors and the success of the first online-only newspapers: *Diário Digital* and *Portugal Diário*. It is in this phase when online is no longer seen as a support section for the print press and becomes a new business area that needs its own content. As a result, the large

multimedia groups invested heavily in themselves and began to offer more services than the traditional ones, such as breaking news with the aim of providing news almost 24 hours a day. From a cultural point of view, this phase was important, because it was then that the industry accepted that there were online journalists, different from traditional journalists. However, this had not yet been achieved outside the industry. In the 2000s there was a lack of recognition and regulation of online journalism, which often resulted in online journalists being discriminated. One example was Maisfutebol and Desporto Digital, which were unable to cover a major match in the 2000s, on the grounds that the Portuguese Football Federation did not recognize online journalists (Bastos, 2023). Thus, it can be seen that at this second stage online journalists were considered important players of the sector. However, as there was no national regulation of online journalism, the work of online journalists remained uncertain. This uncertainty was fueled not only by the fact that online journalists did not have the same opportunities as traditional journalists, but also by the fact that there was not a consensus on their role, work and culture. Consequently, although this stage was important as online journalism gained prominence, its recognition had not yet fully materialized everywhere, which slowed the growth of the field considerably.

The last phase, that of stagnation (2001-2020), is seen as the end of the illusion of online journalism in Portugal, which was characterized by site closures and staff layoffs. Bastos explains that the problem was that the capacity of online journalism to generate publicity and profits did not live up to expectations. Furthermore, in 2001, the world economy promoted investments in dot.com companies, which led to an inflationary bubble that burst and impacted negatively the whole world, including strong newspaper industries such as that of the United States (Bastos, 2023). We can observe that the first external crisis that affected the journalism sector in Portugal was not something from which it could have been completely shielded, as there were factors external to the country. However, if Portuguese journals had had a more solid base in the field, perhaps it would have been less negatively affected.

Bastos (2023) points out that during the stagnation stage the lack of recognition of online journalists continued, as they were marginalized by traditional journalists, who tend to belong to older generations and, therefore, are less open to new norms and work cultures. The resistance to a journalistic cultural change has led to online journalism being practiced

mostly only by young people, to outdated values and principles, and to a lack of online skills in the training of professionals. Bastos (2008) pointed out that in the early 2000s most online journalists only mastered the text, paraphrased their news, valued instantaneity above all else and did not spend much time interacting with the public. It can be observed that the journalistic crisis in Portugal accentuated existing problems, such as the lack of recognition of online journalists and the need for new qualifications.

The Portuguese journalistic crisis worsened in 2008 as the world economic crisis⁹ affected all industries, including the media, leading to more layoffs (Bastos, 2023). For example, the Controlinveste Group announced that, after a difficult year, it had laid off 122 workers. Other newspapers, such as Público, announced a reduction in salaries. However, as this was not enough, it also reduced its workforce. In 2009, the sector began to charge for content as a way to survive in this adverse scenario. In the following years, paywalls were consolidated and digital subscriptions grew. However, Bastos (2023) argues that these opportunities were lost because journalists did not invest enough time in maintaining a continuous dialogue with their audience. This situation has not improved, as today only 11% of news readers pay for content (Newman et al., 2023).

An important aspect to consider is that Figueiras and Ribeiro (2019) argue that after the 2008 crisis a new media environment was created, characterized by a hybrid media system that brings together very contradictory characteristics of the Liberal Model and the Polarized Pluralist Model. On the one hand, characteristics of the Liberal Model such as the autonomy of the political system and the professionalism of journalism are maintained. On the other hand, there are also the characteristics of the Polarized Pluralist Model such as the use of the media by external agents. Therefore, as can be seen, the 2008 crisis reconfigured the field into a new model, in which the sector was only able to make progress on certain issues.

In 2011, more than 350 publications canceled their registration with the Media Regulatory Authority. In addition, several newspapers opted to deregister, thus ceasing to circulate, to

⁹ The Great Recession (2007–2009) was a global economic catastrophe that impacted global financial markets, banking, and real estate industries. The crisis increased home foreclosures and caused people to fall into poverty as they lost their livelihoods, jobs and homes (History Channel, 2019).

avoid paying regulatory fees (Bastos, 2023). Although the outlook was very negative, Bastos highlights that there were also large investments from companies such as SIC, Visão, A Capital, among others, for their online websites. In addition, digital natives were also created, such as Observador in 2014. The author points out that, at the time, companies were trying to provide a strong online offering through more visual and interactive content, rather than in-depth research. Bastos points out that, as a result, these efforts were not enough to turn journalism into a strong industry in Portugal.

In short, the overvaluation of design, podcast, feed, widget, mobile, guest blog, reader's photo or video, social network, served, not infrequently, to mask the absence of relevant and quality cyberjournalist production, which was reserved to a very reduced set of media. In short, the accessory overcame the essential, (Bastos, 2023, p. 172).

It can be observed that those companies that opted for a new business model to the traditional one managed to survive the crisis that existed in the sector. However, these were scarce, as most newspapers in Portugal did not know how to navigate in these uncertain times, which led to many of them having to cease to exist. In addition, it is important to note that those that remained in the sector were more interested in offering visual and technological aspects than content, which is worrying as journalism is based on information more than anything else. Thus, while technology advanced, content improvement lagged far behind.

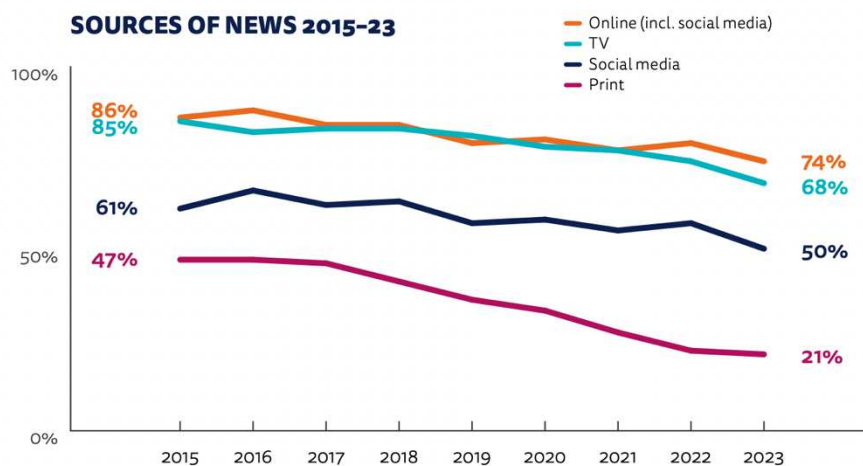
In 2017, online journalism pioneers such as Setúbal na Rede and Diário Digital announced the closure of their businesses due to the country's economic situation. The uncertain panorama continued until 2020, when the COVID-19 pandemic further aggravated the crisis of journalism in the country, increasing the loss of earnings and workers (Bastos, 2023).

The media crisis is not new, but the COVID-19 pandemic has accelerated it, and the first consequence is the growing shortage of financial means to do in-depth journalistic investigations. Added to this is the decrease in the number of professionals, due to the thinning of newsrooms, and the growing lack of time needed to carry out complex investigative work (Lopes, 2020).

As is known worldwide, many industries fell after the COVID-19 health crisis. However, in the case of the Portuguese journalism industry, it had already been falling for years. As a result, this was only one more factor in its rapid decline. Despite the challenges, the Reuters Institute highlight that in 2020, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the main source of news in Portugal shifted from television to online (Figure 3). On the other hand, print journalism continued its annual decline, representing only 21% of the current news source. Therefore, although COVID-19 hit the already weak Portuguese media system, it also enabled a change in the way audiences consume news. For instance, due to the lockdowns, the use of devices increased, allowing online journalism to gain popularity.

Figure 3

Sources of News (2015-2023)



Note. From *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2023* (p.93), by N. Newman, R. Fletcher, C. Robertson, K. Eddy, and R. Nielsen, 2023, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Copyright © Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

Nevertheless, Newman et al. (2022) note that with the COVID-19 pandemic, new challenges also arose, such as a decline in reader interest. This decline was due to the constant bombardment of news about the pandemic and the fact that all newspapers were reporting very similar stories, which diverted the public to other types of entertainment. In addition, the pandemic also caused the Portuguese to have less confidence in the news, especially online, as there was a lot of fake news. Reuters stresses that, despite this, the country's overall confidence in the news remains one of the highest with 58%. However, Newman et al. (2023)

there has been an increase in people's perception that the media are not independent of political and commercial pressures, which gives the field less credibility. Therefore, in addition to the weakness of the media system, the industry now faces the problem that people are more selective about the type of news they consume, making it more difficult for newspapers to retain an audience and monetize their content.

Bastos (2023) states that the entire history of online journalism demonstrates the failure of the newspaper industry in Portugal to evolve, which could have guaranteed its future. *"From this point of view, the first twenty-five years of cyberjournalism in Portugal were, to a large extent, a constellation of missed opportunity,"* (Bastos, 2023, p. 172). This last quote can summarize the conclusions of the subsection, as it demonstrates the inability of the journalistic sector in Portugal to evolve towards new technologies and market needs. The journalism sector started to fall since 2001 and, although more than 20 years have passed, it has not been able to recover. On the one hand, the country's industry was struggling internally for not being able to establish a solid base that would build audience loyalty enough to pay for content. On the other hand, the external crises of 2001, 2008 and the COVID-19 hit the industry hard. Combining these factors, it is not surprising why the sector fell sharply and why it has not been able to keep pace with other Western countries.

While this section has provided insight into the fact that Portuguese journalism has not been able to embrace the new online culture, the next section will analyze in more detail what principles and values Portuguese journalists use.

4.3 Journalism Culture in Portugal

As mentioned in chapter 3, Portugal, like most countries, follows the universal values of journalism of the Global North, which are: journalism as a public service; impartiality; autonomy and independence; a sense of immediacy and ethical rules. It also follows the Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists of the International Federation of Journalists. Regarding national frameworks, the country has the Statute of the Journalist, which states that journalists have the following duties: to have professional ethics, to respect the editorial statute of the place where they work, not to make accusations without evidence, not to identify victims of crimes against freedom or sexual crimes, not to discriminate, to

respect people's privacy, not to exaggerate or falsify facts, not to collect information that violates people's dignity or that is obtained by illegal means (Assembleia da República, 2007). Likewise, one of the most important axes of journalism in the country is the Journalist's Code of Ethics, which was modified by the Union of Journalists in 2017. All the codes are shown below to identify the most important principles of journalism in the country:

1. Facts must be accurate and unbiased. The distinction between news and opinion must be clear.
2. Journalists should combat censorship and sensationalism and consider plagiarism and lack of evidence as serious offenses.
3. Journalists must fight against the limitation of information and demand the freedom of expression and the right to inform.
4. Information, images or documents must be obtained by legal means.
5. Journalists should be responsible for their work and their actions. In case they provide inaccurate or false information, they must rectify it.
6. Journalists should reject practices contrary to their conscience.
7. Journalists should be responsible with the attribution of sources. Even in court, they should not divulge their confidential sources or disregard agreements reached, unless the information is false.
8. Journalists are obliged to preserve the presumption of innocence of the accused until their verdict. Journalists must not identify victims of sexual crimes or minors and must never humiliate people or disturb their pain.
9. Journalists shall not discriminate on the basis of "*ancestry, color, ethnicity, language, origin, religion, political or ideological convictions, education, economic status, social status, age, sex, gender, or sexual orientation,*" (Sindicato dos Jornalistas, 2017).
10. The privacy of individuals shall be respected, unless the public interest is endangered or their actions violate the principles they openly defend.
11. Journalists shall refuse employment or benefits in order to maintain their independence and professionalism.

As can be seen, Portuguese values coincide to a large extent with those that have been promoted by the Global North. However, Portugal goes more deeply into issues of censorship and how a journalist should treat victims of crime or the accused, which shows that these values have been adapted according to Portugal's history. However, it is important to note that these frameworks have not adapted to current times, as online values and dilemmas are missing.

Bastos (2012) points out that it is necessary to accept that the traditional values of journalism cannot explain the current context. For instance, he argues that objectivity on news has decreased due to the increase of unprofessional journalists, the entry of new sources and the greater incentive to be non-neutral in order to have more influential blogs. As for autonomy, due to corporate interest in marketing and advertising, the autonomy of online journalists has been compromised. Finally, immediacy has become the central focus of online journalism over other key values, leading to a lack of in-depth analysis on news, less certainty and homogenization of news. Therefore, although traditional journalistic frameworks have provided a foundation for journalism in Portugal, their lack of updating means that they remain superficial when applied to today's online environment.

In the third section it can be concluded, that as almost all countries, Portugal follows the journalistic values of the Global North. However, the field has opted to be more specific in certain aspects such as news about victims, minors, alleged perpetrators, among others. In addition, much attention is given to fighting censorship and demanding freedom of expression, which makes sense given the country's history. Moreover, the country's journalistic codes show that values and principles have not adapted to the new reality brought by online journalism.

Having understood the values that govern Portuguese journalism, the next section will delve into how the press covers the Global South, which includes countries and minorities. The objective of this section is to identify the main topics with which Portuguese newspapers relate minorities and whether this representation has improved over time.

4.4. Press Coverage of the Other: The Global South

Portugal is not exempt from the process of otherness, since it had one of the longest colonial empires in Western history, which began in 1415 with the conquest of Ceuta in Africa and ended with the cession of the sovereignty of Macua to China in 1999. In these almost six centuries, the country conquered places in Africa, America, Asia and Oceania such as Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique, Goa, among others (Brockey, 2008). Portugal's conquest allowed it to create narratives about these territories, where they were seen as inferior to justify its invasion and control over them. Although Portugal only directly invaded Brazil in Latin America, being a Western country, it also supported the inferiority of other countries in the region. This inferiority was promoted mainly by Spain, which was the main conqueror of the continent. It is worth noting that this implies that, although Spain and Portugal were rivals, both were conquerors who supported the partition and invasion of the Global South.

The history of the Portuguese Empire is important because it allows us to identify the discourses promoted by the country that placed the Global South as a backward region. It is important to note that Portugal's direct colonialism ended 24 years ago, which is very recent compared to other empires. For example, Spain's Empire lasted from 1493 to 1898, that is, almost 100 years less than Portugal's, which means that the latter promoted and maintained a colonial discourse for longer. In 2021, the UN stressed that, although Portugal has received many immigrants and there is diversity, the country still has a colonial mentality that gives space to physical and verbal violence against minorities. *"Portuguese identity is still imprisoned in the past because it has a toxic colonial narrative. It is necessary to recognize the powerful role that the country played in the social construction of race,"* (UN, 2021). The fact that it was not so long ago that Portugal stopped colonizing with direct invasions means that it had little time to change its social narrative from one that justified colonization to a more diverse one. Therefore, although Portuguese laws promote equality and diversity among people, in practice this has not been materialized.

Subsequently, several theses and studies will be studied to understand how the country's industry has portrayed non-Westerners over the years. It is important to note that, since there

is a lack of studies on Portuguese coverage of Latin America, the coverage of other minorities will also be analyzed. This is because, since they are also part of the Global South, their study will allow to have a more complete picture of how Portuguese coverage of non-Westerners is.

In 2002, Sousa studied 12 Ibero-American newspapers, among them Público and Jornal de Notícias of Portugal, to visualize the information imbalance between regions in 1997. The results showed that, in general, the United States and Europe have more coverage and a more positive representation, while the regions of the Global South have less coverage and their representation is on negative aspects. Of the total news covered by Público and Jornal de Notícias (JN), both devoted only 8% to Latin America, while Europe was covered by 61% and 44%, respectively. News from the United States accounted for 10% of Público's coverage and 12% of that of Jornal Notícias; Africa was represented by 14% and 21%, and Asia by 7% and 14%, respectively.

Table 3
Origin of International News in Percentage

	América Latina	Portugal e Europa	Estados Unidos	Ásia	África	Canadá	Oceânia	Vários países
<i>Público</i> Portugal	8	61	10	7	14	0	0	0
<i>Jornal de Notícias</i> Portugal	8	44	12	14	21	1	1	0
<i>El Clarín</i> Argentina	37	32	11	13	6	0	0	0
<i>Nueva Provincia</i> Argentina	25	39	13	8	12	1	0	1
<i>Zero Hora</i> Brasil	9	24	26	31	5	1	0	1
<i>El Mercurio</i> Chile	25	38	8	21	6	1	0	0
<i>Listín Diario</i> República Dominicana	37	23	17	14	6	1	1	0
<i>El Norte</i> México	24	24	27	18	6	0	0	0
<i>Excélsior</i> México	30	22	22	18	5	1	0	0
<i>La Tribuna</i> Nicarágua	49	16	15	10	8	0	0	0
<i>El País</i> Espanha	10	51	7	19	11	1	0	0
<i>Vanguardia</i> Espanha	5	59	3	18	12	1	0	0

Note. From *A informação internacional na imprensa ibero-americana*, by J. Sousa, 2002 (<https://www.bocc.ubi.pt/pag/sousa-jorge-pedro-duas-semanas.html>). Copyright (n.d.) by

The study found that Latin America is often presented in a negative light, rather than in a neutral or positive light. Público had 33% positive news about the region and 58% negative, while JN had 50% positive news and 50% negative (Table 4). The main themes used by these journals to portray Latin America were corruption and internal crises, violent conflicts, and crime and delinquency. Thus, as can be seen, there is little interest in Latin America, which leads to providing the audience with limited information about the region, thus diminishing their interest. As for the representation of the region, Público represented it mostly negatively, while JN had a better balance of news. In the case of Público, the representation of the region is far from being like that of Global North, which is undoubtedly represented most of the time in a positive way and more often.

Table 4

Balance of International News by Geographic Area (in Percentages) in Portuguese Journals

	América Latina	Europa	África	Ásia	Oceânia	Estados Unidos	Canadá
<i>Público</i> Positivo ou neutro	33	55	16	42	100	65	33
<i>Público</i> Negativo	58	31	80	52	0	27	66
<i>Público</i> Não definido	8	14	4	6	0	8	0
<i>JN</i> Positivo ou neutro	50	54	38	40	0	54	100
<i>JN</i> Negativo	50	43	62	60	100	46	0
<i>JN</i> Não definido	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Total Positivo ou neutro	42	54	25	42	33	63	60
Total Negativo	54	35	72	55	66	31	40
Total Não definido	4	11	2	3	0	5	0

Note. From *A informação internacional na imprensa ibero-americana*, by J. Sousa, 2002 (<https://www.bocc.ubi.pt/pag/sousa-jorge-pedro-duas-semanas.html>). Copyright (n.d.) by Biblioteca Online de Ciências da Comunicação da Universidade da Beira Interior - Covilhã - Portugal.

Sousa's results (2002) align with the work *Media e Discriminação: Um Estudo Exploratório do Caso Português* by Cunha, Policarpo, Libano and Figueiras (2002), which argues that the Portuguese media offer a distorted and negative view of minorities.

The media seem to be far from both the realities seen and the attitudes shared by a large part of society.... Ethnic groups tend to make themselves visible through negative discriminations, preferably exposing acts such as gypsies are a problem and blacks are a source of conflict, (Cunha et al., 2019, pp. 419-420).

As can be seen, Portuguese newspapers have presented the Global South with a negative image that has had a double effect. The first is that these negative aspects reinforce the idea that the Global South is a disaster and needs help, while Portugal and the Global North reinforce their position of superiority. Thus, as can be seen, equal representation in journalism remains a goal far from being achieved.

The research *Media, imigração e minorias étnicas 2007* (Cunha et al., 2008) is the most recent governmental review of how the Portuguese media covers the Global South. According to the study, the main ethnic minorities in Portugal that are portrayed in the media are Brazilians, Cygans, Ukrainians, East Europeans (from Spain and England), Cape Verdeans, Chinese, Indians, Muslims, Gypsies, and Guineans. The research shows that although there is a growing interest in foreign cultures, they are mainly related to negative issues. The main topics discussed are issues of clandestinely, followed by crime, discrimination, migration, social integration, and prostitution. It is important to note that Eastern Europeans have a better and more positive image than other minorities.

Previously, in *Media, imigração e minorias étnicas* (Cunha et al., 2004), it was explained that the media representation of minorities is largely determined by their social status, i.e., whether they have residency, visa, asylum or are in an irregular situation, and whether they are professionals or unskilled people in Portugal. While the report acknowledges that minorities are underrepresented and mainly associated with negative issues, it stresses that minorities have become a more important source of news. As a result, their interests and they are being better represented. "*We can say, in summary, that the image of immigrants and*

minorities begins to be constructed by themselves, which represents a conquest of the Other as a result of the awareness of a We, that is more open to difference," (Cunha et al., 2003, p. 103). If we compare Sousa's 1997 journalistic study with these governmental studies, we can see that in those 11 years the coverage of minorities has remained mostly negative. However, there has been progress, as minority viewpoints are taken more into account in the news, which helps to change their narrative from one of crisis to a more accurate one.

In a more recent study, Paganotti (2013) delves into the case of Brazil by analyzing the news of *Diário de Notícias* correspondents between 2001 and 2011. The study found that, although the image of Brazil as a paradise is still very dominant in Portuguese newspapers, it is also portrayed as a hell of violence, poverty and discrimination. Furthermore, it was found that the focus of the articles falls heavily on how the news affects foreigners, especially Portuguese.

Like many other international correspondents, Motta's texts are based on the thematic and practical interests of his audience in the newspaper's home country: it is the interests of the Portuguese audience that are in focus, since the *Diário de Notícias* is aimed at a Portuguese audience (Paganotti, 2013, p. 65).

Thus, there is more interest in Brazil when the Portuguese are directly affected by it, which shows that there is not really a pure interest in the region. Moreover, Paganotti points out that their morality is questionable because while there are news stories in which the Portuguese are the victims, there are none when they are the perpetrators. An example is the case of a Portuguese woman who committed child trafficking in Brazil in 2004. This lack of stories is a problem because it categorizes Brazil as problematic while Portugal seems superior because it does not have those situations. Paganotti's findings are consistent with those of van Dijk (2008), who found that Western countries are portrayed positively and neutrally even when they carry out negative actions. Meanwhile, the Global South only tends to receive negative coverage on issues such as immigration, crime and violence.

In 2014, Brito studied the news of *Diário de Notícias* and *Público* from September to November 2012, in the beginning of the celebration of the Year of Brazil in Portugal and later in September 2013. In this study, it was found that most of the news about Brazil were

on the topic of *culture*, followed by *politics*, *personal cases* (celebrities), *economy*, *sports*, *conflicts/crime* and *society*. The author states that the representation of Brazil in the press is more organized and positive, making the image of Brazil as violent and disorderly lose intensity. Brito highlights that the Year of Brazil event in Portugal did not present a drastic change in the number of publications or topics, which shows that its good coverage was not momentary. Thus, we can observe that the way Brazil was being represented in the Portuguese press changed to a more serious and fair one in 2012-2013. In addition, it can be observed that the news value of bad news is good news has diminished, as there is now interest in the country beyond its problems.

In 2020, Brito conducted another study based on the representation of Brazil in 2016 by four Portuguese online newspapers - *Diário de Notícias*, *Correio da Manhã*, *Jornal de Notícias* and *Público*. The study found that most of the categories in which the country was covered (*politics*, *impeachment*, *Rio 2016*, *society and economy*) portrayed a negative representation of the country. While, in categories such as *sports*, *people* and *culture*, it was mostly positive. Brito's study shows that, in general, the representation of Brazil was mostly positive, but in the most controversial issues, stereotypes and misrepresentation were constant. Thus, the negative image of the country did not disappear completely, as it returned when Brazil was experiencing tense political moments.

As for other recent representations of the Global South by Portuguese newspapers, Rodrigues's study (2019) on the representation of the LGBTI+ community in RTP news shows that it remains confined to themes of discrimination, violence and suffering. The study found that news on minorities is mostly of international events rather than national as the lack of more journalists makes it easier to paraphrase content than create new ones. Another example is the study of the production of opinion pieces on Islam, between 2010 and 2020 by *Público*, *Observador*, *Correio da Manhã*, *Diário de Notícias* and *Jornal de Notícias* conducted by Ventura (2021). The dominant themes in which Islam appeared in Portuguese's news were *violence*, *terrorism*, *clash of ideologies*, *religious symbolism*, and *the role of women*. In the 10 years studied, only 494 articles were written about Islam, which shows the lack of visibility of the religion in Portugal. The study also highlights that most of the articles were not written by specialists in the subject. With the example of these two

minorities, it can be concluded that the smaller the minorities or the weaker their connection to Portugal, the more negative their representation will be.

4.5 Conclusions

The most significant conclusions of the fourth chapter are that Portugal's media systems belong to the Polarized Pluralistic Model, despite being better positioned than other countries such as Spain and Italy. The reason for its classification in this model is its late democratization, which made the market more vulnerable to political forces and did not allow for strong professionalization. In addition, the country has a weak sector that has not been able to adapt to the online business and has been hit by several external crises such as those of 2001, 2008 and COVID-19. Furthermore, the resistance to readapting their values to online journalism has led to the creation of a hybrid journalistic culture with traditional and online aspects that does not meet current market needs.

Second, Portugal continues to promote the narrative that the Global North is superior compared to the Global South, as it continues to portray the latter as a region mired in violence and crime. There have been great advances in the representation of some minorities close to the country's history and culture, such as Brazilians. However, it is observed that negative representations reappear when controversies occur in the country. Meanwhile, minorities without a strong connection to the country continue to be underrepresented and misrepresented. Although it is understandable that Europe will always be more represented in Portuguese newspapers than Latin America, due to its history and location, there should already be more significant advances in the way the Global South is covered.

5. Methodology

This thesis aims to understand how the Portuguese newspapers *Diário de Notícias*, *Público* and *Observador* are representing Latin America and its countries in their online offering. This study allows to understand what kind of events of the Global South are considered newsworthy in Portugal. Special attention is paid to countries that do not have a cultural or historical proximity to Portugal, which are all but Brazil.

As previously mentioned, the research questions are: what criteria do Portuguese newspapers prioritize when choosing which event to cover about Latin America in their digital offer? and what are the main differences found in the representations of countries with a close relationship with Portugal (Brazil), economically stable countries and countries in political/economic/social crisis?

The hypotheses of the thesis are HP1) “representations of Latin American nations by Portuguese newspapers are still dominated by negative criteria” and HP2) "economically relevant countries and those that have a closer relationship with Portugal have a more balanced representation in the news."

5.1 Selected Newspapers

Before proceeding with the explanation of the methods used, the reasons for the choice of the newspapers *Diário de Notícias* (DN), *Público* and *Observador* will be explained. First, the selection of newspapers was based on whether they were widely read by the public. Second, the choice of newspapers relied on the date of creation, aiming to assess if their values and standards for news varied accordingly. Third, the selection of newspapers was based on the fact that each one has different ideologies, which arguably affects their coverage of Latin America. On this last point, it is important to mention that the *Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação* (ERC) is the Portuguese entity that ensures that the media in the country comply with its purpose of political pluralism, making sure that no newspaper is biased towards one ideology or another (n.d). However, in practice this is not the case. As mentioned in chapter 4, the concentration of power in a few journalistic groups, their values, and their economic dependence make them lean more towards one ideology.

The first newspaper selected is *Diário de Notícias*, part of Global Media Corp, which is the oldest national Portuguese newspaper and has been considered a newspaper of reference since 1864. The newspaper began publishing its daily edition online in 1995 (Sapo, 2023). In 2022 it had almost 2 million readers, almost 7 million visits and 15 million page views on its digital platform, while 197,000 pages were viewed in print format (Sapo, 2023). *Diário de Notícias* (n.d.) considers itself to be of ideological center, its main objective is to guarantee the voter's right to be informed with the truth. It also stresses that the newspaper aims to be a moderator of all Portuguese, regardless of their ideology or religion. Nevertheless, in 2018, Catarina Carvalho, Former Executive Editor of DN, told ECO News that the new direction of *Diário de Notícias* aims to attract those “*readers who are interested and available to think, ... We need a newspaper with a slightly left-wing alignment and more independence. As of July 1st, it will be on the newsstands for readers to choose from,*” said Carvalho (Costa, 2018).

Thus, the factors for the *Diário de Notícias* to be chosen for this research were: its popularity in Portugal, its longevity and its ideology. The fact that DN is the oldest active newspaper in Portugal allows us to visualize how its representation of Latin America has evolved over the years and to check if its values have further adapted to current times. In addition, the newspaper has a center-left ideology, which allows us to have a greater divergence to study. It is important to note that although it is center-left, it considers itself closer to the center than to the left.

The second newspaper is *Público*, owned by the Sonae group, which in 1990 became popular for showing more news than pictures. In 1995, *Público* launched its website and since then has become a key online newspaper in Portugal, as its offer was free and included almost all the articles offered in print. However, in 2005 it changed its free access to subscription (MediaBuzz, 2021). In 2022, *Público* was the most widely read newspaper, with more than 3 million readers (*Público*, 2023). According to the editorial charter of the newspaper (n.d.), *Público* is a newspaper guided by criteria of rigour and creativity, without relying on any ideology, politics or economics. However, Paquete (2016) highlights that the newspaper had many complaints for having left-wing positions in controversial cases. “*Public and private schools, resignations of administrative leaders, the PS congress, the clear positions taken in*

Parliament by the BE, PCP and PEV, make the discourses of the left-wing, rather than the right-wing, emerge much more,” (Paquete, 2016).

In a 2023 article entitled "O Nosso Pacto com os Leitores Do Público" by Pontes et al., the newspaper makes it clear that its ideology is not neutral, as it aims to encourage dialogue between diverse opinions and viewpoints. Therefore, the reasons for choosing this newspaper are related to the fact that Público is one of the recently created and most widely consumed newspapers in Portugal. In addition, the migration of Público to the online offer has been considered successful, which allows us to study the transition from traditional to digital values and parameters. In addition, being of a more leftist ideology than DN allows to have another informative perspective to analyze, enriching the research.

Finally, the third newspaper is Observador, the most recent and the only exclusively digital Portuguese newspaper to be studied. It was created in 2014 and in July 2023 it reached a total audience of 2.6 million (Observador, 2023). In 2018 and 2019, it was elected as the best generalist newspaper (MediaBuzz, 2021). According to the editorial charter (Observador, n.d.), it seeks the truth and does not condition its actions to economic or partisan interests. It also stresses that the newspaper does not follow any political agenda. However, it has been criticized for leaning more towards right-wing ideology. Campos (2015) says that since the newspaper was forged by characters such as Luis Amaral, partner of Jeronimo Martins, Pedro Almeida, owner of Ardma, João Fonseca, former director of Deutsche Bank, four militants of the PSD, among others, has made it a right-wing newspaper. In 2018, Travares confirmed in his opinion piece in Público that Observador is considered right-wing, when he questioned what was wrong with having a journal with ideology.

How many years must pass before a project like the Observador, which was born from the initiative of a group of private shareholders who insisted on showing their face from day one, can exist ideologically on the right without being accused of having Steve Bannon as a guru or to be the Portuguese version of the American alt-right?, (Tavares, 2018).

Thus, Observador was chosen because it is a very popular newspaper and it has always been digital, which should mean different and more up-to-date parameters and values. In addition, it has a different ideology than Público and DN, which gives a broader perspective to study.

5.2 Mixed Methodology: *Qualitative & Quantitative Methods*

This thesis used a mixed methodology, with qualitative and quantitative methods. Creswell (2007) mentions that the use of a mixed methodology is necessary, since it has been shown that a single method is not sufficient to investigate human social studies due to its limitations. Therefore, for the quantitative method, a content analysis of the articles mentioning Latin America¹⁰, or its 21 countries was carried out. Meanwhile the qualitative methods were the discourse analysis of six articles and interviews with journalists and editors of the selected newspapers.

5.2.1 Content Analysis.

The main reason for choosing content analysis is that it is a method widely used in communication studies (Stemler, 2001). Moreover, it has been used in other similar studies on the representation of Latin America in Portuguese news, such as Sousa (2002) and Brito (2014). As its name indicates, content analysis examines the content of texts such as articles, books, media, historical documents, among others, to determine the presence and regularity of certain words, themes and concepts. “*Content analysis extends far beyond simple word counts.... What makes the technique particularly rich and meaningful is its reliance on coding and categorizing of the data,*” (Stemler, 2001, p. 2). As can be seen, the content analysis made it possible to draw significant conclusions by coding key data and studying their relationship.

The use of content analysis in the thesis offers great advantages, such as that it can be applied to various types of texts, it is relatively unobtrusive and it is a safe process. Its safety and

¹⁰The region Latin America includes 21 countries that have a Romance language (Spanish, French and Portuguese): Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay and Venezuela. Due to language and colonial influences Jamaica, Belize, Suriname and Guyana are not included in Latin America. It is important to note that although Puerto Rico is not an independent country, it is considered part of Latin America due to its extensive Spanish colonization (Reid, 2022).

reliability lie in the fact that most of the data come from the analyzer, which avoids many methodological problems such as recall bias. In addition, it is a method that, in case of error, can be corrected more easily than others (Maier, 2017). However, content analysis also has disadvantages, namely that it can only study what is recorded, excluding nonverbal forms of communication. In addition, the search for data is time-consuming and the availability of texts may be limited (Maier, 2017). These limitations of content analysis were mitigated by using other methods to allow the study to go beyond word counts. Furthermore, although time consumption is something that occurred in the process, not all countries had a high representation in the newspapers, which expedited the process. On the other hand, the availability of data was not a problem, since the researcher is subscribed to these newspapers.

For the thesis, the period established for the content analysis was two months, from May 1, 2023, to June 30, 2023, in which 557 pieces were written. The criteria followed for the selection of these articles were 1) these needed to be found in each country's section of the newspapers; and 2) the country/region has relevance in the article, i.e. it cannot just be mentioned. The two-month time frame was chosen for three reasons: First, the objective was to study the most recent news possible to have an overview of the current panorama of the country's representation of the Global South. Second, we looked for months in which there were no significant events between Brazil and Portugal to avoid an increase in news about Brazil that would create an imbalance of news with other countries and not really describe the general coverage of the region. Third, the period of two months was considered sufficiently rich, and there was no need to increment the flow of articles, mainly on Brazil.

It was decided to use the statistical analysis software package SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) due to its popularity and reliability for content analysis (Lani, 2021). Through SPSS analysis, it was possible to identify the main characteristics of Latin American coverage, such as the most common topics and the balance of news of each country.

5.2.2 Variables for SPSS.

The following 20 variables were taken into account for the coding of the articles:

1. **Newspaper:** The variable refers to the newspapers studied.
2. **Date:** Day, month and year the article was published.

3. **Region:** Refers to the country or region that is mainly covered in the article.
4. **Region2:** The variable is for whether another Latin American country or regional bloc is mentioned in the article.
5. **Region3:** Refers to those non-Latin American regions or countries that were mentioned in the article.
6. **RegionH2:** Refers only to the countries most frequently mentioned in the newspapers.
7. **Latin America:** Refers only to the articles that mention Latin America. Here we look to see if the article refers to the whole region or not.
8. **Author/Agency:** Refers to who or which news agency wrote the article.
9. **Type of Article:** Refers to the type of article found in the newspaper.
10. **Section:** Refers to the section where the article was found in each newspaper.
11. **Theme Section:** Refers to the main topic indicated in the section where the articles were collected.
12. **Theme of the Article:** Refers to the main topic of the article selected.
13. **Source:** Refers to the sources of information mentioned in the news.
14. **Source Clarity:** Refers to whether the articles clearly identify where the information was obtained from. For example, other newspapers, government, institutions, reports, among others.
15. **Images:** Refers to whether or not an image was used to illustrate the article.
16. **Connection with Portugal:** Refers to whether or not the article is related to Portugal. It has a connection with Portugal if the article mentions the country or deals with a topic that concerns it, such as the Mercosur-EU agreement.
17. **Media Event:** Refers to whether the article deals with an event on the media agenda, such as a conference or congress that is expected to be covered.
18. **Words:** The number of words the articles had.
19. **Tone:** Depending on the topic of the article, it is classified as positive, neutral or negative.
20. **Main Argument:** To justify the *tone*, the study by Cazzamatta (2020), which groups the news events covered into positive, neutral or negative, was used as a guide. The author's classification is:

(A) **Positive:** Success, economic aid, positive developments, cooperation, inventions, discoveries, attempts at reconciliation, peace negotiations, settling disputes, unification, justice, bilateral agreements, peace efforts, peace process, state improvement, dialogue between opponents, survival, release of hostages, stock market upturn, rating agencies' grading improvements, agreements, cultural exchanges or travel recommendations.

(B) **Negative:** Violence, failures, crime, disasters, war, electoral fraud, political unrest, interruption of peace negotiations, repression, aggression, destruction, damage, protests, demonstrations, conflicts, electoral fraud, economic crisis and trade conflicts.

(C) **Neutral:** General social processes such as state visits, conferences, stock market events, memories of historical events, jubilees (without protests or arguments) and fair elections (Cazzamatta, 2020, p. 8).

For this paper, Cazzamata's (2020) news classification was used because it is popular in other similar peer-reviewed studies examining the image of certain countries in Western media (Kamalipour & Hamelink, 2022). It is worth mentioning that in the *neutral* category, the variable *event* was added, which refers to anything that happened and was news without this being negative or positive. For example, that a celebrity had a photo session on a specific beach or that the president of Mexico has been in power for so many years. In addition, the category of *memorial* was added to the *neutral* category since there were many articles about celebrities who passed away.

5.2.3. Categorization and Coding for SPSS.

To make the analysis and discussion of the results clearer, the classification and coding used are shown below. It should be noted that some variables are in Portuguese to respect the name given by each newspaper. In addition, as some variables had several codes, only some of them were listed. The complete coding list of these variables can be found in Appendix A and B.

Table 5*Categorization and Coding of Variables*

Variable	Categorization and Code
Newspaper	Diário de Notícias=1, Observador=2, Público=3
Region	Latin America= 1, Argentina= 2, Bolivia=3, Brazil= 4, Chile=5, Colombia=6, Costa Rica=7, Cuba=8, Ecuador=9, El Salvador 10, Guatemala=11, Haiti=12, Honduras=13, Mexico=14, Nicaragua=15, Panama= 16, Paraguay=17, Peru=18, Puerto Rico=19, Dominican Republic=20, Uruguay=22 and Venezuela=23.
Region2	Brazil=1; Chile =2; Chile and MERCOSUR=3; Chile and Peru=4; Colombia=5; El Salvador=6; EU, Chile, Argentina and Mexico=7; Guatemala=8; MERCOSUR=9, Mexico=10; Panama=12; Paraguay=13; Paraguay, Uruguay and Mexico=14; Peru=15; Peru and Venezuela=16; Venezuela=18
Region3	Africa=1; Angola=2; Cabo Verde=3, China=4; EU, =5, EU and Ukraine=6; Finland,Ukraine and Russia=7; Guiné-Bissau=8, India, China=9; Iran =10; Italia=11;Mozambique, Angola and Tanzania=12; Portugal=13; Portugal, Angola and Cabo Verde=14; Russia=15; Spain=16; Ukraine=17; Ukraine and Russia=18;USA=19, Vatican and Germany=20
Latin America	Yes=1, No=2
Section ¹¹	<i>Azul=1, Capas=2, Ciência=3, Cultura=4, Desporto=5, Dinheiro=6, Economia=7, Fast Check=8, Fugas=9, Impar=10, Inicio=11, Internacional=12, Ipsilon=13, Justicia=14, Lifestyle=15, Mundo=16, Opinion=17, P3=18, Pais=19, Politica=20, Saude=21, Sociedade=22, Tecnologia=23</i>
Theme Section	Culture=1, Economy=2, Environment=3, Health=4, People=5, Politics=6, Society=8, Sport=9

¹¹ It is important to note that the names of the sections were also kept in Portuguese, since some of them cover very different subjects. The difference between the section titles and their respective topics in each newspaper is explained below.

Type of Article	Analysis=1, Chronic=2, Review=3, Exposure=4, Interview=5, News=6, Opinion=7, Report=8
Author/Agency ¹²	Adriana Alves=1, Alexandra Padro=2, Alexandre Marts=3...
Theme Article	Crime=1, Culture=2, Economy=3, Environment=4, Food=5, Health=6, People=7, Politics=8, Society=9, Sport=10
Source ¹³	ACG News=1, Activist and Amnesty International=2, AFP=3...
Source Clarity ¹⁴	Clear=1, Unclear=2
Images	Yes=1, No=2
Connection with Portugal	Yes=1, No=2
Media Event	Yes=1, No=2
Tone	Positive=1, Neutral =2, Negative=3
Main Argument	Aggression=1, Attempts of Reconciliation=2, Bilateral Agreement=3, Conflict=4, Cooperation=5, Crime=6, Cultural=7, Damage=8, Destruction=9, Disaster=11, Economic Crisis=12, Event=13, Failure=14, Interruption of Peace Negotiations=15, Justice=16, Memorial=17, Political Unrest=18, Positive Development=19, Protest=20, Repression=21, State Improvement=22, Success=23, Survival=24, Tension=25, Violence=26, War=27

The coding and categorization of the variables: *section*, *source*, *source clarity*, *author/agency* and *connection to Portugal* are explained in more detail below, as they may influence how the Latin American region is covered, which is important for the conclusions of the thesis.

In the case of *section*, DN had *International*, *Desporto*, *Dinheiro*, *Cultura*, *Sociedade* and *Capas* (content that appears in the newspaper cover). Meanwhile, Público had *Ipsilon* (news

¹² Due to their length, the complete list can be found in Appendix A.

¹³ The complete section can be found in Appendix B, while the full explanation of the category is provided below.

on culture, arts, music, theater, among others), *Mundo, P3* (content for young people), *Impar* (content on lifestyle, health and beauty), *Desporto, Azul* (environmental and sustainable content), *Fugas* (content on travel, wine, gastronomy, among others), *Tecnologia, Politica, Opinion, Sociedade* and *Ciencia*. Finally, Observador had *Desporto, Sociedade, Fast Check, Mundo, Pais, Ciencia, Tecnologia, Cultura, Saude, Economia, Inicio, Justicia* and *LifeStyle*.

As can be seen, the three newspapers only shared the sections of *Internacional/Mundo, Sociedade, Desporto, Dinheiro/Economia* and *Cultura/Ipsilon*. It is important to note that the sections that have two different names (*Internacional/Mundo, Dinheiro/Economia* and *Cultura/Ipsilon*) are separated to show how they appear in the selected newspapers. However, in the analysis, these categories are studied individually and jointly.

As for the sources, of the 557 articles, 146 codes were made. As mentioned above, due to its length, the complete list can be consulted in Appendix B. In this variable, sources were categorized and coded by article. That is, if an article only mentioned *Lusa*, the source was coded individually (e.g., *Lusa=90*). However, if an article used information from *Lusa* and the *Government of Brazil*, these were coded together (e.g., *Lusa, Government of Brazil=94*).

During data collection, it was observed that many times articles referred to the same source but used different names. For example, some articles referred to the sources as the executive branch and the judiciary, while others referred to the President and the Supreme Court. Consequently, it was decided that the sources would use the following labels:

1. Government - for sources that referred to the executive, legislative and judicial branches of a particular country. For example, the Supreme Court of Brazil, President of Brazil Lula da Silva and Congress of Brazil were coded as *Government of Brazil*. It is important to mention that these groups were made by country, i.e., there is also code for the Government of Colombia, Government of Mexico, among others.
2. Authorities- It was decided to separate the labels government and authorities since the latter referred to people with power over the population, but not as high as the government. Example: Police, Firemen, Civil Protection and Doctors.

3. Ministries- This refers to sources of first level administrative bodies such as the Ministério de Agricultura do Brasil, the Ministry of Health of Ecuador, among others. It was decided to separate the Ministries from the Government to differentiate them, as the first has a broader power, while the latter is only in charge of a specific government department.
4. Institute - Refers to the information collected from a public or private organization that has a specific cultural, scientific, political or social work, such as the Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente, the Instituto Nacional de Estatística do Brasil and the Instituto de Prensa y Sociedad de Venezuela.
5. Military - Information collected from persons belonging to the armed forces or from the organization itself. Example: the Colombian Navy and the Colombian Military Forces were labeled as *Colombian Military*.
6. Person of Interest - Refers to information provided by the person about whom the article is about. The following are those who were included in this category: the children lost in the Colombian jungle and their families; Rita Lee, her producers and relatives; people affected by natural disasters; Ricardo Azevedo; the Pope; Jair Bolsonaro; Lúcia Helena Galvão; Ruy Castro; Zé Ibarra; Itamar Vieira, Djavan; Guilherme Boulos; Luca Argel; João Gilberto; Alaíde Costa; Pororó; Sayde Chaling; Valeria Luiselli; Lizza Bogado; Susana Baca; Vini Jr. Brazil and Martin Guevara.
7. Event- Refers to any event in which the attendees or the organizers involved provide information. This label included events such as soccer games, concerts, political forums, protests, conferences, gastronomic shows, wine tastings, books and presentations.

On the other hand, clarity of sources refers to whether the article made clear where the information was obtained from. That is, whether it provided the names of the newspapers or individuals from which the information was obtained; whether it explained that the

information was obtained through interviews or expert insights; or whether it was obtained from a public event such as a conference. On the other hand, articles classified as unclear are those that refer to sources such as "a Chinese newspaper said" or make no reference to sources at all.

In addition, the category author and agency refers to the name of the author or agency that wrote the piece and is specified in the article, usually at the beginning. Example: Carlos Santos, João Ruela, Lusa, Globo, among others. Finally, articles with a connection to Portugal are those that mention the country or discuss a topic that concerns it, such as a meeting between Brazilian president Lula da Silva and Portuguese president Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa or the leading role that Portugal has had in the negotiations between the EU and Mercosur.

Given that 557 items with 20 variables each were collected, resulting in 11,140 data, it was decided to recode and recategorize the variable region for hypothesis 2. The objective of HP2 was to check whether economically relevant countries and those with a strong connection to Portugal have a more balanced representation in the news. The decision to recategorize was made taking into account the study by Field (2018), which highlights that, in order to increase the statistical power of the tests, it is necessary to include only variables with more than $N=10$.

Result of the reclassification of the variable:

- 1. RegionH2R:** To have more meaningful findings the top 9 countries mentioned in the articles were grouped into 3 groups: Brazil=1, Stable Countries (Mexico, Argentina, Colombia and Chile)=2 and Countries in Crisis (Venezuela, Cuba, Ecuador and Haiti)=3.

The categorization shown above was based on the internal situation of the countries and their regional position. Ocando (2022) explains that the economic powers of Latin America according to their GDP are Brazil (US\$1.92 trillion), Mexico (US\$1.41 trillion), Argentina, (US\$632.77 billion) Chile (US\$508 billion) and Colombia (US\$343.94 billion). These countries are expected to remain the hegemon of the region, as they will have economic

growth in 2023. Here it is important to highlight that it was decided to put Brazil in a separate group and not within the stable countries, since to test HP2 it is necessary to compare the coverage of countries that have a strong cultural, economic and historical connection with Portugal (only Brazil) with those that do not (the rest of Latin America). As mentioned above, the latter were further classified into economically stable countries and countries in social, political and/or economic crisis.

The countries considered to be in political, social and economic crisis are: Venezuela, Cuba, Haiti and Ecuador (France 24, 2023). Venezuela is considered in crisis as its current government is accused of being a dictatorship, which has led the country to numerous economic sanctions and social unrest. For its part, Cuba is a country with an economic crisis since the 1990s that has been aggravated by its international isolation and numerous sanctions, which has worsened its economic, social and political situation. For its part, Haiti's unstable government has led to an increase in human rights violations and poverty throughout the country. Finally, Ecuador's announcement of the dissolution of its government has led to an increase in violence, as well as growing political and social unrest (France 24, 2023).

It is important to note that the categorization of the region's economic powers was based on a Voz de América's article (2023) that compiles data from each government as well as from the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC). However, the categorization of countries in crisis has a hegemonic perspective, as it comes from France 24, an international news channel. The hegemonic perspective on these countries is that Venezuela and Cuba are in crisis due to their leftist governments. Meanwhile, Haiti's government has been criticized by the West for its political turmoil, its non-functioning judicial system and its high impunity. Finally, although Ecuador's crisis just began in May 2023 with the dissolution of its government, Western countries have expressed their concerns as this crisis could worsen (France 24, 2023).

5.2.4 Statistic Procedures.

To test HP1 and HP2, the version 28 of the SPSS program was used. For the first hypothesis on whether the region is covered based on negative criteria, the variables analyzed were: *tone* (positive, negative, or neutral) and *main argument* (explanation of the choice of *tone*).

These variables were tested with descriptive statistics, which made it possible to visualize their frequencies.

On the other hand, the second hypothesis on how country representation changes was tested with a crosstabs procedure. The procedure is used to identify the relationship between two variables by recording the frequency of observations (IBM, 2021a). In this procedure the variables studied were: *region* (the most popular countries grouped into three groups: Brazil, stable countries and countries in crisis) as well as the *tone* of the news. These variables were analyzed with a Chi-square test, which is a procedure that tests whether there is a statistically significant relation between the variables and the strength of the relation (IBM, 2021b).

In this second test, we assessed findings based on the Pearson Chi-Square value and its asymptotic significance. The latter is significant if the value is less than the designated alpha level (.05) (Stangroom, 2023). Also, Cramér's V, which is the measure of the effect size of the relationship between the variables, was taken into account. Cramér's V-measure is important, as it indicates how strong or weak the relationship between the variables is. If the value is $\leq .2$, the relationship is weak. If the value is between $>.2$ and $\leq .6$, the relationship is moderate. Finally, a strong relationship exists if the value is $> .6$ (IBM, 2023).

5.3 Discourse Analysis

The qualitative method used was discourse analysis, a communication theoretical and methodological approach to the study of discourse that allows to understand the power relations within the text. "*Earlier research is superficially content analytic and thereby unable to convey the sometimes subtle details of prejudice or stereotypical reporting,*" (van Dijk, 1998, p. xi). Thus, although content analysis is the most used analysis for this type of studies, critical discourse analysis (CDA) can provide more significant results. Kramer (2007) defines CDA as:

as system of analysis that attends to discrete portions of the language with a particular socio-historical context with an aim of providing a multi-layered analysis of how the language operates communicate surface level language as well as underlying dynamics of interpersonal relations, cultural traces, institutional influences, and ultimately power (Kramer, 2007, p. 93).

As can be seen, the main objective of using the CDA was to determine whether the selected articles promote hierarchies between Latin America and Portugal. In addition, it helped to determine whether they offer an unbiased representation of the region or, on the contrary, judge it through Western lenses. In addition, the CDA made it possible to identify whether themes such as discrimination, domination, racism, among others, are present in the articles.

Among the advantages of CDA is that it is an interdisciplinary theoretical framework and methodology that can work with a variety of information and different approaches such as socio-cognitive, political, historical, among others, which allows to deeply interpret and deconstruct texts. Furthermore, critical discourse analysis is accessible and flexible, allowing individuals to make interpretations and take a position on certain issues. Nevertheless, its disadvantages are that individual interpretations can lead to a certain bias. In addition, it does not provide definitive explanations that can be applied to other studies (Kramer, 2007). Taking into account the risk of bias, the critical discourse analysis conducted in this thesis took into account previous academic research on the topic. In addition, the articles for the CDA were chosen based on the frequency of the topic and its relation to Portugal or the EU. Furthermore, the bias concerns, along with the absence of more representative data, were mitigated by the use of more methodologies, which provided more solid and complete results.

This research used van Dijk's (2016) socio-cognitive approach, to study the relationships between discourse and society. This approach asserts that these relationships are mediated by cognition. In other words, each discursive structure is different, since it is through people's mental models that representation and interpretations make sense.

To shed more light on van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (2016), the 3 cognitive structures that are key in his discourse analysis are explained below:

- **Memory-** People's information is divided into Working Memory and Long-Term Memory. These capture individual experiences and knowledge, as well as shared social knowledge. Example: A person's childhood.

- **Mental Models-** Personal experiences and memories are uniquely represented in the mental models of each person. In these mental models, participants, actions, events, objectives, among others, are treated differently. Example: A personal event will be explained differently to friends than to the authorities.
- **Social Cognition-** It refers to the knowledge, attitudes and ideologies shared by all members of society. It is important to note that, although all people have individual and different experiences, the fact that someone is part of a specific social group causes them to have similar mental models. Example: A social group can have specific attitudes towards abortion, migration, among others.

Therefore, with the CDA, referred as CDS by van Dijk (2016), we were able to focus on two key areas. Firstly, on the discursive and semiotic structure that refers to the implicit meanings that can be found in the article such as recommendations, positions, relationships, prejudices, among others. Secondly, the cognitive structures that are not always implicit, but that in the case of this research are beneath newspapers' discourse on Latin America. That is, with the discursive and semiotic analysis we have studied literally what is written in the articles. Meanwhile, with the cognitive analysis we understood how journalists perceive, process, and interpret information on Latin America and whether the information they provide is biased or representative.

The Socio-Cognitive approach to discourse analysis was applied to six articles: two articles from each newspaper. One of the two analyzed articles from each newspaper, is from Brazil, as it is the country that was covered the most and the one that has a historical and cultural connection to Portugal. The following articles analyzed are from the remainder most covered countries according to the content analysis. For all articles, it was decided to select those related to Portugal or Europe to further analyze the narrative of the Global North and the Global South.

5.4 Interviews

Finally, the last qualitative method carried out relied on the conduction of interviews with editors and journalists of *Diário de Notícias*, *Público* and *Observador*. The decision to interview editors was justified by the fact that they are the ones who have the last word on

what news is covered. In addition, editors are the figures who promote journalistic values and establish the parameters of what an event must have to be newsworthy. On the other hand, the choice to interview journalists was based on the fact that they are the ones writing the articles and researching the topics. Moreover, as they accept the news values of the company they work for, it is important to see to what extent they agree with them.

The interviews were semi-structured in order to answer the main questions of this thesis, as well as new questions that came up during the interviews namely related to the interviewees' knowledge and experience in their companies. DeJonckheere and Vaughn (2019) explain that semi-structured interviews are popular because of their flexibility and follow-up questions that allow for the collection of open-ended data, including the participant's ideas, feelings, and beliefs. However, the authors warn that if the purpose and scope of the study is not determined, the interview can easily get sidetracked. With this in mind, the questions mainly answered in these interviews were:

Q1) What is your idea of Latin American countries and what relevance do they currently have in Portuguese news?

Q2) What are the company's parameters for an event in Latin America to be considered newsworthy?

Q3) What are the issues you relate most to Latin American countries, especially those beside Brazil?

Secondary questions included: the source of information; the news parameters for the print and online versions; the interviewees' perspectives on the representation of the Global South; the progress made in the representation of the Global South in the industry and their companies, among other issues. It is important to note that, although the thesis focuses on online articles, the difference in values between the print and online versions was discussed as it was necessary to analyze whether these newspapers have adapted to online readers. All questions can be found in Appendix C.

For this thesis, three journalists, one from each newspaper and an editor from *Observador*, were interviewed. An attempt was made to contact the editors of the international section, António Rodrigues, from *Público*, and Helena Tecedeiro, from *DN*, to arrange an interview.

However, there was no response. The journalists chosen for the interviews were those who wrote the most about Latin America. Meanwhile, the editors needed to be the ones to review the selected articles on Latin America. The following table indicates the name and position of the interviewee, as well as the day, time, place, language, and duration of the interview.

Table 6
Information on Interviewees

Name	Job Position	Newspaper	Day and Time	Place	Language	Duration
João Ruela	Journalist in the World Section	Público	July 13th 11:00h	Online Call on Google Meets	English	45 min.
Carlos Santos	Editor of the Society Section	Observador	July 14th 15:00h	Online WhatsApp Call	Portuguese	30 min.
João Moreira	Correspondent in Brazil	Diário de Notícias	July 21th 19:30h	Online WhatsApp Call	Portuguese	30 min.
José Paiva	Journalist in the Section Fast Checking	Observador	August 8, 11:00h	Online Call on Google Meets	English	43 min.

In this way, there are four interview scripts that can be seen in appendix D:

- Interview script A: João Ruela (Appendix D1)
- Interview script B: Carlos Santos (Appendix D2)
- Interview script C: João Almeida Moreira (Appendix D3)
- Interview script D: José Paiva (Appendix D4)

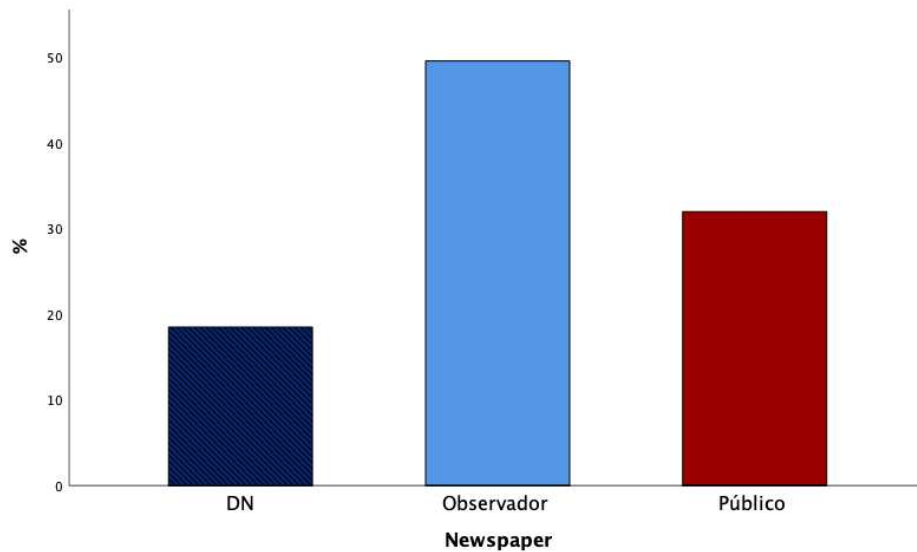
6. Results

6.1 Content Analysis

6.1.1 Sample Characteristics. In this research, a sample of 557 articles was collected for the content analysis, to which a frequency analysis was carried out to evaluate all their characteristics. Among the most relevant variables, it was found that there was a greater number of articles about Latin America in Observador (49.55%), followed by Público (31.95%) and Diário de Notícias (18.49%) (Figure 4).

Figure 4

Number of Articles per Newspaper (N=557)



After performing a frequency analysis, it was possible to retrieve articles on 21 Latin American countries, among which Brazil (63.6%), Colombia (6.6%) and Venezuela (4.7%) were the most representative within the corpus of analysis (Table 7).

Table 7*Frequency of the Regions in the Articles (N=557)*

Region	Frequency	Percent
Brazil	354	63.6%
Colombia	37	6.6%
Venezuela	26	4.7%
Mexico	23	4.1%
Argentina	16	2.9%
Ecuador	14	2.5%
Chile	12	2.2%
Cuba	11	2%
Latin America	10	1.8%
Haiti	10	1.8%
Peru	9	1.6%
Uruguay	8	1.4%
El Salvador	6	1.1%
Guatemala	4	0.7%
Paraguay	4	0.7%
Honduras	3	0.5%
Panama	3	0.5%
Dominican Republic	3	0.5%
Bolivia	2	0.4%
Costa Rica	2	0.4%
Puerto Rico	0	0%
Total	557	100%

To analyze the coverage of each country by newspaper, another frequency analysis was carried out with the variables *newspaper* and *region*. The results showed that Observador was the newspaper that wrote the most articles on Brazil, with 174 articles, which is 63% of its Latin American content. For its part, Público covered Brazil with 128 articles, which is 71.9% of its Latin American content. It is important to note that, although Observador covered Brazil more frequently, Público's coverage of Brazil represented a larger portion of its Latin American content. Meanwhile, DN had 52 articles on Brazil, representing 50.5% of its content (Table 8).

On the other hand, Observador also covered Venezuela and Colombia the most, with 16 and 19 articles, respectively. Table 8 also revealed that Observador was the only newspaper that covered the Dominican Republic and Costa Rica.

Table 8

Frequency of the Regions per Newspaper (N=557)

Region	DN	Observador	Público	Total
Brazil	52	174	128	354
Percentage within the Newspaper	50.5%	63%	71.9%	63.6%
Colombia	11	16	10	37
Percentage within the Newspaper	10.7%	5.8%	5.6%	6.6%
Venezuela	5	19	2	26
Percentage within the Newspaper	4.9%	6.9%	1.1%	4.7%
Mexico	6	9	8	23
Percentage within the Newspaper	5.8%	3.3%	4.5%	4.1%
Argentina	4	10	2	16
Percentage within the Newspaper	3.9%	3.6%	1.1%	2.9%
Ecuador	4	4	6	14
Percentage within the Newspaper	3.9%	1.4%	3.4%	2.5%
Chile	1	6	5	12
Percentage within the Newspaper	1%	2.2%	2.8%	2.2%
Cuba	6	3	2	11
Percentage within the Newspaper	5.8%	1.1%	1.1%	2%
Latin America	2	6	2	10
Percentage within the Newspaper	1.9%	2.2%	1.1%	1.8%
Haiti	2	6	2	10
Percentage within the Newspaper	1.9%	2.2%	1.1%	1.8%
Peru	3	3	3	9
Percentage within the Newspaper	2.9%	1.1%	1.7%	1.6%
Uruguay	2	3	3	8
Percentage within the Newspaper	1.9%	1.1%	1.7%	1.4%
El Salvador	1	3	2	6

Percentage within the Newspaper	1%	1.1%	1.1%	1.1%
Guatemala	1	2	1	4
Percentage within the Newspaper	1%	0.7%	0.6%	0.7%
Paraguay	2	2	0	4
Percentage within the Newspaper	1.9%	0.7%	0%	0.7%
Honduras	0	2	1	3
Percentage within the Newspaper	0%	0.7%	0.6%	0.5%
Panama	0	2	1	3
Percentage within the Newspaper	0%	0.7%	0.6%	0.5%
Dominican Republic	0	3	0	3
Percentage within the Newspaper	0%	1.1%	0%	0.5%
Bolivia	1	1	0	2
Percentage within the Newspaper	1%	0.4%	0%	0.4%
Costa Rica	0	2	0	2
Percentage within the Newspaper	0%	0.7%	0%	0.4%
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0
Percentage within the Newspaper	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	103	276	178	557
Percentage	100%	100%	100%	100%

The frequency analysis also showed that articles on Latin America appeared more in the sections *Mundo* (Público and Observador) (44%), *Internacional* (DN) (15.1%) and *Ipsilon* (Público) (9.2%) of the newspapers (Table 9). As mentioned in the methodology, there are sections in newspapers that refer to the same topic but have different names. For instance, the international section in Observador and Público was called *Mundo* and in DN it was called *Internacional*; the economy section was called *Economia* in Observador and Público and in DN it was called *Dinheiro*; and the culture section was called *Ipsilon* in Público and *Cultura* in Observador and DN. In the following table they are separated to respect the names given by each newspaper. However, as can be seen in table 9, their percentages were added since they refer to the same section.

Furthermore, if the sections are grouped by theme, the analysis shows that news about Latin America appeared more in the sections *Mundo/Internacional* (59.1%), *Ipsilon/Cultura* (10.5%) and *Desporto* (5.6%).

Table 9

Sections in Which the Articles are Located (N=557)

Section	Number	Percentage
Mundo/Internacional	329	59.1%
Mundo	245	44%
Internacional	84	15.1%
Ipsilon/ Cultura	58	10.5%
Ipsilon	51	9.2%
Desporto	31	5.6%
Sociedade	25	4.5%
Fast Check	22	3.9%
Impar	16	2.9%
Fugas	14	2.5%
Início	9	1.6%
P3	9	1.6%
Ciência	8	1.4%
Azul	7	1.3%
Cultura	7	1.3%
Saúde	6	1.1%
Economia/Dinheiro	5	0.9%
Pais	4	0.7%
Política	4	0.7%
Economia	3	0.5%
Lifestyle	3	0.5%
Dinheiro	2	0.4%
Capas	2	0.4%
Opinion	2	0.4%
Tecnologia	2	0.4%
Justiça	1	0.2%

In the content analysis, the most common type of article collected was *news* (92.6%), followed by *opinion* (3.1%) and *interviews* (2.2%) (Table 10). Furthermore, the topic to which the largest number of articles was linked was *politics*, with 159 (28.5%); followed by *society*, with 109 (19.6%); *culture*, with 73 (13.1%); people with 59 (10.6%); *crime* with 56

(10.1%); *sports* with 36 (6.5%); *environment* with 29 (5.2%); *food* with 14 (2.5%); *health* with 12 (2.2%) and *economy* with 10 (1.8%) (Figure 5).

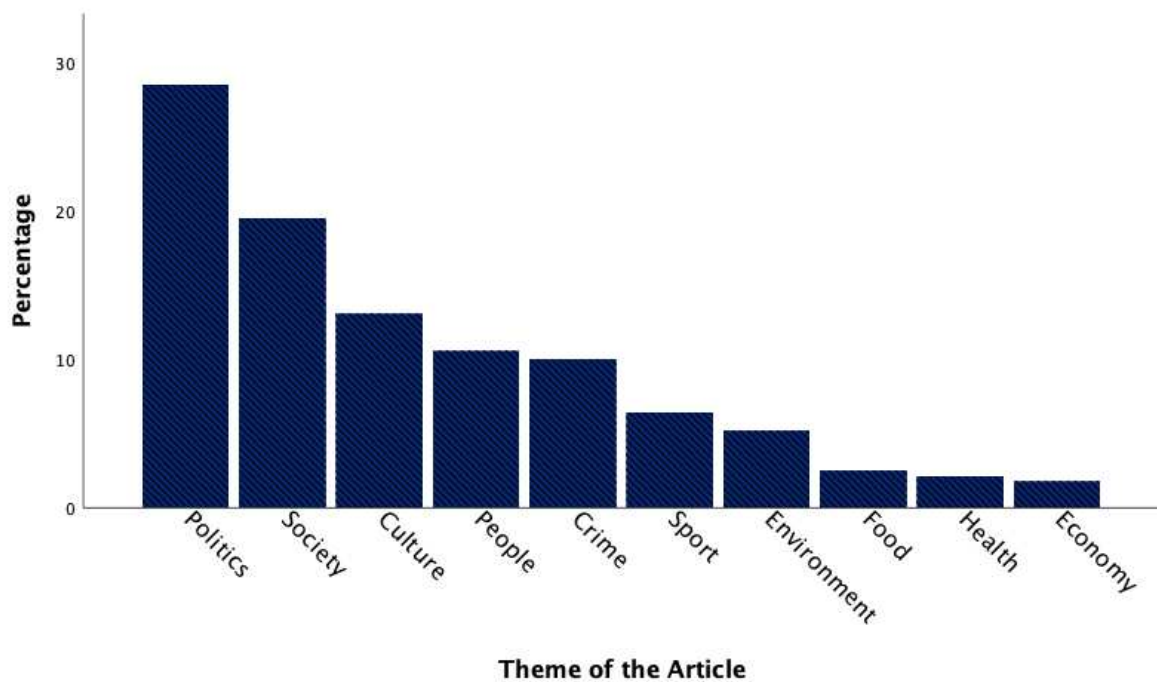
Table 10

Main Type of Article Collected (N=557)

Type of Article	Frequency	Percentage
News	516	92.6%
Opinion	17	3.1%
Interview	12	2.2%
Report	7	1.3%
Review	2	0.4%
Analysis	1	0.2%
Chronic	1	0.2%
Exposure	1	0.2%

Figure 5

Main Topics of the Articles



In addition, most of the articles were written by *Lusa* (40.6%), followed by *DN/Lusa* (7.9%) and *Nuno Pacheco*, a journalist from *Público* (5.4%) (Table 11). This table, due to its length, can be found in Appendix E. It is important to note that if all the articles in which *Lusa* was

author/co-author are added, a total of 277 articles are obtained. This means that Lusa wrote 49.7% of the articles in the corpus (N=557). Of the three newspapers, Observador used the most articles by Lusa, with 213 of the 276 it published. Meanwhile, of the 103 articles published by DN, only 43 were written by Lusa. For its part, of the 178 published by Público, 20 articles were written by Lusa (Table 12).

Table 12

Articles Authored or Co-Authored by Lusa Per Newspaper (N=557)

Newspaper	Number of Articles by Lusa	Percentage
Observador	213	77.1%
Diário de Notícias	43	41.7%
Público	20	11.2%

Furthermore, the most used sources in the articles were the *Brazilian Government*, with 10.1%, followed by *Lusa* (4.4%) and *Público* (4.1%) (Table 13). Due to its length, Table 13 is also included in Appendix F. The frequency analysis also showed that only 24.1% of the articles mention Portugal or deal with a topic that involves it, while 75.9% do not (Figure 6). The analysis also revealed that more than half (59.6%) of the articles clearly indicated where they had obtained the information. However, in 40.4% the sources were not clear (Table 14).

Figure 6

Connection of the Article with Portugal (N=557)

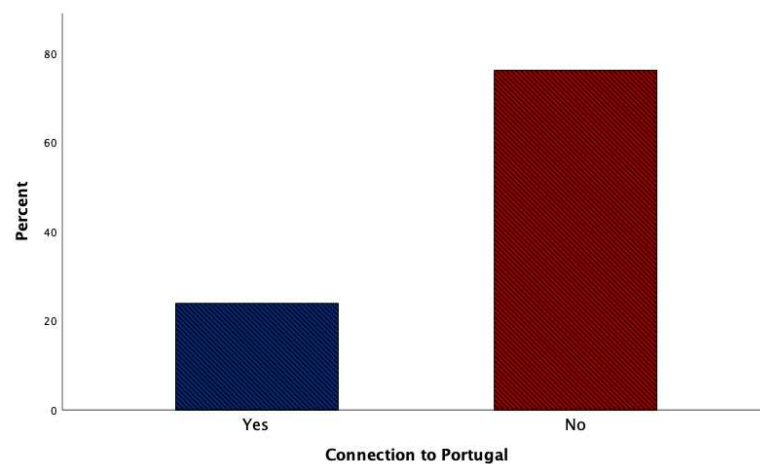


Table 14

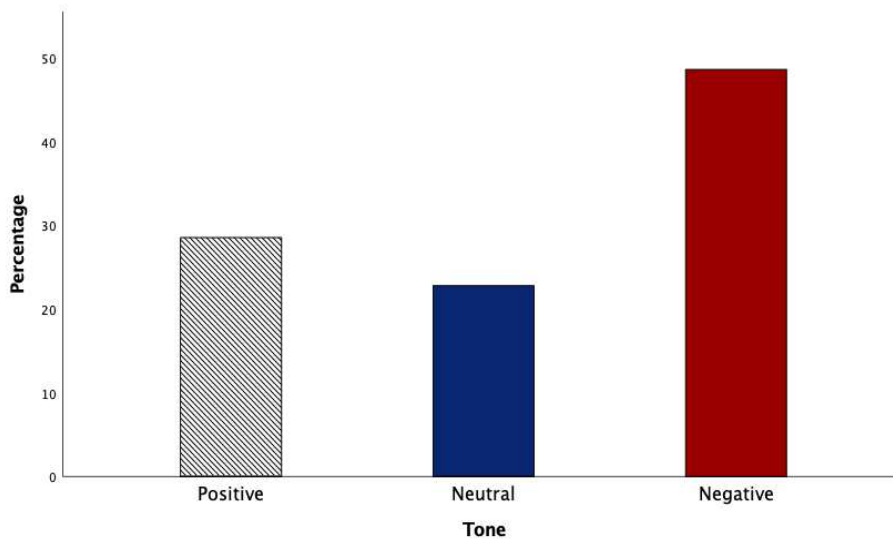
Source Clarity in Articles (N=557)

Source Clarity	Percentage
Clear	59.6%
Unclear	40.4%

6.1.2 Main Tone Used in Latin America Coverage. To test the first hypothesis on how Público, Observador and Diário de Notícias have portrayed the region, a frequency analysis was performed with the variables tone (positive, negative and neutral) and main argument. The purpose of this analysis was to test HP1's assumption that most of the news about Latin America are covered following the negative criteria. The hypothesis was supported since it was found that most of the news about the region are negative (48.5%), followed by positive (28.5%) and neutral (23%) (Figure 7).

Figure 7

Main Tone Used in the Articles (N=557)



To analyze the *tone* of the article, the variable *main arguments* was studied. Recalling that in Cazzamata's study (2020), the variable *main arguments* categorize the news by topics that are considered positive, neutral, or negative. The frequency analysis of this variable showed

that *event* (anything that happened in the news without it being positive or negative) was the most frequent argument (21.7%), followed by *crime* (13.6%), *conflict* (12.6%) and *cultural* (11.1%) (Table 15). It is worth mentioning that, although the most used argument was the neutral argument *event*, if the negative arguments *crime* and *conflict* are added we obtain 26.2%, a figure higher than the frequency of the *event* (21.7%).

Table 15
Frequencies of the Tones and Main Arguments in the Articles (N=557)

		Number	Percentage
Tone			
	Negative	270	48.5%
	Positive	159	28.5%
	Neutral	128	23%
Main Argument			
Negative	Crime	76	13.6%
	Conflict	70	12.6%
	Political Unrest	32	5.7%
	Disaster	26	4.7%
	Damage	11	2%
	Violence	11	2%
	Protest	11	2%
	Aggression	9	1.6%
	Destruction	7	1.3%
	Failure	6	1.1%
	War	4	0.7%
	Tension	3	0.5%
	Economic Crisis	2	0.4%
	Repression	1	0.2%
	Interruption of Peace Negotiations	1	0.2%
Neutral	Event	121	21.7%
	Memorial	7	1.3%
	Cultural	62	11.1%
Positive	Cooperation	39	7%
	Positive Development	15	2.7%
	Survival	14	2.5%
	Justice	12	2.2%
	Success	9	1.6%
	State Improvement	3	0.5%
	Attempts of Reconciliation	4	0.7%
	Bilateral Agreement	1	0.2%

To identify how each newspaper represented Latin America, a Pearson's chi-square test was performed ($N = 557$). There was a significant association $\chi^2(4) = 11.02, p = 0.026$, Cramer's $V = 0.099$. The results showed that in the three newspapers, the most frequently used *tone* was negative. The one with the highest percentage was Diário de Notícias (53.4%), followed by Observador (52.5%) and Público (39.3%) (Table 16). The newspaper with the best tone balance was Público, which had 36.5% of its articles positive, 24.2% neutral and 39.3% negative.

Table 16

Tones Used by Newspapers (N=557)

Newspaper	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
Observador	71	60	145	276
Percentage within the Newspaper	25.7%	21.7%	52.5%	100%
Público	65	43	70	178
Percentage within the Newspaper	36.5%	24.2%	39.3%	100%
DN	23	25	55	103
Percentage within the Newspaper	22.3%	24.3%	53.4%	100%

6.1.3 The Coverage of Different Latin American Countries. Another Pearson's chi-square test was conducted to assess if there was a statistically significant relationship between the region and the tone of the article. It is important to note that for this hypothesis, the second code ($N = 503$) was used. This code only includes variables with more than $N=10$ to increase the statistical power of the test (Field, 2018). In all countries, a significant association was observed, $\chi^2(4) = 23.8, p = <.001$, Cramer's $V = 0.15$. However, a weak effect size was observed.

In the articles, Brazil was covered 28.8% with positive and 26.3% with neutral tone, giving the country a positive/neutral representation of 55.1%. Stable countries had a positive tone of 39.8% and neutral tone of 15.9%, giving a total of 55.7% positive/neutral representation. Countries in crisis had 9.8% positive tone and 18% neutral tone, for a total of 27.8%. As can be seen, stable countries had a higher positive and neutral representation, while countries in crisis had a much lower positive and neutral representation.

It is important to note that in all the regions studied, the most common tone was negative: Brazil with 44.9%, stable countries with 44.3% and countries in crisis with 72.1% (Table 17 & Figure 8).

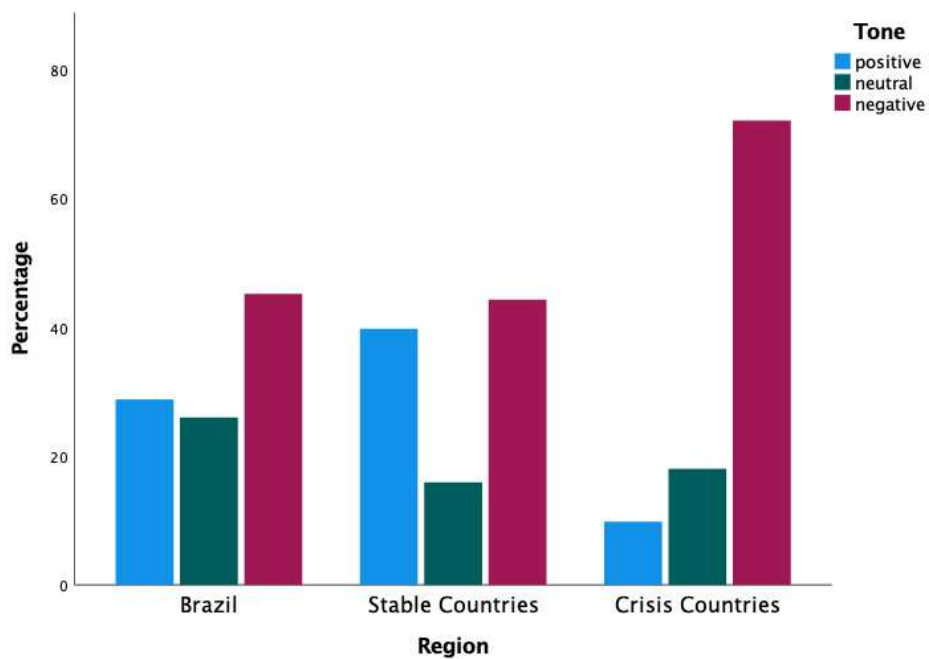
Table 17

Tones Used in the Coverage of Brazil, Stable Countries and Countries in Crisis (N=503)

		Tone			Total
		Positive	Neutral	Negative	
Region	Brazil	102	93	159	354
	% within Brazil	28.8%	26.3%	44.9%	100%
	Stable Countries	35	14	39	88
	% within Stable Countries	39.8%	15.9%	44.3%	100%
	Countries in Crisis	6	11	44	61
	% within Countries in Crisis	9.8%	18%	72.1%	100%

Figure 8

Tones Used in the Coverage of Brazil, Stable Countries and Countries in Crisis (N=503)



6.1.4 Additional Findings. For further analysis, a Pearson's chi-square test was also performed with the variables source clarity and newspaper (N = 557). In the test, a significant association was observed, $\chi^2(2) = 33.35$, $p = <.001$, Cramer's $V = 0.245$. DN is the newspaper with more clarity about its sources, with 73.8%, while Público is the one with the least clarity, with 57.3% (Table 18).

Table 18

Source Clarity of Each Newspaper (N=557)

		Source Clarity		
		Clear	Unclear	Total
Newspaper	DN	76	27	103
	% within the Newspaper	73.8%	26.2%	100%
	Observador	180	96	276
	% within the Newspaper	65.2%	34.8%	100%
	Público	76	102	178
	% within the Newspaper	42.7%	57.3%	100%

Finally, a significant association was also tested through a Pearson's chi-square with the variables *connection with Portugal* and *tone* (N = 557). In this test, there was a statistical relationship, $\chi^2(2) = 48.08$ $p = <.001$, Cramer's $V = 0.29$. The results showed that articles on Latin America that mention Portugal or address a topic related to this country are more likely to have positive coverage (47%). In contrast, articles unrelated to Portugal tend to have negative coverage (56.5%) (Table 19).

Table 19

The Relationship of the Articles with Portugal and the Tone Used (N=557)

		Tone			Total CP
		Positive	Neutral	Negative	
Connection to Portugal (CP)	Yes	63	40	31	134
	Percentage within CP	47%	29.9%	23.1%	100%
	No	96	88	239	423
	Percentage within CP	22.7%	20.8%	56.5%	100%

6.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

6.2.1 Selected News. As mentioned above, it was decided to focus on news about the countries with the highest number of articles, which were Brazil, Colombia, and Venezuela. It was decided that three articles would be from Brazil, two from Colombia and one from Venezuela, due to their representation in the content analysis.

For the analysis, one of the most discussed topics in relation to Brazil was selected, which was Mercosur's negotiations with the European Union that began in April 2000. Although an agreement was reached in 2019, the negotiations are currently the subject of extensive debate due to new EU requirements proposed on February 16, 2023. As a result, the three newspapers covered the topic on multiple occasions, and it is related to Europe.

In addition, the coverage of the four Colombian children who suffered a plane crash on May 1, 2023, and were lost in the Amazon jungle for 40 days was also analyzed, as it was also very relevant news for the selected newspapers. It should be noted that none of the news about Colombia was related to Portugal or Europe, so this comparison could not be made. Finally, the selected Venezuela news was about the comments of Venezuelan President Nicolas Maduro and Brazilian President Lula de Silva on the decision of Western countries to support the former interim president of Venezuela, Juan Guaidó, as it relates to Europe. The Colombian news was analyzed using articles from Público and DN, while Venezuelan news was analyzed using Observador. The decision was based on the fact that Observador was the newspaper that covered Venezuela the most.

As mentioned in the methodology, in the selection of the articles, the date they were written was not a criterion because the study avoided the months in which events occurred between Brazil and Portugal, which could have unbalanced the news about the region. Therefore, the articles were selected based exclusively on the event and its relation to Europe. The selected sample contains articles published between May 26, and June 14, 2023.

The articles analyzed are listed below (the full articles can be found in Appendix G):

1. Se a UE volta à América Latina, Portugal conta- An opinion piece by Leonídio Paulo Ferreira in DN (May 26, 2023)

2. Lula da Silva mostra preocupação sobre novas exigências no acordo UE-Mercosul- A Lusa news article in Observador (June 12, 2023)
3. “Deve-se cobrar ao Brasil a redução da desflorestação e o combate à impunidade”- An interview with Laura Canineu conducted by Clara Barata in Público (June 7, 2023)
4. Como é que três crianças e um bebé sobrevivem na selva durante 40 dias?- A news article by DN/AFP/Lusa in DN (June 10, 2023)
5. Lula da Silva diz que considerar absurdo o reconhecimento de Guaidó como Presidente da Venezuela- A news article by Lusa in Observador (May 29, 2023).
6. Preparamos os nossos filhos para viverem sem nós? - An opinion piece by Cristiana Gercina in Público (June 14, 2023)

6.2.2.1 Background of the News Selected. The news about the Mercosur agreement is of great relevance for Latin America and the European Union. If the agreement is ratified, it will create one of the largest free trade zones in the world, with a market of 800 million people (Galarraga & Ayuso, 2023). In 2019, 20 years after negotiations between the EU and Mercosur members (Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay) began, an agreement was reached. However, due to differences between the two blocs, the treaty has not been ratified. The main issue is that the EU has added new environmental standards to combat deforestation and ensure responsible agricultural production. The new proposed regulation establishes that countries wishing to sell products such as palm oil, cocoa, coffee, rubber, beef, leather goods, chocolate, among others, on the European market must demonstrate that they have been produced in a responsible manner. Furthermore, the EU stressed that these products must have been produced on land that has met all applicable standards in the country of production and that has not been deforested after December 31, 2020. If countries fail to comply with these new requirements, they will be subject to sanctions with a maximum fine of 4% of their total sales in the EU (Galarraga & Ayuso, 2023)

These new requirements have been rejected by Mercosur, especially Brazil and Argentina. These countries argue that the EU proposal is unacceptable because, far from becoming strategic partners, Mercosur is threatened with sanctions if it cannot meet the new environmental targets. In addition, the countries argue that the regulations are too ambitious

for the timeframe and are detrimental to the region's agricultural sector, on which much of its economy is based (Galarraga & Ayuso, 2023).

Brazilian President Lula de Silva argues that the new agreement should be based on mutual trust, not distrust and sanctions. Meanwhile Argentine President Alberto Fernandez says that the agreement focuses mainly on environmental issues, neglecting economic and social aspects. Although there have been no concessions from either side, both the EU and Mercosur have insisted on their willingness to reach an agreement by the end of 2023, as it would unite two major markets. However, experts see this outcome as difficult, as there are presidential elections in Argentina, which will give rise to a new Mercosur leader. Therefore, if the new leader does not agree with the proposal, it could be put on hold for a longer period of time (Al Jazeera, 2023a).

The news from Colombia is about four children who were found alive in the Amazon jungle after 40 days. On May 1, 2023, Lesly Jacobombaire Mucutuy, Soleiny Jacobombaire Mucutuy, Tien Noriel Ranoque Mucutuy, and Cristin Neriman Ranoque Mucutuy, were on a plane with their mother, indigenous leader, and a pilot when it crashed in the Amazon jungle. All three adults died in the crash and only the children survived. The children were found on June 9, 2023, after the government deployed more than 200 military and indigenous people from four jungle departments in the Operation Hope. After the rescue, the children were transferred to the Central Military Hospital, where they had a favorable evolution, but were at high risk due to nutritional deficiencies (AP, 2023).

The news about Venezuela is about the power dispute between President Nicolás Maduro, and former interim president Juan Guaidó. In 2019, after rejecting the legitimacy of the 2018 presidential elections, Guaidó, a young parliamentarian from the Voluntad Popular party, proclaimed himself president-in-charge of Venezuela. Guaidó came to power ambitiously, promising that there would be a cessation of usurpation, a transitional government and free elections. As a result, Guaidó received the support of many civilians and countries, including USA and the EU, which exerted pressure against Maduro's government (BBC, 2022).

Although Guaidó's government allowed Venezuela access to significant public resources abroad, the new president was not able to oust Maduro from power, call free elections or have real power within Venezuela. As a result, support for him from several countries and civilians began to wane. According to BBC (2022), the decline in support for Guaidó was due to the lack of a clear electoral strategy and corruption scandals in his new government.

In 2022, most opposition parties voted in favor of dismissing Guaidó's interim government, eliminating the strategy supported by Western countries to overthrow Maduro and hold presidential elections in 2024. The demise of the interim government did not affect Maduro's government, as Guaidó's threat was only momentary in 2019. Currently, the opposition is divided, so a great social and political polarization is expected when they choose the main opposition candidate for the 2024 elections. In addition, it is argued that Voluntad Popular sees the removal of Guaidó as a betrayal, so there will be more political tension among the opposition. The panorama does not seem to favor the opposition, which is disarticulated, while Maduro's candidacy remains strong (BBC, 2022).

6.2.2 The Study of the Discourses. As already established, in this thesis the critical discourse analysis looks into the semiotic and cognitive structures of the messages, searching for both implicit meanings and the sociocultural knowledge that these messages rely on.

6.2.2.1 Articles Function. Some of the articles have a brief description of the country and its situation. However, most of the articles do not have a background to the news, so readers need to have a socio-cultural knowledge of what is happening, or they will not understand it. For example, readers need to be aware of the problems in ratifying the Mercosur-EU agreement, the differences between the Brazilian government of Lula da Silva and Jair Bolsonaro, the plane accident in Colombia, and the EU's stance towards the Venezuelan government.

However, general data can be observed in the articles such as the time frame. The first event concerns the negotiations of the EU-Mercosur agreement, which started at the end of May 2023. The second event is about the plane crash in Colombia on May 1, 2023, and the 40 days of rescue work to save the four missing children. The third event was a conference on the Venezuelan government in Brazil on May 29, 2023. Another key piece of information is

the participants. In the first event, the main participants were the President of the European Commission, Van der Leyen and the President of Brazil, Lula de Silva. In the second, it was the four surviving children, the mother, the Colombian authorities, and the indigenous people who helped locate them. Finally, the participants in the third event were Lula de Silva and Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro.

Below, some excerpts from the articles are analyzed. These articles were selected because they best exemplify their function, which in this case are informative or interactive. As mentioned above, most of the articles report new facts, which means that they are updates rather than an explanation of the whole event. Thus, on the one hand there are informative pieces like article 4 that present the facts without having an opinion or position on the matter.

Article 4

“Com idades entre os 11 meses e os 13 anos, as crianças viveram sozinhas na selva com uma vegetação densa, árvores que atingem 40 metros de altura, chuva e a presença de onças, cobras e outros animais,” (DN/AFP/Lusa, 2023).

In this paragraph, the newspaper provides the reader with the context of the news. The function of article 4 has been classified as exclusively informative, since throughout the article the news is described in a neutral way. On the other hand, interactive pieces like articles 1 and 3 provide a less neutral description of the facts and have more opinions. Article 1 focuses on how Portugal should approach Latin America, while article 3 explains the expert's desired outcome on Brazilian issues. It is important to note that since these articles are an opinion and an interview, it is expected that they show positions on the topic discussed.

Article 1

“E Portugal? Tem que ter também protagonismo nesta aproximação (...) E uma prioridade ibérica deveria ser convencer os parceiros a concluírem finalmente o acordo Mercosul-EU,” (Ferreira, 2023).

Article 3

“A Human Rights Watch espera que o Supremo Tribunal Federal não frustrasse as expectativas dos povos indígenas de ver reconhecido o seu direito fundamental às terras que tradicionalmente ocupam,” said Canineu (Barata, 2023).

These articles have an interactive function because in addition to showing opinions on the matter, they respond to the Portuguese and Brazilian authorities. In article 1, Ferreira urges the country to play a leading role in EU-Latin American relations. Meanwhile, article 3 of Canineu responds to the Brazilian government's opposition to improving indigenous rights and accepting the environmental requirements of the Mercosur-EU agreement. It is important to note that in their articles Ferreira and Canineu emphasized that it is Latin America that needs to adapt to EU norms/agreements, without considering its needs or desires.

As these articles promote that it is the European Union that knows what is best for Latin America, these end up promoting the Western ideology of superiority of the Global North over the Global South. For instance, in Article 1, Ferreira presents Portugal and Spain as the top countries in Europe that can steer relations with Latin America, as they can fully convince the region to have a closer relationship with the EU and the advantages of a Mercosur-EU agreement. On the other hand, in the HRW interview, Brazil is again told what to focus on and how (social justice and new EU requirements for the Mercosur agreement). Here, I am not claiming that the treatment of minorities in Brazil is not a pressing problem, but rather that, as argued in the literature review, Global South perspectives are often suppressed in news articles.

6.2.2.2 Authors Presentations. Of the six articles analyzed, three (articles 2, 4 and 5) are signed by Lusa, which means that the article was entirely elaborated by the agency or in co-authorship. In these three articles, it is observed that there is a greater informative nature of the facts. The other three, in contrast, take a very strong stance given that these are interviews and opinions, including of journalists. For this section, it was decided to focus on the latter three, since the presentation of the writers and interviewee give greater legitimacy to their writings.

Article 1

Leonídio Paulo Ferreira, **Diretor Adjunto do Diário de Notícias**, (Ferreira, 2023).

Article 3

““o Presidente Lula deveria ser capaz de manter medidas fortes de combate ao desmatamento”, afirma a **directora da Human Rights Watch no Brasil**, Laura Canineu, com quem o **PÚBLICO** falou numa passagem por Lisboa,” (Barata, 2023).

Article 6

“Cristiane Gercina, **Mãe de Luiza e Laura. Apaixonada pelas filhas e por literatura, é jornalista de economia na Folha de S.Paulo**,” (Gercina, 2023).

In all three articles we can see that there is a presentation of who the writers or interviewees are, their professional position and where they work, which legitimizes their role as experts in the newspapers. As van Dijk (2008) describes, the presentation of the people involved functions as a form of positive representation that increases the credibility of what they argue. In the first article, Ferreira's credibility lies in his high position as Director of DN. Meanwhile, in the third article there is a great deal of legitimacy in the piece by highlighting that Canineu belongs to a well-known NGO, Human Rights Watch, whose aim is to defend the rights of people around the world. Finally, in article 6, Gercina's presentation goes beyond her role, as she also shares her personal life. This description is key to the article as it is about the relationship between mothers and children. Moreover, it is important as there is greater reliability and trust from readers knowing that she is a mother.

6.2.2.3 Ideological Polarization Us vs Them. In almost all the articles, it is possible to detect polarized positions, especially a distinction between the life and values of Europeans (Us) and Latin Americans (Them). In this polarized structure, one can see how there is a positive or neutral representation of Europe since it is from their perspective that the pieces are written. Meanwhile, there is no perspective of the Others, except for Gercina's article.

In the case of Mercosur, the polarization shown in these articles is based on the Eurocentric view, which is against Brazil's position for refusing to accept the Mercosur agreement.

Through the experts' arguments it is seen that the EU is portrayed as the progressive bloc that aims to ensure better environmental and social policies. Meanwhile, Brazil and the other Mercosur countries are seen as unprogressive and uninterested in these issues, when in fact they argue that the new requirements are very detrimental to the Mercosur economy.

Article 3

*“Entendemos que a **União Europeia**, por exemplo, **não pode ratificar o acordo Mercosul-UE se o **Brasil** não mostrar progresso efectivo na redução do desmatamento e no combate à impunidade por actos de violência e criminalidade contra os defensores da floresta,**”* said Canineu (Barata, 2023).

Article 2

O chefe de Estado brasileiro, Lula da Silva, demonstrou esta segunda-feira **preocupações**, perante a presidente da Comissão Europeia, relativamente **às novas exigências feitas pela União Europeia (UE)** no acordo comercial com o bloco Mercosul.

*“Em paralelo, a **União Europeia aprovou leis próprias com efeitos extraterritoriais** e que modificam o equilíbrio do Acordo. **Essas iniciativas representam restrições** potenciais às exportações agrícolas e industriais do Brasil”, disse Silva (Agência Lusa, 2023b).*

In these articles, Mercosur's arguments are not found in depth, only some arguments are mentioned in article 2. The lack of an in-depth analysis of the Brazilian rejection of the treaty makes it easy for the reader to agree with the EU's position. Moreover, article 3 implies that Brazil and Mercosur members do not know what is best for the world and for themselves. Therefore, the EU should guide them and sanction them when they go in another direction. *“É importante que a UE se mantenha vigilante, para que Lula possa realmente cumprir o que prometeu”* said Canineu (Barata, 2023). This attitude, besides following the idea of a Western superiority, also shows a paternalistic attitude, in which Latin America is still considered a disaster that needs help from Europeans to improve its situation.

Meanwhile, in the case of Venezuela, the article makes sure to demonstrate that the views that Brazil and EU countries have on Venezuela are contradictory, reinforcing the division between Us and Them.

Article 5

O chefe de Estado brasileiro, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, afirmou esta segunda-feira, ao lado do homólogo venezuelano, Nicolás Maduro, que **considerou absurdo que os países democráticos da Europa tenham reconhecido o opositor Juan Guaidó** como Presidente da Venezuela, em 2019.

Maduro defendeu que há democracia na Venezuela embora o seu regime seja reiteradamente acusado de impedir a vitória de adversários em eleições que realiza periodicamente (Agência Lusa, 2023a).

Article 5 is based on showing the different positions on Venezuela, highlighting that Brazil supports the government of Nicolás Maduro, while the EU condemned his government. Throughout the article it is highlighted that while Maduro's regime considers itself democratic, it is accused of not being so. Thus, as the article emphasizes that the EU does not support Maduro's government, it positions the EU with moral superiority. This in turn implicitly categorizes Brazil and Venezuela as wrong.

Again, while it is true that these controversial events are taking place, the absence of more information from Latin America makes it difficult for the reader to understand the region. For instance, Al Jazeera (2023b), which considers itself a contra-flow newspaper as it shows the perspective of non-Westerners, reported that Latin America's current objective in approaching Venezuela has to do with the fact that the region is tired of following foreign impositions. Consequently, the region wants to decide which country to engage with without external pressures. However, this perspective is not mentioned in article 5.

This lack of representation of non-Western perspectives in the news is not surprising since, as noted in the literature review, the structure of the world (capitalism, globalization and modernity), as well as its narratives and discourses, benefit the Western perspective over

others. Moreover, since these newspapers were created and operate in a Western country, the promotion of Western ideology is expected to be more intense.

As mentioned previously, the perspective of the *Others* is only partially given in Gercina's article (6), as she writes for Folha de São Paulo, a newspaper in Brazil. Also, her perspective fits into the article on motherhood, as she is a mother. However, as mentioned in the literature review, there can be a Global North within the Global South and vice versa. In this case, although she writes from the Global South, her perspective is from the Global North. This is because her article shows a polarization, not about who is right or wrong, but about lifestyle. Throughout her article, Gercina highlights the duality between Colombian life (Them) and city life (Us).

Article 6

Temos treinado **nossas crianças**, especialmente nas **grandes cidades**, para que tenham **posicionamento relevante na sociedade**. Não estar mais aqui não significa necessariamente morrer. Além disso, não estou defendendo um treinamento de **sobrevivência na selva**. Podemos não estar presentes se precisarmos viajar por um tempo mais longo, ou se formos acometidas por problemas de saúde que nos impeçam de fazer atividades básicas ou nos levem a ser internadas.

Saber cozinhar, cuidar das próprias coisas, pensar duas vezes antes de fazer ou dizer algo, respeitar o seu corpo e as suas escolhas são ensinamentos necessários para a vida delas com ou sem mãe (Gercina, 2023).

As it can be seen, the author emphasizes that while children in Colombia needed to have knowledge on how to survive in the jungles, in the city children must know how to cook, take care of their things, among others, in case their mothers are not present due to events such as travels. The article makes a point by providing Gercina's experience as a mother and the importance of children knowing how to take care of themselves. However, it reinforces stereotypes about life in the jungle in countries like Colombia, and the different priorities that mothers and children have in the city.

6.2.2.4 Interests. Another ideological element present in article 3 is the EU desire to impose values or standards on other regions under the label of modernization and progress. There is a systematic assumption in the EU's argument that greater environmental and social responsibility should be mandatory for the Mercosur bloc, which suggests that there is neither the will nor the capacity on the part of Mercosur to carry it out.

Article 3

Deve ser cobrada ao Brasil a redução do desmatamento e protecção da Amazónia e outros biomas, mas também o combate à impunidade.

É importante que a **UE se mantenha vigilante**, para que Lula possa realmente cumprir o que prometeu, em relação aos povos indígenas e a ser um líder na maior crise que a humanidade está vivendo, que é a crise climática, said Canineu (Barata, 2023).

As previously mentioned, a paternalistic tone is shown in article 3. Canineu describes that the EU must be vigilant so that Lula can fulfill the promises, as if without it the president could not fulfill them. Furthermore, Canineu stressed that Brazil should be "charged" if it does not comply with its environmental commitments, demonstrating that the EU is promoting the establishment of a hierarchical relationship. One in which EU policies are the right ones and have no consequences, while Mercosur has to adapt to everything in a hurry without taking into account its needs or it will be punished.

Furthermore, it is important to note that in article 3, EU interest is in line with the bloc's internal values, such as the protection of the environment, the promotion of justice and social protection, the promotion of democracy, among others. Alternatively, Latin America's priorities are not mentioned in depth, only article 2 mentions Brazil's request for a fairer agreement and some of its concerns.

Article 2

O chefe de Estado brasileiro sublinhou ainda que “a premissa que deve existir **entre parceiros estratégicos é a da confiança mútua** e não de desconfiança e sanções”.

Enquanto a **UE exige garantias** de que não importará produtos do Mercosul que contribuam para a desflorestação ou para as alterações climáticas, alguns membros do Mercosul, como o **Brasil, pedem para renegociar** o que já foi acordado sobre compras governamentais (Agência Lusa, 2023b).

Al Jazeera (2023b) previously reported that the new Latin American leaders, mostly from the left wing, seek to have more independence from Western countries and want to find their own path of development, without having ideas and norms imposed on them. However, this Global South perspective is not found in the articles, as these only focus on the EU's interest in pressuring Mercosur to adapt to these environmental protection policies, through agreements and sanctions. An important aspect is that, as van Dijk (2018) explained, even when Western countries carry out negative actions, these are described in a positive way. In this case, although the EU is proposing sanctions, it is represented as an advanced bloc that only wants to ensure good trade and help Mercosur to be more responsible. However, as mentioned above, these objectives are not realistic to achieve in the short time for Mercosur.

6.2.2.5 Negative & Positive Descriptions. While most of the articles had a very neutral stance and were limited to stating the facts, in some articles we can find descriptions that help to strengthen the polarization between Us and Them. An example is article 3, where more negative descriptions are found.

Article 3

*“São um povo que tem sido vitimado há décadas por uma **violência absurda** por parte dos garimpeiros ilegais e redes criminosas,”* said Canineu (Barata, 2023).

Undoubtedly the interview is the piece that has the least objectivity when describing Brazil since it draws the opinion of experts. In the piece, the author exalts the violence that affects Brazil and uses adjectives such as "absurd" to describe it, referring to it as a problem of great magnitude and senselessness that endures. It is important to note here that while Canineu acknowledges some of the progress made by Lula's government, the article emphasizes that he has not been able to deliver on his promises.

Article 3

Lula da Silva foi eleito com a promessa de travar a destruição da Amazônia, a violência contra os povos indígenas, e ser um líder na ação climática. Mas tem de governar com um poder legislativo muito conservador, que porá obstáculos no seu caminho. “Mas mesmo com esse Congresso, que **parece estar indo na mesma direção que o Governo de Jair Bolsonaro, o Presidente Lula deveria ser capaz de manter medidas fortes** de combate ao desmatamento,” said Canineu (Barata, 2023).

As can be seen, the complexity of Brazil's violence and environmental crisis is minimized when Canineu expresses her frustration with the current government for not having made better progress on several issues. The entire article does not delve into the fact that Brazil's situation has its roots in decades of corruption, racism, discrimination and poverty, among others, which cannot be resolved in less than a year since Lula is in power.

Furthermore, when Canineu refers to media cases, she emphasizes that in Brazil there are rarely punishments and that impunity is the norm. While it is true that the country experiences a high level of violence and impunity that needs to be addressed, the facts are described with negative descriptions and adjectives.

Article 3

Raramente há punições por este crime... O assassinato do Dom foi um bastante dramático, mas **não** surpreendente, porque existia uma política antiambiental e antidireitos humanos do Governo Bolsonaro Tendo em vista a cobertura internacional, o Estado está fazendo a sua parte para responsabilizar as pessoas que cometeram esse grave crime. Só que essa **não** é a regra. **A regra em relação a crimes contra defensores é a impunidade,** (Barata, 2023).

In the first sentence, the adverb rarely makes it clear that criminals who are held accountable are few. Furthermore, it stresses that it is not surprising that such crimes occur and re-emphasizes that impunity reigns in the country. Here it is important to note that Canineu is expected to give her opinion. However, she generalizes the situation of violence in Brazil, making the country seem inept to ensure justice and security.

On the other hand, in article 4, the description of the lost children in Colombia and indigenous people was very positive, highlighting the strength and knowledge that the children used to survive.

Article 4

O avô Fidencio Valencia afirmou à AFP que Lesly era uma criança "**muito inteligente**" e capaz de guiar os irmãos pela floresta.

"Foi a **sabedoria das famílias indígenas**, de viver na selva, que os salvaram", afirmou o presidente (DN/AFP/Lusa, 2023).

As it can be seen, phrases like "indigenous wisdom" demonstrate the key knowledge that enabled the children to survive for 40 days. In addition, the article highlights that the girl's intelligence" in leading and ensuring the survival of all her siblings. It is important to note that in the European Portuguese cultural/historical context, due to colonization and the legal regulation throughout the twentieth century, the word indigenous is used as a way of referring to people as in their "native natural state", that is, uncivilized, savage and primitive people (Meneses, 2010). However, in the article the word indigenous does not seem to have this negative connotation, but a more current one that simply describes their identity and way of life. In addition, the articles exalt the positive aspects of indigenous wisdom, stating that the children would probably have died without it.

6.2.2.6 Argument Moves. In the interview (article 3), Canineu defends her position on Brazil with arguments and confronts the government for the lack of progress on security matters. Throughout the interview one can see argumentative moves such as the numbers game, which is the repetition of hard data on violence and impunity in Brazil.

Article 3

Só no ano de 2022, que foi quando eles morreram, mais **34 pessoas foram assassinadas** no contexto de conflitos pelo uso da terra. **Nove desses 34 eram indígenas.** Hoje sabemos o que aconteceu com o caso do Dom e Bruno. Mas o que é que aconteceu nesses outros casos? Não sabemos.

Nos últimos dez anos, a Comissão Pastoral da Terra apontou **300 assassinios de pessoas** no contexto de conflitos pelo uso da terra e pelos recursos naturais (Barata, 2023).

The figure of how many people have died because of land conflicts is intended to demonstrate the seriousness of the issue. In addition, the author states that while information on media cases is publicly available, the rest remain unaccounted for, suggesting that the situation is far worse than the figures may show. We can see that the figures thus serve to justify the author's position and her arguments.

6.2.2.7 Lack of Sensibility. While in the articles there is a polarization in the life and values of the Global North and South, articles 1 and 6 demonstrate a lack of connection, understanding and empathy to Latin American history and events. The first article addresses EU-Latin American relations and the importance of Portugal in them. However, Ferreira refers to colonization from a Western perspective, ignoring the violence and trauma it left on Latin American nations.

Article 1

Talvez Huntington tenha valorizado em **excesso a componente indígena** de alguns países latino-americanos (onde existem comunidades em número e influência que obviamente já não existem nos Estados Unidos), **menosprezando a forte miscigenação** que também aconteceu e sobretudo o **contributo europeu para a identidade dessa parte do mundo**, um contributo originalmente português e espanhol. O mais acertado será nesta matéria uma aliança com Espanha, pois **ninguém mais na UE tem a sensibilidade necessária** para liderar o processo de aproximação à América Latina.

Brindemos, pois, a este planeado **regresso europeu** à América Latina (Ferreira, 2023).

The article raises three controversial positions. The first line is problematic because today Latin American countries have opened a new debate on colonization and its impact on the region. Currently, it is known that there is no "excess of indigenous component" because there was a cultural and social genocide against the native peoples. Thus, although there is a strong European ancestry in Latin America mainly due to miscegenation, the role of Portugal

and Spain is not considered a positive contribution to the Latin American identity. On the contrary, the role of Spain and Portugal in Latin America is seen as one in which they imposed their needs, values and norms over local ones. As Said (1978) and Mignolo (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021) have argued, the creation of identities by the West has caused more problems than benefits, as non-Western countries now have to deconstruct themselves to find out who they really are and what they want and need.

Second, Ferreira's phrase "because no one else in the EU has the necessary sensibility" is also problematic for any Latin American reader. Although Latin America has a close historical relationship with Spain and Portugal, there are tensions due to the colonization. For instance, countries such as Mexico continue to demand accountability for the damage Spain caused during colonization. In addition, while in Latin America there is a growing academic movement to consider colonization as a genocide, many Portuguese and Spaniards see colonization as an event that brought civilization to the region. The duality in the way the two regions see colonization shows that there are still differences and that Portugal and Spain still do not fully empathize with Latin America's history and culture.

Finally, "let's drink to this planned European comeback" is also a problematic phrase. While I understand the intent of the phrase which is to celebrate the rapprochement of the EU to Latin America, the writer's choice of words is questionable. This is because for Latin Americans the last time Europeans came to the region it was to invade and impose their culture. These countries left the region in a state of social, economic and political turmoil. Therefore, a return in the same manner would not be cause for a toast, as it is neither what is needed nor what is desired.

Another article 6 showing a lack of sensibility was Gercina's as she compares the tragedy in which 3 adults died and 4 children were missing for 40 days to ordinary problems that are not life-threatening situations.

Article 6

Preparamos os nossos filhos para viverem sem nós? Crianças colombianas sobreviveram na selva após morte da mãe. Precisamos entender que não somos eternas... Não creio que a mãe colombiana tenha treinado as crianças para sua morte,” (Gercina, 2023).

Although her experience as a mother is valid and enriching for readers, the article could have been done without having to refer to the missing children in Colombia. In the article, it is clear that Gercina empathizes with being a mother and having children. However, in everything else, she seems unempathetic, as she compares everyday situations with very serious ones. It should be noted that the children not only saw their mother and two other adults die, but they almost did not survive. In addition, when they were rescued they showed high psychological, physical and emotional trauma. Therefore, comparing two very different situations and putting them on the same scale dehumanizes the work. Especially because the Colombian children and the death of the mother are not treated with respect and dignity.

6.3 Interviews

This section compiles responses to key research questions, as well as additional topics for further discussion. As mentioned above, the full transcripts can be found in Appendix D.

6.3.1 Idea of Latin America and Its Importance in Portuguese news. The first question on what idea journalists and editors have of Latin America sought to see what image of the region they convey in the news. All the interviewees emphasized that the region's culture and diversity make it a very important region on a global level. However, they also recognized the problems the region suffers from, such as instability and violence.

In recent times there has been instability in almost every country. Their instability is due to their institutional failures. Examples of this are the impeachments of presidents in many South American countries. At the same time, there is a great crisis of stability of governments, whether they are left or right wing (Ruela, 2023).

Although the interviewees agreed on the relevance of the region, they stressed that Portugal is only interested in news about Brazil due to its close cultural and historical relationship. Consequently, unless news about other countries deals with controversial issues or shows a crisis, newspapers do not give them much coverage.

Latin America is very relevant in the European context. However, we have a closer connection with Brazil, because we speak the same language and share history and culture, (Santos, 2023).

While Brazil will always be important because of the shared history and the close connection, the rest of Latin America is important only when it is in crisis such as the situation in Venezuela, the protests in Peru, Chile's attempt to make a constitution, Colombia's peace process, among other events, (Ruela, 2023).

The interviewees highlighted that the scarce coverage of Latin America is due to many reasons. For example, Ruela (2023) explained that Latin American countries have less journalistic relevance compared to others such as Ukraine, Russia, China and the United States. Therefore, in the case of Público, the newspaper prefers to give more coverage to struggles of greater interest to the public.

Latin America is not a priority in most Portuguese media. Since the invasion of Ukraine, our international area is more focused on the war. In addition, we have priorities when it comes to reporting beyond Europe. For example, we see that Asia is playing a more important role in international affairs. In addition, the struggle between the USA and China for global supremacy has brought more attention to these regions, (Ruela, 2023).

Moreover, Paiva (2023) highlighted that Público's scarce coverage of Latin America is also related to the fact that the company allocates more journalists and resources to the news sections that generate more profits. He added that, as many editors believe that the international section does not sell much, its coverage is less prioritized than that of other sections.

Many Portuguese directors believe that international issues do not sell, which is a missed opportunity because the Portuguese do care about what happens in the world. Like everyone else, the Portuguese want good stories, and those can be found beyond Europe (Paiva, 2023).

In the case of Observador, Santos (2023) explained that the lack of diverse coverage of Latin America is not because the region is far from Portugal. He stressed that the same

phenomenon occurs with other countries within Europe. Consequently, although the value of proximity is important for news, it does not fully influence the breadth of coverage of a region. In fact, Santos stressed that Observador's coverage is mainly based on news with a high impact in Portugal or in the world.

Something important is that it [lack of coverage] not only happens with Latin America, we also do the same with some European countries. For example, with Greece, the newspaper does not send journalists and sometimes we even choose not to follow the news....Therefore, as you can see, our coverage does not always depend on proximity. We are interested in news that has an impact in Portugal or on the international scene (Santos, 2023).

In the case of DN, Moreira (2023) stated that an obstacle to providing broad and diverse coverage of Latin America has been the inefficient distribution of journalists to cover different regions in depth. One example is that most of the time, Moreira is the only one covering news about Brazil in the newspaper. Thus, although Brazil is a key country for news in Portugal, it suffers from coverage problems.

The problem is that although we have many journalists, we do not have all the resources to cover each region in depth. Usually, we have to choose one event among many great ones to cover, which eliminates diversity.

There's no one else, it's just me in Brazil. I don't know if there's more (correspondents) for Latin America, but I don't think so. Also, 98% of the time I believe I'm the only person writing about Brazil (Moreira, 2023).

6.3.2 Criteria for Covering the Region and the Most Frequently Discussed Topics.

The interviewees recognized that since coverage of Latin America is limited, they have different parameters for choosing which news to cover. Among the variables they take into account are proximity, relevance and controversial/crisis situations.

The parameters on which we focus the most are proximity, which does not have to be physical, it can be cultural; and the relevance it has for our readers. Another criterion is that we focus on crisis, seriousness or catastrophes (Santos, 2023).

We focus on the crisis, elections or social changes. If we compare our approach with other regions, it is completely different...While news about protests or economy changes in Germany will always be news in Portugal, those matters in Peru or Mexico will not always be important for Portugal.... Unlike other regions, most news about Latin America needs context, as it is not covered often. This means that our news cannot be too specific, otherwise Portuguese readers will not understand it (Ruela, 2023).

Respondents added that the most covered news are those related to political issues, especially those linked to Portugal, and viral topics on social networks. Moreira (2023) added that the region used to be covered in a more diverse way, especially on cultural and social issues. However, since the government of former Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro the country has been embroiled in political unrest, which has made politics the main topic covered.

The main theme covered is the commercial treaty between Mercosur and the European Union....Portugal has always been at the forefront in these matters, and it is very interesting to see how the country has positioned itself in other continents (Ruela, 2023).

I have been working at Diário de Notícias for 8 years. In the beginning, there was a lot of emphasis on culture because the political side wasn't as intense. But over the past 10-12 years, the political sphere has gained relevance. These days, the political turmoil of Bolsonaro and Lula is the main thing I cover in the news (Moreira, 2023).

6.3.3 Digital Coverage in Latin America. When interviewees were asked about the difference between digital and print coverage of Latin America in their newspapers, they emphasized that the digital format has broader and more diverse content. The interviewees emphasize that the advantages of the digital format are that there is no space limit, and that news can be published more quickly, without having to wait days for the printed edition.

In the case of Latin America, there are things that, although they seem important to me, cannot be in the printed edition due to lack of space....On the web, since there is unlimited space, I can write more, (Ruela, 2023).

In print, we generally only cover important and controversial topics, especially about politics. Online there can be more topics covered. Another aspect of the online version

is that, for events that happened an hour ago, we do not have to wait until the next day or until the publication comes out (Moreira, 2023).

While respondents agreed there are many advantages with the digital coverage, they also added that there are problems. One of the main ones is that newspapers are not very selective about what they cover. In addition, as news must be published as quickly as possible, there is sometimes no possibility for more in-depth analysis.

As Observador is a 100% digital newspaper and very new, we always have to be catching up with the news quickly.... The question for newspapers is whether we should offer all kinds of news or be more selective. Right now, there is no traditional Portuguese newspaper that is selective, we cover the same things (Paiva, 2023).

It happens with our breaking news team that these deep investigations don't get done because the news must be published as fast as possible. In these cases, we use reference newspapers such as Lusa or EFE. We do deeper analysis only when our work is going to be an article that is not urgent to publish (Santos, 2023).

6.3.4 Training on covering the Global South. When asked about the misrepresentation of the Global South, the interviewees stressed that they have not seen any discrimination or stereotyping of minorities in their newspaper. Santos (2023) pointed out that since the news is written by journalists from the international section, they know how to describe the region very well. Respondents also added that news about Latin America is often found and/or complemented by local sources, which allows for a more realistic perception of the situation in the region. However, they acknowledge that there is a lack of diversity in the topics covered.

In the time that I have been an editor, I have never felt that a journalist uses stereotypes. It doesn't make sense because the people who cover the international area know the realities of the region and have good sources of information. However, we often fear the lack of diversity in coverage (Santos, 2023).

Ruela (2023) acknowledged that in Público most news about the region still revolves around negative situations. However, he noted that, compared to other regions in the Global South,

Latin America is receiving a more realistic coverage. In addition, he added that its coverage has been improving over time.

There is a valid criticism when newspapers cover Africa, as most of the news reported are bad. Although Latin America does not have the same situation, it is similar, as newspapers focus on its crisis. However, I think we are more aware of the social change that is taking place in the region, which is yielding positive results. That is the difference between Latin America and Africa (Ruela, 2023).

In addition, it was found that none of the respondents had received training on how to cover the Global South in the company where they work or during their studies. Only Ruela (2023) stated that Público has provided training on inclusive language. Nevertheless, all respondents agreed that, more than training in these topics, work experience is what makes good journalists.

Although I studied in Portuguese universities, I only learned how to be a good journalist when I was in a newsroom. I don't remember receiving training on these topics at Católica or Nova University, nor having conversations about minorities or feminism. I think it is because these issues are just starting to gain force in Portugal, so they are not as widespread as in other countries (Paiva, 2023).

We have not received training or lectures on the Global South, but we have received training on inclusive language. I think this topic goes beyond training, as journalists we need to read a lot and have contact with local people to better understand Latin America and its concerns (Ruela, 2023).

6.3.5 Diversity in Newsrooms. Regarding diversity in the newsrooms, respondents said that few Brazilians work in newspapers and highlighted that none of these Brazilian workers cover topics about the region. As for other Latin American nationalities, respondents believe that they are not present in the newsrooms. Furthermore, all interviewees agreed that more diversity efforts are needed. However, they added that it is difficult because of the language and the fact that there are few people from Latin America who want to enter the Portuguese newspaper industry.

There are people from Brazil in the newspaper. However, they don't really work with issues related to Brazil.... As for other nationalities, I don't think Público has people from other countries. I don't think there is a real and fair effort on the part of the company to diversify. I think there is still a long way to go in terms of diversity within the company (Ruela, 2023).

I am aware, we have a Brazilian and unless there is someone with dual nationality that I don't know, I would say that's all we have. I am totally in favor of diversity and the lack of it is something that irritates me a lot. However, this lack has many reasons. For instance, we already have small teams, in which even the Portuguese have difficulties in writing texts. Imagine how difficult it would be if they write in another language or are not fluent in Portuguese....Another factor is that the number of Latin Americans in Portugal is not as large as in Spain, so there are not many looking to enter the industry either (Santos, 2023).

6.6.6 Future of Latin American Coverage. Respondents agree that Latin America, mainly due to Brazil, will continue to be very relevant for the Portuguese news industry. In fact, Brazil's coverage is expected to be more abundant in the coming years due to the political situation of the country and the international relevance it is acquiring (Ruela, 2023; Moreira, 2023).

Portugal's connection with Brazil has made the country an important topic in the news. We believe that over time it will become much stronger, as it has increased its relevance over the last 15 years (Ruela, 2023)

The last two presidents, the current one and the previous one, are people who have always drawn a lot of attention. They are figures who gained notoriety in almost the whole world, not only in Portugal. So, I think they will still be in the news spotlight (Moreira, 2023)

As for future coverage of the rest of Latin America, interviewees stressed that it is expected to improve slowly over time. In addition, interviewees stressed that although the representation of the Global South in newspapers has improved in recent years, there is still room for improvement. Furthermore, Paiva (2023) added that, in order to achieve a fairer

and more accurate representation of minorities in the Portuguese newspaper industry, society also needs to make progress on these social issues.

There is much to do. We all must worry about how the Global South is represented, not just Europe. I think a change is coming. We are at the beginning of a path to end the stereotypes that exist, and I hope it will be fast (Santos, 2023).

I think minorities have more and more voice in Portugal, but it is not enough. If you look at the newsrooms or news channels, there are few minorities. I think we must push for this change, but it will take time. I have realized that this change is not only journalistic, but also social. There must be a balance between the two for real change to occur, (Paiva, 2023).

6.4 Discussion

This research sought to investigate how Portuguese newspapers cover Latin American countries in their digital format. Above all, the research sought to identify how countries with no connection to Portugal are represented, which are all countries except Brazil. The research also sought to compare the difference between the coverage given to Brazil, stable countries and countries in crisis.

The research results support the first hypothesis (HP1) that "representations of Latin American nations by Portuguese newspapers are still dominated by negative criteria." The content analysis showed that almost half (48.5%) of the articles dealt with negative events. The most common topics on these negative representations were *crime* with 13.6%, *conflict* with 12.6% and *political unrest* with 5.7%. The results were also confirmed by all interviewees, who acknowledge that most of the events covered about Latin America are controversial or show a crisis.

It is important to note that it was also found that articles with a direct connection to Portugal have a more positive coverage (47%), while those not related to the country have a more negative coverage (56.5%). This finding shows that when Europe (Us) appears in the news, the news tends to be more positive or neutral as argued by van Dijk (2018).

The study showed that the newspaper that had the best balance of news was Público, which is classified as a left-leaning newspaper. Its news balance was 36.5% positive, 24.2% neutral and 39.3% negative. The result shows that Público currently has a better news balance than it had in Sousa's (2002) study on Portuguese news coverage based on 1997, when 58% of Público's articles on Latin America were negative.

Meanwhile, the current analysis showed that Observador (right-wing ideology) and Diário de Notícias (center-left ideology) had a more unbalanced representation with 52.5% and 53.4%, respectively, of their articles being negative. It is important to point out that although Público had a better balance of news, most of the representation of the three newspapers was negative. Therefore, the results show that, despite having different ideologies, the three newspapers continue to use the criterion that bad news is good news to choose which news to cover.

In addition to the bad news criteria, interviewees Santos (2023) and Paiva (2023) added that newspapers also have as key values the speed of news delivery, proximity and relevance to Portuguese readers. Paiva and Santos pointed out that current values, such as speed, also lead to problems such as the lack of in-depth articles. Moreover, Ruela (2023) added that there can be no in-depth analysis of Latin America because, since the region is not frequently discussed, readers will not understand the articles. Paiva added that another issue with current values is the lack of selectivity, as many newspapers focus on viral topics, even if they do not merit investigation or there is more significant news.

All journalists and editors interviewed had a positive view of the region, contrary to what was expected since most of the coverage of Latin America was negative. While recognizing the region's challenges, the interviewees say that there are many misconceptions about Latin America and stress that the region, especially Brazil, is important for the world and for Portugal. However, due to problems such as the inefficient distribution of journalists in different regions and the lack of resources, diversity in newsrooms and other inclusion efforts, better coverage has not been achieved.

It is important to note that all regions except Brazil were underrepresented in all three newspapers. Furthermore, the case of Puerto Rico is important for the research, as it was the only country that did not receive any coverage. Future research on the subject should analyze whether this lack of representation is constant, as well as the reasons for the country not being represented.

In the discursive analysis, it is observed that articles written by journalists were more informative and represented the region in a more neutral way. However, the interviews and opinions show a greater bias towards the region, which is not surprising, since these articles are intended to be opinionated. However, they promoted the Eurocentric narrative that divides Europe (Us) and Latin America (Them). An important aspect to consider is the fact that one of the opinions was made by Ferreira, who is the Director of DN, which shows that it was not only outsiders who made these erroneous narratives about Latin America, but also people inside the newspapers.

Although in opinion articles and interviews the newspaper cannot take full responsibility for what people say, these articles have to be approved by the editors in order to be published. So, these articles, one from each newspaper, demonstrate that the region continues to be misrepresented by newspapers. Thus, it is not only a problem that these newspapers choose negative topics to cover, but that some articles directly judge the region through Western lenses.

It is important to note that for the opinions and the interview to promote Western ideology, they had to minimize Latin America. In these articles, most events are portrayed from a white-European perspective, which generally emphasizes that it is the Global South (Them) that needs to adapt to Europe (Us). In the articles about Mercosur, not only is Latin America pressured to accept European standards, but it is also highlighted that it is unable or unwilling to adapt on its own. This narrative reinforces the idea that the Global South needs Europe's help to achieve its goals or stay on track. On the other hand, in Gercina's (2023) view of the accident in Colombia, the Global North looks superior as it highlights the difference between the concerns of people in the city and people in Colombia, which makes it look underdeveloped.

The second hypothesis (HP2) "economically relevant countries and those that have a closer relationship with Portugal have a more balanced representation in the news" was also validated by the content analysis. However, it is important to note that a weak relationship between *region* and *tone* was observed.

The results of the method show that Brazil and the countries categorized as economically stable (Argentina, Colombia, Mexico and Chile) had a more positive and neutral representation, with 55.1% and 55.7% respectively. Meanwhile, countries categorized as in crisis (Venezuela, Haiti, Cuba and Ecuador) had a mostly negative representation (72.1%). An interesting finding, contrary to what was thought, is that the stable countries were the best represented region. The results show that, even though Brazil shares a language, culture and history with Portugal, it is not the best represented in the country's newspapers.

The results of the HP2 connected with the response of the interviewees (Ruela, 2023; Moreira, 2023; Paiva, 2023), who highlighted that before, the news coverage of Brazil was much more diverse. However, after the presidency of Jair Bolsonaro, the main events covered in the news was the social and political crisis in the country. In fact, even though Jair Bolsonaro is no longer in power, the country is still embroiled in controversial events around him. Many of the articles on Brazil studied covered controversial events such as the insurrections against the capitol in Brasilia by supporters of Bolsonaro; the investigation for Bolsonaro's false COVID-19 vaccination certificate; and the lawsuits against him for abuse of power and having been immoral during the presidential elections.

Furthermore, with the discourse analysis, it can be seen that even when there is positive news about Brazil, such as the fact that Mercosur and the European Union want to cooperate and have a close relationship, the newspapers focus exclusively on the political tension between Brazil and the EU.

One aspect to consider in the fact that stable countries were better represented than Brazil is that many of the Colombian news stories were about the survival of the four children. According to Cazzamatta (2020) news about survival should be categorized as positive, which means that almost all the news about the accident were positive. Considering this and

that Colombia was the country with the second highest number of articles (37), it can be seen why stable countries had a high percentage of positive coverage. However, apart from Colombia, most of the articles about stable countries were about violence, political disputes or controversial events, followed by cultural, gastronomic and travel recommendations. Future research should analyze whether in another period, stable countries have a better representation than Brazil or whether the results were due to the high coverage in Colombia's survival story.

Other important findings are that none of the journalists and editors interviewed have received training or guidance on how to cover the Global South. Moreover, none of them believe that training is necessary. The interviewees argued that they avoid misrepresentations by reading and obtaining information from local newspapers, as well as talking to experts or witnesses. The data on local sources could not be fully analyzed, as in the content analysis only 59.6% of the articles clearly indicated their sources. However, it was noted that many of the articles used government and local news sources. According to the content analysis, the most used sources were the *Brazilian government*, followed by *Lusa* and *Público*. The results showed that, in addition to local sources, Lusa continues to be a key source of information on Latin American issues for Portuguese newspapers.

In addition, the content analysis also showed that Lusa was the author/co-author agency of most of the articles on Latin America, with 277 of the 557 articles studied, representing 49.7% of the corpus. Of the three newspapers, Observador was the one that used Lusa's articles the most, as its staff authored only 63 of the 276 it published. Santos (2023) explained that this is because Observador is a digital media, whose offer is based on providing quick news. Therefore, as most of the news cannot be investigated in depth, Observador has to resort to this type of agencies.

7. Conclusion

The main objective of this thesis was to analyze how key Portuguese newspapers cover Latin America in their digital offer. While previous research has focused mainly on Brazilian representation, this thesis aimed to identify how the rest of the countries in the continent are represented. The second objective of the thesis was to study the coverage received by countries close to Portugal, stable countries and countries in crisis, in order to compare their news balance. The hypotheses of this thesis, which were validated, were: HP1) “representations of Latin American nations by Portuguese newspapers are still dominated by negative criteria” and HP2) “economically relevant countries and those that have a closer relationship with Portugal have a more balanced representation in the news.”

As mentioned above, content analysis, critical discourse analysis and interviews were chosen to test the hypotheses, as they allowed for a more complete view of the Portuguese coverage. In addition, it allowed mitigating some of the risks of the methods, such as researcher bias. Content analysis was used to identify the main characteristics of the coverage of the region and the presence of topics, authors and sources. In addition, it allowed to categorize whether an article was neutral, positive or negative. Meanwhile, the discourse analysis identified the power relations between the different groups involved in the articles, as well as the positive and negative characteristics received by the EU (Us) in comparison with Latin America (Them). The ideologies promoted in the articles, as well as the objectives of the articles, were also taken into account. Finally, the interviews helped to delve into the internal logistics of how articles about the region are produced, both by the journalists who write them and the editors who choose the topics and approve them for publication.

What emerged mainly from the content analysis supports hypothesis HP1, according to which most of the articles on Latin America are based on negative criteria. Almost half of the articles were negative (48.5%), focusing mainly on the region’s crime, conflicts and political unrest. The results are consistent with the findings of van Dijk (2008), according to which, while Western countries are represented in all types of stories (social, economic, among others), the Global South tends to be portrayed in fewer and negative topics, such as crime and violence. Of all the newspapers, *Diário de Notícias* presented the most negative news (53.4%), followed by *Observador* (52.5%) and *Público* (39.3%).

The content analysis also corroborated HP2, indicating that Brazil and the economically relevant countries received better coverage than countries in crisis. However, it is important to note that in all regions the majority of the articles were negative. Contrary to expectations, the region that received the best coverage was not Brazil, but stable countries. Stable countries had 39.8% of positive news and 15.9% of neutral news, while Brazil received 28.8% positive news and 26.3% neutral news. The fact that stable countries had better coverage than Brazil may be due to the fact that most of the articles on Colombia dealt with positive news, such as survival and rescue efforts.

Through content analysis and interviews, it was concluded that the main values that the selected newspapers take into account when covering Latin America are the negative newsworthiness criteria, speed of news delivery, proximity and relevance to Portuguese readers. These results show that Portuguese journalism, like many others, still follows the newsworthiness criteria of Galtung and Ruge (1965). The points of convergence between the values of Portuguese newspapers and those of Galtung and Ruge were: threshold (the bigger or more intense the news, the more it will be consumed), relevance (cultural proximity), reference to the national elite (powerful or highly industrialized countries are more relevant to everyone) and reference to something negative (bad news is good news). It is important to remember that Galtung and Ruge's (1965) criteria have been accused of marginalizing voices and being outdated. This finding confirms that, as Bastos (2023) warns, Portuguese news values are outdated and cannot explain the current digital context.

In addition, the results of the content analysis showed that Lusa wrote the majority of the articles studied (49.7%), which means that these newspapers do not often use their journalists to cover Latin America. Observador was the newspaper that used the most Lusa articles (77.1%), followed by DN (41.7%) and Público (11.2%). The fact that these newspapers, mainly Observador and DN, make extensive use of Lusa content has many consequences. On the one hand, it decreases readers' interest in Latin America, since all coverage deals with the same topic and is written in the same way. On the other hand, as Bastos (2023) warns, the use of agencies such as Lusa makes the public lose interest in any type of news and makes the sector lose credibility.

The interviewees highlighted that it has been difficult to achieve broader and more diverse coverage of the region, mainly due to a lack of resources, as well as the inefficient distribution of journalists to cover the different regions in depth (Santos, 2023; Moreira, 2023). In addition, it was pointed out that while the focus is on Brazil because it is very important for Portugal, the rest of the Latin American countries are not a priority for Portuguese newspapers. Current efforts are allocated on the Russia-Ukraine war, China, the United States, among others (Ruela, 2023). The results are related to the analysis of Bastos (2023), who pointed out that journalism in Portugal is in a stagnation phase mainly due to monetary issues, which prevents the production of more diverse, relevant and quality journalistic pieces.

It is important to note that Puerto Rico was the only country where there was a total lack of coverage, which is dangerous. As Hall (2005) states, the lack of coverage of certain countries, people and groups sends a message to society that they are not important and makes them invisible to the world.

The research hypotheses were further corroborated by the discourse analysis, since most of the articles selected presented Latin America as a region in constant crisis and without the capacity or will to improve its current situation. Furthermore, it can be observed that although the journalists' articles were more neutral, the opinions and interviews promoted more of a Western ideology of superiority. As argued by Said (1978), Mignolo (Comunicaciones Ciencias Sociales y Humanas Universidad de Antioquia, 2021) and Quijano (2014), for the West to be seen as superior, all other regions, in this case Latin America, must be describe as inferior. The finding of Western ideology in the articles also connects with West and Fair's (1993) critique that the West believes that anyone who is not like them are backward societies, which need to be put on the right path of development.

Furthermore, in the discourse analysis, the opinions of Gercina (2023) and Ferreira (2023) demonstrate an inability to connect with the Latin American reality and history. In the first, there is not full empathy since the loss of the mother by the children is not treated with dignity and respect. Meanwhile, Ferreira refers to colonization as a contribution to the identity of the region, which is not seen as such by Latin Americans.

When asked about the region's coverage in the future, interviewees said that Brazil will remain a crucial country for Portuguese newspapers, especially given the country's tense political situation at the time. However, it is expected that the rest of the region will only be covered in times of crisis, violence, tragedies or events that have relevance for Portuguese readers.

It is important to note that none of the Portuguese journalists interviewed have received training on coverage of the Global South, and do not believe it is necessary. While it is true that in the articles written by the journalists the facts are presented in a neutral way, the fact that most of the topics covered are negative and that only the EU perspective is provided shows that the coverage of the Global South is not ideal.

The findings of this thesis corroborates the arguments of Boyd-Barrett (1997) and Tomlinson (1999) that the media are not objective, since the structure of the world (capitalism, globalization and modernity), as well as its discourses and narratives, continue to benefit the Western perspective over others. Furthermore, the analysis shows that, as Levander and Mignolo (2011) state, in the new division of the world between the Global North and the Global South, the first continues to dictate how the rest of the world views the latter.

This dissertation is a contribution to the Portuguese journalistic field on how it represents the Global South, specifically Latin America. Moreover, the thesis contributes to filling the existing gap in the literature review on the subject since the last study conducted considering all the region was that of Sousa (2002), which is based on news from 1997. The results of the thesis confirm the existing hypothesis that Portuguese newspapers continue to underrepresent and misrepresent the region, since, with the exception of Brazil, the region only appears in the news in the event of crisis or controversy. Furthermore, it shows that, although the Portuguese sector has made progress in improving the coverage of the Global South minorities, it is still unable to unbiasedly represent Latin Americans. This work demonstrates the need for the sector to redouble its efforts not only to cover Latin America more frequently, but also to stop pigeonholing it solely on events of violence and crisis.

7.1 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, this thesis has limitations. First, previous studies on the subject in Portugal are limited, which means that the methodology carried out was not previously tested. Moreover, as the latest research on Portuguese coverage of Latin America refrained from 1997 coverage, the results could not be compared with more recent ones to see how Portuguese coverage of the region has evolved. However, it became an opportunity to point out the literature gap on the subject, to provide key insights on the current region coverage and to call for new studies to help deepen the study of the representation of Latin American countries in Portuguese newspapers. Future research could extend its scope to a longer period to see how Portuguese coverage of the region has evolved in recent years, which would better show the progress made by Portuguese newspapers and where more efforts are still needed.

The second limitation is that the sample for the content analysis only covered two months. Although the period was carefully selected and the data collected was abundant, more months could give more meaningful and representative results. In addition, future research should also broaden its scope to study in more depth the relationships of other variables, such as *sources* and *authors*, with *tone*. The results could show how these influence whether an article will be positive, negative, or neutral, which could explain more aspects of Portuguese coverage of the region.

Third, another challenge is that the CDA can be contingent, which means that what was analyzed and concluded may be time-dependent and thus, does not represent the usual newspaper coverage. Thus, future research could conduct more critical discourse analyses to assess whether these power relations and hierarchies are found in other time frames. In addition, future research could add the public's reading of the articles studied, as it could draw clearer conclusions about the impact of these newspapers' coverage of Latin America and the importance of improving it. This thesis focused only on the journalists' perspective and not on that of the public, since the main objective of the research was to study the type of information that was given about Latin America and not how it was received. In addition, it was not feasible to add the readers' perspective, as it would lengthen the thesis even more.

Another aspect to consider is that the research was conducted taking into account my personal and professional background as a Mexican journalist, who comes from the Global South and believes that the Global North misrepresents and underrepresents Latin America. However, the research was conducted recognizing the risks of bias and trying to minimize them. For instance, the articles for the critical discourse analysis, which relies on personal interpretations of texts, were not selected based on individual preferences. In fact, their selection depended on their topic and their relation to Portugal. Furthermore, the arguments presented throughout the research were consistently supported by the findings of other researchers who have studied the representation of the Global South.

Finally, the fourth limitation is that the objective of interviewing journalists and editors from all the newspapers was not achieved since the editors of DN and Público did not respond to the invitations. Future studies on the subject should include more interviews with editors to identify what news values they promote and what image of Latin America they endorse in their newspapers. Future research should also compare responses from editors and journalists, especially on how they think they cover the Global South, what remains to be done, and whether there is a need for training or workshops on these topics.

Despite the aforementioned limitations, this study provides new data on the coverage of Portuguese newspapers beyond Brazil to cover all Latin American countries, what are the additional filters used for an event in the region to be considered newsworthy in the digital era, as well as the limitations of Portuguese coverage.

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9. Appendixes

Appendix A: Coding of the author and agency of the collected articles (N=557)

CODE	AGENCY/ AUTHOR
1	Adriana Alves
2	Alexandra Prado Coelho
3	Alexandre Martins
4	Alexandre Martins, Reuters, Joana Gonçalves
5	Ana Bacelar Begonha
6	Ana Catarina Gil
7	Ana Henriques
8	Ana Isabel Ribeiro
9	Ana Luisa Bernardino
10	Ana Moreira
11	Ana Tomás Ribeiro (Lusa)
12	André Filipe Antunes
13	Andreia Marques
14	Annabelle Timsit
15	António Rodrigues
16	António Saraiva Lima
17	Beatriz Ferreira
18	Beatriz Ferreira, José Carlos Duarte
19	Carlos Diogo Santos
20	Carlos Gil de Montes
21	Carlos Hortmann
22	Carolina Amado
23	Carolina Amado, Agências
24	Carolina Carvalho
25	Carolina Sobral
26	Catarina laranjeiro
27	Cátia Rocha
28	Clara Balbi
29	Clara Barata
30	Cristiane Gercina
31	Daniel Dias
32	Diana Rosa
33	Diogo Lopes
34	Diogo Paredes
35	DN
36	DN/AFP
37	DN/Lusa

38	DN/Lusa/AFP
39	Fernando Costa, Público
40	Folha de S.Paulo
41	Folha de S.Paulo & Público
42	Francisco Martins
43	Fugas, Lusa
44	Géssica Brandino
45	Gonçalo Frota
46	Guilherme Queiroz
47	Hellen Garcia
48	Inês Andre Figueiredo
49	Inês Capucho
50	Ines N. Lourenço
51	Inês Pinto
52	Isabel Coutinho
53	Isabel Salema
54	Jean-Louis Cohen, Vanessa Grossman
55	Joana Amaral Cardoso
56	João Almeida Moreira
57	João Francisco Gomes
58	João Gabriel, Giuliana de Toledo (Folha de São Paulo)
59	João Gama
60	João Ruela Ribeiro
61	Jorge Piva
62	José Carlos Duarte
63	José Carlos Duarte, André Filipe Antunes
64	José Paiva Capucho
65	José Rico Direitinho
66	Leonete Botelho
67	Leonídio Paulo Ferreira
68	Luis Francisco
69	Luís Franco
70	Luís Octávio Costa
71	Lusa
72	Lusa, Observador
73	Lusa, Público
74	Lusa, Reuters
75	Marcelo Toledo
76	Marco Vaza
77	Marcos Weiss
78	Maria do Carmo

79	Maria João Martins
80	Maria Salgueiro
81	Mariana Braz
82	Mariana Duarte
83	Mariana Lima Cunha
84	Mariana Oliveira
85	Mário Lopes
86	Mário Silva da Costa
87	Marta Leite Ferreira
88	Michele Oliveira
89	Nelson de Sá
90	Nicola Pamplone, Fábio Pescarini
91	Nuno Pacheco
92	Observador
93	Pedro Rainho
94	Peter Millard
95	Público
96	Público, Agências
97	Público, Europa press
98	Ranier Bragon
99	Renato Machado, Ricardo Della
100	Reuters
101	Reuters, Karla Pequenino
102	Reuters, Público
103	Rita Cipriano
104	Rita Pereira
105	Rita Pimenta
106	Rui Casanova
107	Samuel Santos
108	Sara Azevedo Santos
109	Sérgio C. Andrade
110	Sofia Lorena
111	Susana Salvador
112	Tânia Pereirinha
113	Teresa Borges
114	Tiago Caeiro
115	Tiago Ramalho
116	Vasco Câmara
117	Vinicius Sassine, João Gabriel, Joelmir Tavares, Fabio Serapi
118	Zeca Camargo

Appendix B: Coding of sources of the collected articles(N=557)

Code	Source
1	ACG News
2	Activists, Amnesty International
3	AFP
4	Agrishow
5	Angola Criminal Investigation Service
6	AP
7	AP, Government of Ecuador
8	AP, Mexican Authorities
9	Associated Press
10	Associated Press, The Guardian
11	BBC
12	BBC Brazil
13	BBC, Insider
14	Brazil's Supreme Court, Local Press
15	Brazilian Association
16	Brazilian Authorities
17	Brazilian Club
18	Brazilian confederation
19	Brazilian Institute
20	Brazilian Ministry
21	Brazilian Ministry ,G1
22	Brazilian press
23	Chilean TV
24	Chinese press
25	CNN
26	CNN Brasil
27	CNN Brasil, Brazilian Press
28	CNN Brazil, Reuters
29	Colombian Authorities
30	Colombian Government
31	Colombian Government, El Tiempo
32	Colombian Military
33	Colombian Press
34	Colombian Press, Government
35	CONCACAF
36	Correio Braziliense
37	Cuiabá Esporte Clube
38	Diocese of San Cristobal of Venezuela
39	DN

40	DN, JN, Euronews, Brazilian Times
41	EFE
42	El Comercio
43	El Confidencial
44	El Mundo
45	El País
46	El Pais Colombia
47	El Universal
48	El Universal Ecuador
49	ESPN, CBF
50	ESPN, CNN Brasil
51	EU
52	Europol
53	Event of Brazil
54	Event of Haiti
55	Event of Peru
56	Event of Uruguay
57	Event of Venezuela
58	Event, Government of Brazil
59	Financial Times
60	Flamengo Soccer Team
61	Folha de S. Paulo
62	Folha de S. Paulo, El Pais
63	G1
64	G1, Brazilian police
65	G1, Globo
66	G1, Government of Mexico
67	G1, Terra (Brasil), Sky News, Globo
68	Globo
69	Globo, Brazilian Press
70	Globo, Correio Braziliense
71	Globo, Observador
72	Google
73	Government of El Salvador
74	Government of Brazil
75	Government of Ecuador
76	Government of Guatemala
77	Government of Haiti
78	Government of Paraguay
79	Government of Peru
80	Government of Uruguay

81	Government of Venezuela
82	Greenpeace, Government of Brazil
83	HRW
84	Human Kaleidoscope (CH) of Venezuela
85	Informador Mexico
86	Interamerican Press Association
87	Intercept Brasil
88	Interview with Jô Soares
89	Latin America Interview
90	Lusa
91	Lusa, Event of Brazil
92	Lusa, Folha de S. Paulo
93	Lusa, Government of Argentina
94	Lusa, Government of Brazil
95	Mexican Government
96	Mozambican Authorities
97	Nature
98	NBC Los Angeles
99	NGO Argentina
100	NGO Brazil
101	O Estado de S. Paulo, o Valor Económico
102	Observador
103	Observador, Government of Brazil
104	Organization of Brazil
105	Person of Interest
106	Person of Interest, Botafogo
107	Person of Interest, G1, Government
108	Person of Interest, government of Brazil
109	Petrobras
110	Portuguese authorities
111	Portuguese Surfing Federation
112	Prensa FATPREN
113	Prensa Libre, Reuters
114	Press and Society Institute of Venezuela
115	Público
116	Público, Folha de S. Paulo
117	Público, Obsevador
118	Radio France
119	Radio Gaucha
120	Reuters
121	Reuters, Government of Ecuador

122	RPP Noticias, Government of Paraguay
123	Russian Authorities
124	Santuario de Cristo Redentor
125	Securities and Exchange Commission (CVM)
126	SmartLess
127	Sports Illustrated
128	TAP
129	The Guardian
130	The Guardian, Government of colombia
131	Titan Sports
132	TV Brazil
133	UN
134	UN, Government of Haiti
135	Undisclosed,Brazil Government
136	Union Radio of Venezuela
137	UOL
138	UOL, Supreme Court
139	Vatican News
140	Veja
141	Veja, Brazilian police
142	Veja, Government of Brazil
143	Voz de America, Colombian military
144	Wall Street Journal
145	Washington Post
146	World Resource Institute

Appendix C: Questions for the semi-structured interviews

1. What is your idea of Latin American countries and what relevance do they currently have in Portugal's news?
2. What are the company's parameters and values for an event to be considered newsworthy in the online newspaper?
3. Considering that news about other regions such as Latin America are less numerous, what other filters do you use to decide which news will be published?
4. How balanced is the percentage of coverage received by the countries of the region and why is this the case?
5. What were the main changes that occurred with the advent of digital news, especially in what is newsworthy compared to traditional offerings, and what is your news-making process like today?
6. What are the main topics with which newspapers have mostly related Latin America, and especially those countries besides Brazil?
7. How has this representation changed over the years?
8. What are the sources from which information about Latin America is obtained and how does the company ensure that the information gathered is unbiased?
9. What has been the industry's progress in terms of a fairer representation of the Global South?
10. What are the strengths and weaknesses in reporting on the Global South?
11. How does the company combat stereotypes and biases when covering news about other regions or minorities and what have been the results (training)?
12. How diverse is the newsroom, especially with regard to Latin Americans, and how does the company incorporate their views into the news?
13. What remains to be done regarding news coverage of Latin America and what are the prospects?

Appendix D: Interviews

Appendix D1: Interview with João Ruela, Journalist of the World Section, Público.

Q: What is your idea of Latin American countries and what relevance do they currently have in Portugal's news?

A: Latin America is such a broad and diverse region that I don't think it can be summed up in a few words. If you want to really understand the region, you have to understand how different and diverse each country is. However, some of the trends that I see in my area, which is the political sphere, is that in recent times there has been instability in almost every country. Their instability is due to their institutional failures. Examples of this are the impeachments of presidents in many South American countries. At the same time, there is a great crisis of stability of governments, whether they are left or right wing.

Economic inequalities are also common in the region, which in turn are almost always related to the emergence of sophisticated social opposition movements. We can observe that although the problems are common in social and gender issues, the debates are very modern. However, at the same time we see a strong conservative reaction from the public opinion and from some governments. Compared to Europe, Latin America has a more flexible and active way in which movements want to modernize their country and make it fairer. For example, the women's and LGBTQ+ movements.

In terms of relevance, Portugal's connection with Brazil has made the country an important topic in the news. We believe that over time it will become much stronger, as it has increased its relevance over the last 15 years. In addition to our connection, we see Brazil as a major player on the international stage. Moreover, the language we share and the fact that in recent years Portugal has received many immigrants from Brazil makes it an important country in our news.

Apart from Brazil, Latin America is not a priority in most Portuguese media. Since the invasion of Ukraine, our international area is more focused on the war. In addition, we have priorities when it comes to reporting beyond Europe. For example, we see that Asia is

playing a more important role in international affairs. In addition, the struggle between the United States and China for global supremacy has brought more attention to these regions. Meanwhile, North America is always relevant, as the United States is a topic of common interest. The Middle East has also been very important since 9/11 and more recent events, such as the Syrian war, have made it a widely covered region. However, its attention has waned with the advent of other wars such as the Ukrainian war.

So, while we recognize that there are many struggles in Latin America, there are more relevant struggles in other regions. Therefore, while Brazil will always be important because of the shared history and the close connection, the rest of South America is important only when it is in crisis such as the situation in Venezuela, the protests in Peru, Chile's attempt to make a constitution, Colombia's peace process, among other events.

Q: Considering that news about other regions such as Latin America are less numerous, what filters do you use to decide which news will be published?

A: When it comes to Latin America, we focus on the crisis, elections or social changes. In addition, we relate the region to important issues such as climate change.

If we compare our approach with other regions, it is completely different. For example, as Portugal is part of the European Union, we are very interested in the internal politics of France, Germany, Italy, among others. So, while news about protests or economy changes in Germany will always be news in Portugal, those matters in Peru or Mexico will not always be important for Portugal. However, this is not the case in Brazil, as I said, we have a lot of interest in it and for us it is as important as our European neighbors.

There is a valid criticism when newspapers cover Africa, as most of the news reported are bad. Although Latin America does not have the same situation, it is similar, as newspapers focus on its crisis. However, I think we are more aware of the social change that is taking place in the region, which is yielding positive results. That is the difference between Latin America and Africa. There is still a long way to go to have a fairer representation. However, I believe it is only a matter of time before we realize that social change in Latin America is more advanced than in the Western Hemisphere.

Q: From where do you look for information about Latin America?

A: A big advantage in covering Latin America is that there are two languages: Portuguese for Brazil and Spanish for the rest of the region. Since Spanish and Portuguese are similar, I can speak, read and write in Spanish. It's not perfect, but it allows me to search for information and interview people in Spanish. The linguistic facility allows us to read newspapers from anywhere, especially large countries like Argentina, Colombia and Mexico. This helps us get more information than what Reuters, BBC or Al Jazeera provide, which allows us to offer more complete news.

In addition, with social networks such as Twitter, we can be closer to local journalists and specialized analysts covering the issues. How close we are to them depends on time, space and the relevance of the issue. We also talk to political and economic analysts and historians, who help us give good context and background to the news. It is important to note that, unlike other regions, most news about Latin America needs context, as it is not covered often. This means that our news cannot be too specific, otherwise Portuguese readers will not understand it. Therefore, compared to other regions, Latin America is at a disadvantage since most of our articles will be contextual.

Q: What were the main changes that occurred with the advent of digital news, especially in what is newsworthy compared to traditional offerings?

A: Currently, our online offering is much larger than the print version because we are much more widely read on the web. Our articles that appear in the print version also are given on the web. We try to keep the same version in both, since people pay for our print offering.

In the case of Latin America, there are things that, although they seem important to me, cannot be in the printed edition due to lack of space. For example, if we have three pages and four important news that day, probably the one from the less attractive region will be left out. Not because it is not important, but because of the physical limitation.

On the web, since there is unlimited space, I can write more. An additional parameter we have for our online version is that we are very careful about what we cover. It is often thought

that since there is no limit, we should cover all viral topics. However, we want to make sure that our time and resources are devoted to topics that have relevance and bring value to our readers.

Q: How does the company combat stereotypes and biases when covering news about other regions or minorities and what have been the results?

A: We have not received training or lectures on the Global South, but we have received training on inclusive language. I think this topic goes beyond training, as journalists we need to read a lot and have contact with local people to better understand Latin America and its concerns. Another key aspect we need to understand is the diversity of Latin America, as each country is different, so we cannot pigeonhole all the countries in the same situation.

I think as journalists we are always making decisions about what to report, and obviously as we are not from there, we don't have all the knowledge to say this is important and this is not. Sometimes, of course, we say something is not important and it is. These decisions are not made for lack of interest, but because journalism is a fast-paced industry. However, I believe that the best way to avoid these situations is to learn more about the region from local sources and people.

Q: How diverse is the newsroom, especially with regard to Latin Americans, and how does the company incorporate their views into the news?

A: There are people from Brazil in the newspaper. However, they don't really work with issues related to Brazil. Sometimes, not very often, we ask them for their point of view, which gives us a better view of what happens in the country. The reason we have a lot of Brazilians is because there are many living in Portugal today.

As for other nationalities, I don't think Público has people from other countries. I don't think there is a real and fair effort on the part of the company to diversify. Although there are programs that seek to attract talent and the board of directors knows the importance of diversity, I think other aspects are more relevant when choosing who to hire. I think there is still a long way to go in terms of diversity within the company. I think it's a matter of time, as I gradually realize that diversity is an increasingly important issue.

Q: What is your idea of Latin American countries and what relevance do they currently have in Portugal's news?

A: Latin America is very relevant in the European context. However, we have a closer connection with Brazil, because we speak the same language and share history and culture. In Portugal, we have a diverse community of Brazilians living in the country. Furthermore, Brazilian culture is widely consumed, so we are interested in what is happening in the country. Events such as the day-to-day of Brazilian politics, mega controversies such as Operation Lava Jato and the polarization of society in the last elections are news very consumed in Portugal. I think all of Portugal pays special attention to Brazilian issues, not only Observador.

In Observador we try to follow the news more closely. I traveled to several states like Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Amazônia to see how the presidential elections went. We also went to Rio Grande do Sul, the Northeast of the country and Salvador da Bahia. The latter is the region with the largest black population outside Africa, which has to do with the history we share and the trajectory of the Portuguese in Brazil. Because of our connection, I think all Latin America is very relevant. However, as I said, we pay more attention to Brazil.

Q: What are the company's parameters and values for an event to be considered newsworthy in the online newspaper?

A: We have quite a few parameters. I am the director of the International and Society Sections. We divided the areas into two teams; one that does deeper work and another team that focuses on breaking news. When we deal with continents other than Europe like Latin America, we have to take into account the value of the news to our readers. For example, the impact it has on their lives, its relevance and rarity like the children who were found alive in Colombia after 40 days of being lost.

The parameters on which we focus the most are proximity, which does not have to be physical, it can be cultural; and the relevance it has for our readers to understand international relations such as MERCOSUR and the European Union. Another criterion is that we focus

on crisis, seriousness or catastrophes. This last factor is even more important with countries with which we do not have a close relationship, because it gives a dimension of what is happening in the country and gives us a reason to cover it.

Q: What is the main topic that the newspaper has covered in Latin American countries and how does its coverage compare with that of Europe?

A: The main theme is the commercial treaty between Mercosur and the European Union. Not long ago, a meeting in Brazil was held, where the President of the Portuguese Republic was present and gave his opinion on the agreement between the two blocs. Portugal has always been at the forefront in these matters, and it is very interesting to see how the country has positioned itself in other continents.

Other issues are political like the elections in Mexico, Argentina, Colombia and others. We cover these types of events and disputes. We do not follow these facts as we do with Brazil, when we send journalists to the countries, but we explain the event and the results. Something important is that it not only happens with Latin America, we also do the same with some European countries. For example, with Greece, the newspaper does not send journalists and sometimes we even choose not to follow the news. Meanwhile, in other countries like Spain, we do follow the news because sometimes what happens there related to the left and the right also tends to happen in Portugal. Therefore, as you can see, our coverage does not always depend on proximity. We are interested in news that has an impact in Portugal or on the international scene.

Q: Where do you look for information about Latin America?

A: Much of our news sources are in other languages such as Spanish, English, Chinese, Russian, Ukrainian and others. When we cover countries other than Brazil in Latin America, we look for the news in Spanish.

Our sources are diverse. We reach specialists such as university professors from the main Universities of the countries where the news occurs. Other times we have government and official sources. We always try to have various sources and experts contributing to the news.

It happens with our breaking news team that these deep investigations don't get done because the news must be published as fast as possible. In these cases, we use reference newspapers such as Lusa or EFE. We do deeper analysis only when our work is going to be an article that is not urgent to publish and has a more international character.

Q: How diverse is the newsroom, especially with regard to Latin Americans?

A: I am aware, we have a Brazilian and unless there is someone with dual nationality that I don't know, I would say that's all we have. I am totally in favor of diversity and the lack of it is something that irritates me a lot. However, this lack has many reasons. For instance, we already have small teams, in which even the Portuguese have difficulties in writing texts. Imagine how difficult it would be if they write in another language or are not fluent in Portuguese... we as editors would have to rewrite everything. We have Ukrainian and Russian collaborators because of the war but they are isolated cases, and it is because of the relevance of the countries. Another factor is that the number of Latin Americans in Portugal is not as large as in Spain, so there are not many looking to enter the industry either.

Q: What remains to be done in the representation of the Global South in Portuguese newspapers?

A: There is much to do. We all must worry about how the Global South is represented, not just Europe. I have a great proximity to Latin America because of Brazil and therefore I am very interested in these efforts. I think a change is coming. We are at the beginning of a path to end the stereotypes that exist, and I hope it will be fast.

The stereotypes are not because the Portuguese discriminate against someone simply because he or she is Latin American. However, in the end the result is that the representation of Latin Americans in the company is not sufficient. I think the industry must make an effort to have equal employment opportunities for all people, which will allow us to better connect with communities beyond the Brazilian and Portuguese.

In the time that I have been an editor, I have never felt that a journalist uses stereotypes. It doesn't make sense because the people who cover the international area know the realities of the region and have good sources of information. However, we often fear the lack of

diversity in coverage. Right now, the newspaper focuses on the Russo-Ukrainian war because of its impact on Europe and its proximity. However, from time to time it is necessary to focus on other regions as well, such as Latin America or Africa. The problem is that although we have many journalists, we do not have all the resources to cover each region in depth. Usually, we have to choose one event among many great ones to cover, which eliminates diversity.

Appendix D3: Interview with João Almeida Moreira, Correspondent of Diário de Notícias in São Paulo, Brazil.

Q: What is your idea of Latin American countries and what relevance do they currently have in Portugal's news?

A: I'm Portuguese but I live in São Paulo in Brazil. I think Latin America is a very important place in the world and I've always been very interested in the region. My interests are mainly in Brazil due to the culture and language we share.

I've been working at Diário de Notícias for a long time and I've never been asked to cover any country other than Brazil. I think the region is important for Portugal. I assume Brazil is the most important, followed by large countries like Argentina and Mexico. We also have interests in countries that, due to their situation, are always in the news, such as Venezuela.

Q: What are the areas in which Latin America is considered most interesting for news?

A: Brazil is always more in the news than South America and Latin America in general. Our main news focuses on politics because in recent years there has been an intense panorama in Brazil with important personalities such as the presidents. For me, I must cover whatever happens in politics on a daily basis or if a major news event occurs. Speaking of another newspaper I work for, I think that sport is also important, especially soccer, which is always popular in Brazil and Latin America.

Q: What are the main topics with which newspapers have mostly related Latin America?

A: In the case of Brazil, I focus on local politics because it is a country that has had an intense political process. Examples are the impeachment of a president, the Lava Jato operation that

took many people to prison, the rise of the extreme right with Bolsonaroists and the return of Lula to the presidency. These are events that we have extensive coverage in the newspaper.

I write a lot about politics, but also about economy because Brazil has always been an investment hub for the Portuguese businessmen. Likewise, from time to time we talk about Brazilian culture because in Portugal, the country's music and television are widely consumed.

I have been working at Diário de Notícias for 8 years. In the beginning, there was a lot of emphasis on culture because the political side wasn't as intense. But over the past 10-12 years, the political sphere has gained relevance. These days, the political turmoil of Bolsonaro and Lula is the main thing I cover in the news.

Q: What are the main stereotypes you find in the industry about Brazil?

A: I think the biggest stereotype of Brazil is that it's much more violent than it actually is. Compared to Portugal, of course it is violent because in Portugal nothing happens. However, sometimes there are people who think that in Brazil, if you go out on the street, you'll be attacked right away. On the other hand, the stereotype of social inequality is strong. However, it is true. It is very strange to see a country with so much wealth and poverty at the same time. What we do when we report about Brazil is we get our information from the locals to really explain the truth about the country.

Q: How is the news process with editors and where do you look for information about Latin America?

A: My journalistic process is very free. At first, I depended more on the editor's requests, but since I've been with DN for a long time, they give me freedom to choose the subjects I want to write about.

I currently live 400 km north of São Paulo, an area where not much happens. So, the news is usually from outside where I live. However, I am limited in traveling to do reports and seek information in person, but I try to do reports whenever possible, and I use many digital tools. My sources are Brazilian newspapers and I also talk to many academic sources. If it's

political news, I talk to a political scientist, if it's an economics issue, I talk to an economics professor, etc.

Q: What are the company's strengths and weaknesses in reporting on the Global South?

A: The company's strong point is that it has a person in Brazil. It is an advantage, as few newspapers have correspondents. It is a strong point because it allows us to have better sources of information and witness what is happening in Brazil. The weak point is that, unfortunately, as Brazil is huge, it is difficult to travel. Compared to Europe, traveling within Brazil is more difficult, as distances are longer, and costs are higher. So, despite having a correspondent, our content is limited due to these challenges. Most of my work is on the internet, which I like less, but that's how it has to be done.

Q: What remains to be done in terms of a fairer representation of the Global South by Portuguese newspapers?

A: Better coverage is needed as we are now limited. For example, I can't cover Amazon news because it's hard to travel, it's expensive, and the trips are too long. I think more resources should be allocated to better cover the region. However, it's not up to me.

Q: How many correspondents besides you are in Brazil and are there more in other Latin American countries?

A: There's no one else, it's just me in Brazil. I don't know if there's more for Latin America, but I don't think so. Also, 98% of the time I believe I'm the only person writing about Brazil.

Q: How different is Brazil covered in the print version and the online version?

A: In print, we generally only cover important and controversial topics, especially about politics. Online there can be more topics covered. Literally we can write about anything that happens, even curiosities of past events. Another aspect of the online version is that, for events that happened an hour ago, we do not have to wait until the next day or until the publication comes out. Furthermore, unlike the print edition, the online edition has no space limit.

Q: What is the outlook for DN coverage in Brazil?

A: The last two presidents, the current one and the previous one, are people who have always drawn a lot of attention. They are figures who gained notoriety in almost the whole world, not only in Portugal. So, I think they will still be in the news spotlight. In the beginning, news from Brazil was more diversified. We cover a lot of the Olympic Games, sport, culture, etc., but now the trend indicates that we will continue to focus on the political sphere.

Appendix D4: Interview José Paiva, Journalist of the section Fact-Checking, Observador

Q: What is your idea about Latin America and how important do you think the region is for Portuguese newspapers?

A: I work on the fact-check part of the newspaper. Observador has a partnership with Facebook that allows us to see what topics are trending on the platform, some of them about Latin America, to verify if they are true or false.

I think the region is important. However, I do not think Portuguese newspapers are very aware of what is happening in the region. The only case we know a lot about is Brazil. I would like us to have a better relationship with other Latin American countries, especially Mexico or Chile, because their culture and film industry are very interesting. The lack of coverage is because we do not receive much information about the region and focus mainly on Europe and the United States. However, I know many international journalists in Portugal who would love to cover more of Latin America.

Q: How do you choose which topics on Latin America will be subject to a fact check?

A: I cannot choose the topics that will be subject to verification. The fact-checking section of the newspaper is based on Facebook's algorithm, which chooses the most viral posts on social networks. The trending topic, which can be in English, Portuguese or Spanish, is sent to the newspaper and my editor has to approve it.

Normally, to know if a piece is true or false, we resort to the information available on the Internet. I do not love this method, but looking for quotes or regional experts is difficult. Latin American topics are usually linked to politics, especially controversial cases like Venezuela or Bolsonaro, which have a lot of fake news around them.

Q: How are articles from Latin America perceived in the fast-check section?

A; I have been working in the company for five or six years. In these years, I have seen that we pay attention to controversial situations or people like Trump. With Latin America we are more selective, so it is usually a tragedy or a controversial event. The problem I see with fast checking about the region is that many Portuguese people who consume this section do not know about Latin American politics. So, even if people are interested in reading about it, they would not fully understand it.

I am very surprised by the lack of connection that Portuguese newspapers have with Latin America, because economically we need the region. Also, Latin America and Portugal come from a poor background and have very similar challenges. However, because we do not cover the region as much, people still fall into stereotypes like it is too dangerous. It is a perception problem. I think maybe we Europeans are afraid of what Latin America represents. Every year, the region shows that it does not need Europe or the United States, which is scary because a lot of our products come from Latin America. So, we do need them.

Q: What challenges does the newspaper face in being digital that affect its content offering?

A: As Observador is a 100% digital newspaper and very new, we always have to be catching up with the news quickly. One problem we face is that people do not read the newspaper anymore. However, for the situation in Portugal, I think Observador is doing very well. Another problem is that we try to cover all the issues, but we cannot and should not. The question for newspapers is whether we should offer all kinds of news or be more selective. Right now, there is no traditional Portuguese newspaper that is selective, we cover the same things.

Another problem we have is the paywall, which forces readers to pay to access news. While people are okay with paying intertreatment like Netflix, they do not want to pay for news. As a result, we have to advertise, which people do not like either.

Q: Have you received training on how to cover the Global South?

A: Although I studied in Portuguese universities, I only learned how to be a good journalist when I was in a newsroom. I don't remember receiving training on these topics at Católica or Nova University, nor having conversations about minorities or feminism. I think it is because these issues are just starting to gain force in Portugal, so they are not as widespread as in other countries.

I am a privileged white male, so I have not felt any problems when we cover minorities. However, there are always things we can improve. When I write, I try to be respectful and be more inclusive. However, doing things as inclusive languages is complicated. For example, I can write an article with inclusive language. However, my mother and older generations may not understand it and think we are writing with grammatical errors.

I think minorities have more and more voice in Portugal, but it is not enough. If you look at the newsrooms or news channels, there are few minorities. I think we must push for this change, but it will take time. I have realized that this change is not only journalistic, but also social. There must be a balance between the two for real change to occur.

Q: How diverse is the newsroom, especially with regard to Latin Americans?

A: In general, it is more common to have Brazilians in the newsroom, but in my area there are none. I do not think there are any other nationalities besides Brazilians in other parts of Observador.

Q: What remains to be done to improve the coverage of the Global South?

A: It is very simple: we need to be more international. To do that, we need more money. Many Portuguese directors believe that international issues do not sell, which is a missed opportunity because the Portuguese do care about what happens in the world. What we must do is change the perception that newspapers have of the public. Like everyone else, the Portuguese want good stories, and those can be found beyond Europe.

Therefore, we should focus on Latin America not only in moments of tragedy or political tension, but in any good story. People think we are only connected to Brazil, but the Portuguese are very well connected to Latin America through books. Latin America is so diverse and complex that we still have a lot to learn from it. Even if we do not agree with what the region is doing, we should cover it more, because our job is to inform people.

Appendix E- Author/Agency that Wrote the Article(N=557)

Table 11

Author/Agency that Wrote the Article(N=557)

Author/Agency	Frequency	Percentage
All articles that used Lusa	277	49.7
Lusa	226	40.6
DN/Lusa	44	7.9
Nuno Pacheco	30	5.4
João Ruela Ribeiro	21	3.8
João Almeida Moreira	15	2.7
DN	14	2.5
DN/AFP	14	2.5
Público	14	2.5
José Carlos Duarte	9	1.6
Folha de S.Paulo	8	1.4
Leonídio Paulo Ferreira	6	1.1
Inês Capucho	5	.9
Observador	5	.9
Adriana Alves	4	.7
Alexandra Prado Coelho	4	.7
Daniel Dias	4	.7
José Paiva Capucho	4	.7
Susana Salvador	4	.7
Ana Isabel Ribeiro	3	.5
Andreia Marques	3	.5
Reuters	3	.5
Teresa Borges	3	.5
André Filipe Antunes	2	.4
António Rodrigues	2	.4
Beatriz Ferreira	2	.4
Carlos Diogo Santos	2	.4
Francisco Martins	2	.4
Inês Andre Figueiredo	2	.4
Inês Pinto	2	.4
Isabel Coutinho	2	.4
Isabel Salema	2	.4
Joana Amaral Cardoso	2	.4
João Gama	2	.4
Marcelo Toledo	2	.4

Maria Salgueiro	2	.4
Mariana Lima Cunha	2	.4
Marta Leite Ferreira	2	.4
Nelson de Sá	2	.4
Reuters, Público	2	.4
Rui Casanova	2	.4
Alexandre Martins	1	.2
Alexandre Martins, Reuters, Joana Gonçalves	1	.2
Ana Bacelar Begonha	1	.2
Ana Catarina Gil	1	.2
Ana Henriques	1	.2
Ana Luisa Bernardino	1	.2
Ana Moreira	1	.2
Ana Tomás Ribeiro (Lusa)	1	.2
Annabelle Timsit	1	.2
António Saraiva Lima	1	.2
Beatriz Ferreira, José Carlos Duarte	1	.2
Carlos Gil de Montes	1	.2
Carlos Hortmann	1	.2
Carolina Amado	1	.2
Carolina Amado, Agências	1	.2
Carolina Carvalho	1	.2
Carolina Sobral	1	.2
Catarina laranjeiro	1	.2
Cátia Rocha	1	.2
Clara Balbi	1	.2
Clara Barata	1	.2
Cristiane Gercina	1	.2
Diana Rosa	1	.2
Diogo Lopes	1	.2
Diogo Paredes	1	.2
DN/Lusa/AFP	1	.2
Fernando Costa, Público	1	.2
Folha de S.Paulo & Público	1	.2
Fugas, Lusa	1	.2
Géssica Brandino	1	.2
Gonçalo Frota	1	.2
Guilherme Queiroz	1	.2
Hellen Garcia	1	.2
Ines N. Lourenço	1	.2
Jean-Louis Cohen, Vanessa Grossman	1	.2

João Francisco Gomes	1	.2
João Gabriel, Giuliana de Toledo (Folha de São Paulo)	1	.2
Jorge Piva	1	.2
José Carlos Duarte, André Filipe Antunes	1	.2
José Rico Direitinho	1	.2
Leonete Botelho	1	.2
Luis Francisco	1	.2
Luís Franco	1	.2
Luís Octávio Costa	1	.2
Lusa, Observador	1	.2
Lusa, Público	1	.2
Lusa, Reuters	1	.2
Marco Vaza	1	.2
Marcos Weiss	1	.2
Maria do Carmo	1	.2
Maria João Martins	1	.2
Mariana Braz	1	.2
Mariana Duarte	1	.2
Mariana Oliveira	1	.2
Mário Lopes	1	.2
Mário Silva da Costa	1	.2
Michele Oliveira	1	.2
Nicola Pamplone, Fábio Pescarini	1	.2
Pedro Rainho	1	.2
Peter Millard	1	.2
Público, Agências	1	.2
Público, Europa press	1	.2
Ranier Bragon	1	.2
Renato Machado, Ricardo Della	1	.2
Reuters, Karla Pequeno	1	.2
Rita Cipriano	1	.2
Rita Pereira	1	.2
Rita Pimenta	1	.2
Samuel Santos	1	.2
Sara Azevedo Santos	1	.2
Sérgio C. Andrade	1	.2
Sofia Lorena	1	.2
Tânia Pereirinha	1	.2
Tiago Caeiro	1	.2
Tiago Ramalho	1	.2
Vasco Câmara	1	.2

Vinicius Sassine,João Gabriel,Joelmir Tavares,Fabio Serapi	1	.2
Zeca Camargo	1	.2
Total	557	100

Appendix F: Sources in the Articles

Table 13

Sources Used in the Articles (N=557)

Source	Frequency	Percentage
Government of Brazil	39	10.1
Lusa	17	4.4
Público	16	4.1
Event of Brazil	15	3.9
Person of Interest	15	3.9
Brazilian Ministry	13	3.4
Colombian Authorities	11	2.8
Folha de S. Paulo	11	2.8
EFE	9	2.3
Brazilian authorities	8	2.1
Globo	7	1.8
Mexican Government	6	1.5
NGO Brazil	6	1.5
Portuguese authorities	6	1.5
UN	6	1.5
Brazilian Institute	5	1.3
Brazilian press	5	1.3
Colombian government	5	1.3
Colombian military	5	1.3
El País	5	1.3
Government of Ecuador	5	1.3
Government of Venezuela	5	1.3
G1	4	1.0
Government of Haiti	4	1.0
TV Brazil	4	1.0
UOL	4	1.0
Brazilian confederation	3	.8
Colombian press	3	.8
DN	3	.8
El Mundo	3	.8
Reuters	3	.8
The Guardian	3	.8
Washington Post	3	.8
AP	2	.5
Associated Press	2	.5

Chinese press	2	.5
CNN	2	.5
CNN Brasil	2	.5
Event, Government of Brazil	2	.5
Globo, Correio Braziliense	2	.5
Government of guatemala	2	.5
Government of Paraguay	2	.5
HRW	2	.5
Nature	2	.5
Observador	2	.5
Organization of Brazil	2	.5
Portuguese Surfing Federation	2	.5
Público, Folha de S. Paulo	2	.5
Radio Gaucha	2	.5
Veja, Government of Brazil	2	.5
Wall Street Journal	2	.5
ACG News	1	.3
activists, Amnesty International	1	.3
AFP	1	.3
Agrishow	1	.3
Angola Criminal Investigation Service	1	.3
AP, Government of Ecuador	1	.3
AP, Mexicn authorities	1	.3
Associated Press, The Guardian	1	.3
BBC	1	.3
BBC brazil	1	.3
BBC, Insider	1	.3
Brazil's Supreme Court, Local Press	1	.3
Brazilian Association	1	.3
Brazilian Club	1	.3
Brazilian Ministry ,G1	1	.3
Chilean TV	1	.3
CNN Brasil, Brazilian Press	1	.3
CNN Brazil, Reuters	1	.3
Colombian government, El Tiempo	1	.3
Colombian press, Government	1	.3
CONCACAF	1	.3
Correio Braziliense	1	.3
Cuiabá Esporte Clube	1	.3
diocese of san cristobal of Venezuela	1	.3
DN, JN,Euronews, Brazilian Times	1	.3

El Comercio	1	.3
El Confidencial	1	.3
El Pais Colombia	1	.3
El Universal	1	.3
El Universal Ecuador	1	.3
ESPN, CBF	1	.3
ESPN, CNN Brasil	1	.3
EU	1	.3
Europol	1	.3
Event of Haiti	1	.3
Event of Peru	1	.3
Event of Uruguay	1	.3
Event of Venezuela	1	.3
Financial Times	1	.3
Flamengo Soccer Team	1	.3
Folha de S. Paulo, El Pais	1	.3
G1, Brazilian police	1	.3
G1, Globo	1	.3
G1, Government of Mexico	1	.3
G1, Terra (Brasil), Sky News, Globo	1	.3
Globo, brazilian press	1	.3
Globo, Observador	1	.3
Google	1	.3
Government of El Salvador	1	.3
Government of Peru	1	.3
Government of Uruguay	1	.3
Greenpeace, Government of Brazil	1	.3
Human Kaleidoscope (CH) of Venezuela	1	.3
Informador Mexico	1	.3
Interamerican Press Association	1	.3
Intercept Brasil	1	.3
Interview with Jô Soares	1	.3
Latin America Interview	1	.3
Lusa, Event of Brazil	1	.3
Lusa, Folha de S. Paulo	1	.3
Lusa, Government of Argentina	1	.3
Lusa, Government of Brazil	1	.3
Mozambican authorities	1	.3
NBC Los Angeles	1	.3
NGO Argentina	1	.3
O Estado de S. Paulo, o Valor Económico	1	.3

Observador, Government of Brazil	1	.3
Person of Interest, Botafogo	1	.3
Person of Interest, G1, Government	1	.3
Person of Interest, government of Brazil	1	.3
Petrobras	1	.3
Prensa FATPREN	1	.3
Prensa Libre, Reuters	1	.3
Press and Society Institute of Venezuela	1	.3
Público, Obsevador	1	.3
Radio France	1	.3
Reuters, Government of Ecuador	1	.3
RPP Noticias, government of Paraguay	1	.3
Russian Authorities	1	.3
Santuario de Cristo Redentor	1	.3
Securities and Exchange Commission (CVM)	1	.3
SmartLess	1	.3
Sports Illustrated	1	.3
TAP	1	.3
The Guardian, Government of colombia	1	.3
Titan Sports	1	.3
UN, government of Haiti	1	.3
Undisclosed, Brazil Government	1	.3
Union Radio of Venezuela	1	.3
UOL, Supreme Court	1	.3
Vatican News	1	.3
Veja	1	.3
Veja, Brazilian police	1	.3
Voz de America, Colombian military	1	.3
World Resource Institute	1	.3
Total	388	100.0
Missing	169	

Appendix G: Articles Analyzed

Article 1

Se a UE volta à América Latina, Portugal conta

Das muitas críticas que se fazem à tese do choque de civilizações de Samuel P. Huntington, umas das menos citadas e provavelmente das mais contundentes é não ter incluído a América Latina na civilização dita ocidental, juntamente com a Europa Ocidental, a dupla Estados Unidos-Canadá e ainda Austrália e Nova Zelândia. Como comentou um dia o diplomata e poeta mexicano Homero Aridjis, Huntington terá imaginado o Ocidente como um produto da cultura anglo-saxónica, quando na verdade é um fruto da civilização greco-latina.

Entre os europeus, ninguém mais do que portugueses e espanhóis sentem essa falha, na verdade um erro crasso de avaliação pelo grande académico. Talvez Huntington tenha valorizado em excesso a componente indígena de alguns países latino-americanos (onde existem comunidades em número e influência que obviamente já não existem nos Estados Unidos), menosprezando a forte miscigenação que também aconteceu e sobretudo o contributo europeu para a identidade dessa parte do mundo, um contributo originalmente português e espanhol, daí a relevância das línguas ibéricas, mas depois muito mais vasto: basta ver a diversidade de nomes (Aridjis, só a título de exemplo, tem raízes gregas).

Considerada durante muito tempo uma espécie de pátio das traseiras dos Estados Unidos, designação que os latino-americanos naturalmente contestam, a região tem visto nos últimos anos aumentar a presença da China, primeiro parceiro comercial de boa parte dos países latino-americanos. Também a Rússia tenta exercer a sua influência, seja em Cuba e Nicarágua ou ainda na Venezuela. Portanto, contrariando Huntington, está na hora de os europeus mostrarem o quanto partilham valores civilizacionais com os latino-americanos e apostarem numa nova parceria transatlântica.



Leonídio Paulo Ferreira
28 Maio 2023 — 00:02



TÓPICOS

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- Editorial
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O editorial de quinta-feira do El País tinha como título "A UE volta à América Latina", e, com base num documento ainda não divulgado oficialmente, explicava que, além da visita em junho da presidente da Comissão Europeia, Ursula von der Leyen, a Brasil, México, Argentina e Chile, e da cimeira em Bruxelas em meados de julho entre os 27 e os países da América Latina e Caraíbas, existe um generoso pacote financeiro. E já se conhece a parte espanhola, dez mil milhões de euros, sendo que Madrid joga forte neste regresso da UE pois no segundo semestre assume a presidência.

E Portugal? Tem que ter também protagonismo nesta aproximação. Afinal, mesmo se tivermos em conta os 33 países abrangidos do outro lado do Atlântico, quase um terço dos 700 milhões de pessoas envolvidas falam português. O mais acertado será nesta matéria uma aliança com Espanha, pois ninguém mais na UE tem a sensibilidade necessária para liderar o processo de aproximação à América Latina. E uma prioridade ibérica deveria ser convencer os parceiros a concluírem finalmente o acordo Mercosul-UE.

Brindemos, pois, a este planeado regresso europeu à América Latina. Brindemos com um bom Porto ou um xerez, ou com uma tequila, um pisco, uma cachaça, um rum ou um tinto Malbec. Se a UE volta à América Latina, então Portugal tem de ter uma palavra a dizer.

Diretor adjunto do Diário de Notícias

Lula da Silva mostra preocupação sobre novas exigências no acordo UE-Mercosul

Lula demonstrou "preocupações do Brasil com o instrumento adicional ao acordo apresentado pela União Europeia" que amplia as obrigações do Brasil e o torna objeto de sanções caso incumprimento.

12 jun. 2023, 21:02 1

🔗 📺 Oferecer



 Agência Lusa
Texto

O chefe de Estado brasileiro, Lula da Silva, demonstrou esta segunda-feira preocupações, perante a presidente da Comissão Europeia, relativamente às novas exigências feitas pela União Europeia (UE) no acordo comercial com o bloco Mercosul.

“Expus à presidente Van Der Leyen as preocupações do Brasil com o instrumento adicional ao acordo apresentado pela União Europeia em março deste ano, que **amplia as obrigações do Brasil e as torna objeto de sanções em caso de incumprimento**”, afirmou Lula da Silva, no Palácio do Planalto, em Brasília, numa declaração ao lado da presidente da Comissão Europeia.

O chefe de Estado brasileiro sublinhou ainda que “a premissa que deve existir entre parceiros estratégicos é a da confiança mútua e não de desconfiança e sanções”.

“Em paralelo, a **União Europeia aprovou leis próprias com efeitos extraterritoriais** e que modificam o equilíbrio do Acordo. Essas iniciativas representam restrições potenciais às exportações agrícolas e industriais do Brasil”, disse.

Estas afirmações acontecem numa altura em que a UE aguarda contrapropostas do Mercosul (do qual fazem parte Brasil, Argentina, Uruguai e Paraguai) ao instrumento de garantias ambientais proposto pelos europeus nas novas negociações do acordo comercial que ambos os blocos assinaram em 2019 e que está pendente de ratificação.

Enquanto a UE exige garantias de que não importará produtos do Mercosul que contribuam para a desflorestação ou para as alterações climáticas, alguns membros do Mercosul, como o Brasil, pedem para renegociar o que já foi acordado sobre compras governamentais.

Por outro lado, Ursula van der Leyen afirmou que chegou a “hora de concluir o acordo”, sublinhando confiança numa conclusão no “mais tardar até final do ano”. **“Mandámos uma carta como um instrumento adicional e aguardamos a sua resposta”**, disse.

“Esse acordo é mais do que um acordo comercial, é uma plataforma para diálogo”, é um compromisso a longo prazo, frisou a responsável europeia.

Van der Leyen está esta segunda-feira no Brasil, na sua primeira paragem de uma viagem de quatro dias em que também se reunirá com os presidentes da Argentina, Chile e México.



LAURA CANINEU

“Deve-se cobrar ao Brasil a redução da desflorestação e o combate à impunidade”

A UE deve manter-se alerta para que o Presidente Lula da Silva cumpra as promessas de proteger povos indígenas e travar destruição da Amazónia, diz directora da Human Rights Watch no Brasil.

Clara Barata (texto) e Nuno Ferreira Santos (fotos)

7 de Junho de 2023, 7:25



Receber alertas



"Para a questão dos Yanomami e outros povos indígenas ameaçados, é preciso a presença do Estado", diz Maria Laura Canineu NUNO FERREIRA SANTOS

Lula da Silva foi eleito com a promessa de travar a destruição da **Amazónia**, a violência contra os povos indígenas, e ser um líder na acção climática. Mas tem de governar com um poder legislativo muito conservador, que porá obstáculos no seu caminho. “Mas mesmo com esse Congresso, que parece estar indo na mesma direcção que o Governo de Jair Bolsonaro, o Presidente Lula deveria ser capaz de manter medidas fortes de combate ao desmatamento”, afirma a directora da Human Rights Watch no Brasil, Laura Canineu, com quem o PÚBLICO falou numa passagem por Lisboa.

O Supremo Tribunal Federal vai retomar esta quarta-feira, 7 de Junho, o julgamento do chamado “marco temporal”. O Governo de Lula da Silva espera que seja derrotada a tese do marco temporal. Mas, entretanto, o Congresso está a mover-se no sentido contrário. O que vai prevalecer?

A Human Rights Watch espera que o Supremo Tribunal Federal não frustre as expectativas dos povos indígenas de ver reconhecido o seu direito fundamental às terras que tradicionalmente ocupam. Esperamos que expurgue de uma vez por todas o entendimento do marco temporal, que determina que os povos indígenas só têm direito ao reconhecimento do seu território se provarem que estavam lá presentes na data da promulgação da Constituição brasileira de Outubro de 1988, ou que nessa data tinham um conflito possessório sobre a terra.

Entendemos que a tese do marco temporal, ao impor uma data arbitrária, viola os direitos fundamentais dos povos indígenas previstos na Constituição brasileira, e nas declarações internacionais. O direito à terra é fundamental para o respeito dos direitos dos povos indígenas, não tem como desassociar a condição indígena do seu território.

Esperamos que o Supremo evite a manobra de aprovação na Câmara dos Deputados de um [projecto de lei que estabelece o marco temporal](#).

E se houver uma conclusão no processo legislativo antes de haver uma decisão no Supremo Tribunal, o que é que se sobrepõe?

Este julgamento é sobre uma terra específica, mas a decisão vai orientar a demarcação de terras indígenas no Brasil. Se o Supremo decidir que a tese do marco temporal é inconstitucional, e se o Congresso quiser legislar, pode ser um imbróglio jurídico sério.

A Human Rights Watch acompanha a crise humanitária dos ianomamis, com a invasão do território pela exploração ilegal de minérios?

“

Entendemos que a União Europeia, por exemplo, não pode ratificar o acordo Mercosul-UE se o Brasil não mostrar progresso efectivo na redução do desmatamento e no combate à impunidade por actos de violência e criminalidade contra os defensores da floresta.

Maria Laura Canineu

São um povo que tem sido vitimado há décadas por uma violência absurda por parte dos garimpeiros ilegais e redes criminosas.

Este Governo criou pela primeira vez o Ministério dos Povos Originários, e elegeu uma líder indígena como chefe da Fundação Nacional dos Povos Indígenas. Desde o começo do ano fez uma série de operações importantes para a retirada dos garimpeiros do território ianomami e isso tem sido acompanhado por violência.

O problema dessas operações é que o Estado tira alguns garimpeiros, e quando sai, toda a ilegalidade volta. Para a questão dos ianomamis, e de outros povos indígenas ameaçados, é preciso a presença do Estado, fortalecer as agências ambientais e a Polícia Federal para prevenir a criminalidade e investigar quem está cometendo crimes lá.

E o Governo tem condições para reforçar essa presença? O Congresso retirou poderes aos ministérios dos Povos Indígenas e do Meio Ambiente...

Aumentou em mais de 200% o número de multas ambientais, em comparação com o mesmo período na época de Bolsonaro. Houve a retoma do plano de combate à desflorestação da Amazônia, a retoma do fundo Amazônia. O desmatamento reduziu-se quase 70% em Abril, comparado com o ano anterior. É uma indicação positiva, embora ainda insuficiente para analisar se haverá uma redução consistente do desmatamento.

Mas o Congresso Nacional [retirou ao Ministério dos Povos Indígenas a atribuição de demarcação](#) dos territórios e ao Ministério do Meio Ambiente um instrumento muito importante para combater o desmatamento, que é o Cadastro Ambiental Rural. Foram manobras para esvaziar os poderes dos ministérios e o [Governo Lula foi bastante criticado por ter negociado](#) essas atribuições.

É um Congresso conservador, muito alinhado com os interesses do agro-negócio. Mesmo com esse Congresso, que parece estar indo na mesma direcção do Governo Bolsonaro, o Governo do Presidente Lula deveria ser capaz de manter medidas fortes de combate ao desmatamento.

Esperamos que o executivo possa continuar lutando para cumprir as promessas de protecção dos povos indígenas, redução do desmatamento e promoção dos direitos humanos.

Não corremos o risco de termos uma [espécie](#) de tempos de Bolsonaro versão *light*?

O risco existe, é muito forte. Por isso é tão importante a vigilância da comunidade internacional. Entendemos que a União Europeia, por exemplo, não pode ratificar o acordo Mercosul-UE se o Brasil não mostrar progresso efectivo na redução do desmatamento e no combate à impunidade por actos de violência e criminalidade contra os defensores da floresta.

É [importante que a UE se mantenha vigilante](#), para que Lula possa realmente cumprir o que prometeu, em relação aos povos indígenas e a ser um líder na maior crise que a humanidade está vivendo, que é a crise climática.

Passou um ano desde o assassinio do indigenista brasileiro Bruno Pereira e do jornalista britânico Dom Philips no vale do Javari por uma [rede de pesca ilegal](#). Isto poderia voltar a acontecer hoje?

O assassinato do Dom foi um bastante dramático, mas não surpreendente, porque existia uma política antiambiental e antidireitos humanos do Governo Bolsonaro. Hoje pode-se dizer que estão a ser tomadas medidas. Se não me engano, estão cinco [pessoas presas](#). Tendo em vista a cobertura internacional, o Estado está fazendo a sua parte para [responsabilizar as pessoas que cometeram esse grave crime](#).

“

Tendo em vista a cobertura internacional [do assassinio de Bruno Pereira e Dom Philips] o Estado está fazendo a sua parte para responsabilizar as pessoas que cometeram esse grave crime. Só que essa não é a regra. A regra em relação a crimes contra defensores é a impunidade

Maria Laura Canineu

Só que essa não é a regra. A regra em relação a crimes contra defensores é a impunidade. Nos últimos dez anos, a Comissão Pastoral da Terra apontou 300 assassinios de pessoas no contexto de [conflitos pelo uso da terra](#) e pelos recursos naturais.

Raramente há punições por este crime, um julgamento que leve à identificação das redes criminosas que estão por trás dessa violência e da destruição ambiental. Também é muito raro haver investigação quando há ameaças e muitas das mortes são precedidas de ameaças.

Deve ser cobrada ao Brasil a redução do desmatamento e protecção da Amazónia e outros biomas, mas também o combate à impunidade.

Só no ano de 2022, que foi quando eles morreram, mais 34 pessoas foram assassinadas no contexto de conflitos pelo uso da terra. Nove desses 34 eram indígenas. Hoje sabemos o que aconteceu com o caso do Dom e Bruno. Mas o que é que aconteceu nesses outros casos? Não sabemos.

ÍCIO / INTERNACIONAL

Como é que três crianças e um bebé sobrevivem na selva durante 40 dias?

Três crianças e um bebé estiveram desaparecidos na selva na Colômbia durante 40 dias, depois de o avião onde viajavam com a mãe ter caído. Foram encontrados com vida.



Gustavo Petro Twitter

N/AFP/Lusa
1 Junho 2023 — 15:19



TOPICOS

Colômbia
Internacional
selva
buscas

Depois de 40 dias, milagrosamente foram encontradas as quatro crianças perdidas na selva na Colômbia na sequência da queda de um avião. Panfletos com instruções, a voz da avó e um abrigo improvisado podem ter ajudado na sobrevivência dos quatro irmãos.

Relacionados

[Colômbia. Quatro crianças encontradas na selva da Colômbia 40 dias após queda de avião](#)

[Colômbia. "Fora de perigo" e "felizes": crianças resgatadas da selva recuperam em Bogotá](#)

[Colômbia. Mãe das quatro crianças resgatadas ainda sobreviveu quatro dias após queda de avião](#)



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#GeneralGiraldo: "La unión de esfuerzos hizo posible esta alegría para Colombia"

Gloria a los soldados de las @FuerzasMilCol, a las comunidades indígenas e instituciones que hicieron parte de la #OperaciónEsperanza"



Com idades entre os 11 meses e os 13 anos, as crianças viveram sozinhas na selva com uma vegetação densa, árvores que atingem 40 metros de altura, chuva e a presença de onças, cobras e outros animais perigosos.

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"Estas crianças estavam sozinhas. Conseguiram fazer isto sozinhas. Um exemplo absoluto de sobrevivência que ficará na história", disse o presidente da Colômbia, Gustavo Petro, aos jornalistas.

Segundo os avós das crianças, a mais velha, Lesly manteve os irmãos mais novos em segurança e tinha conhecimentos sobre a vida selvagem. O avô Fidencio Valencia afirmou à AFP que Lesly era uma criança "muito inteligente" e capaz de guiar os irmãos pela floresta. Um fruto mordido encontrado pela equipa de resgate demonstra que este conhecimento dos irmãos sobre os frutos selvagens pode ter ajudado na sua sobrevivência.

A equipa de resgate composta por 160 militares e 70 indígenas com conhecimento íntimo da selva encontraram uma tesoura, elástico de cabelo e partes de um abrigo feito à mão pelas crianças com paus e ramos.

"Foi a sabedoria das famílias indígenas, de viver na selva, que os salvaram", afirmou o presidente.

Para impedir as crianças de continuarem a afastar-se, a força aérea atirou cerca de 10.000 panfletos na floresta com instruções em espanhol e na própria língua indígena das crianças a dizer para ficarem paradas e com dicas de sobrevivência. Os militares ainda atiraram para a selva parcelas de comida e garrafas de água.

Através de altifalantes, os militares enviaram mensagens na língua nativa dos indígenas a pedir para que parassem para que pudessem ser localizados. Também foi transmitida uma mensagem gravada pela avó das crianças.

A equipa de resgate percorreu 2.656 quilómetros durante as buscas. Vários militares e indígenas tiveram que ser substituídos durante a operação devido à dureza do clima e do terreno. Um cão farejador que se perdeu nas operações de busca, permanece desaparecido

O General Pedro Sánchez, general que comandou as operações de busca, insistiu as últimas semanas que as crianças estavam vivas e perto dos soldados, embora tenha admitido que a sua jornada era "inacreditável", diz a AFP. "Milagre, milagre, milagre", afirmou. "Hoje tivemos um dia mágico", acrescentou, depois de terem encontrado os quatro irmãos.

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Gloria a los soldados de las [@FuerzasMilCol](#), a las comunidades indígenas e instituciones que hicieron parte de la [#OperaciónEsperanza](#)"



1:13 AM · 10 de jun de 2023

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As quatro crianças viajavam com a mãe e acompanhante num avião Cessna 206, que caiu na selva na Colômbia. O piloto comunicou problemas com o motor do avião antes de este desaparecer dos radares. O avião foi encontrado a 8 de maio entre a vegetação. A equipa de resgate recuperou três corpos: o do piloto, o da mãe das crianças e o de um dirigente da comunidade indígena Uitoto.


Os irmãos foram os únicos sobreviventes, tendo sido encontrados este sábado.

Autoridades afirmaram que o grupo estava a fugir de ameaças de membros de um grupo armado.

As quatro crianças estão neste momento a receber tratamento em Bogotá e, apesar de estarem comunicativas, o seu prognóstico é reservado, segundo as primeiras informações oficiais. De acordo com o general Pedro Sánchez, as crianças foram transferidas para o Hospital Militar, "onde estão a ser tratadas física e psicologicamente".

Lula da Silva diz que considerar absurdo o reconhecimento de Guaidó como Presidente da Venezuela

O encontro entre os chefes de Estado do Brasil e da Venezuela ocorre depois de oito anos de relações abaladas. Lula da Silva afirmou querer "recuperar a relação energética com a Venezuela".

29 mai. 2023, 21:19  8 

  Oferecer



Agência Lusa
Texto

O chefe de Estado brasileiro, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, afirmou esta segunda-feira, ao lado do homólogo venezuelano, Nicolás Maduro, que considerou absurdo que os países democráticos da Europa tenham reconhecido o opositor Juan Guaidó como Presidente da Venezuela, em 2019.

“Briguei muito com companheiros social-democratas europeus, com governos, com pessoas dos Estados Unidos. Achava a coisa mais absurda do mundo, para as pessoas que defendem democracia, negarem que você [Nicolás Maduro] era Presidente da Venezuela, tendo sido eleito pelo povo”, disse Lula da Silva numa conferência de imprensa na sede do Governo brasileiro ao lado de Maduro.

“Eu disse aos europeus que não entendia que um continente que exercia a democracia tão plenamente como a Europa **pudesse apoiar a ideia de que o impostor [Juan Guaidó] era o Presidente [da Venezuela]**”, acrescentou.

O encontro entre os chefes de Estado do Brasil e da Venezuela ocorre depois de oito anos de relações abaladas devido a mudanças políticas no Brasil e também pelo isolamento global imposto por muitos países, incluindo os membros da União Europeia, à Venezuela na tentativa de pressionar o regime populista de Maduro a reverter o cerco às instituições e à democracia que consideram que este promove naquele país.

O Presidente brasileiro considerou ser “inexplicável um país [Venezuela] ter 900 sanções porque outro país [Estados Unidos] não gosta dele”.

“Acho que está nas suas mãos, companheiro, construir a sua narrativa e **virar esse jogo para a Venezuela voltar a ser um povo soberano**, onde somente o seu povo, através de votação livre, diga quem vai governar o país. É só isso que precisa ser dito. E nossos adversários vão ter que pedir desculpas pelo estrago que ele fizeram na Venezuela”, disse o líder brasileiro, dirigindo-se a Maduro.

O chefe de Estado brasileiro também defendeu uma integração plena entre Brasil e Venezuela e, questionado sobre a retoma da interligação elétrica entre os dois países, suspensa há mais de quatro anos, **afirmou querer “recuperar a relação energética com a Venezuela”** e as linhas de transmissão que levavam eletricidade da barragem venezuelana de Guri ao estado brasileiro de Roraima, no norte do país.

“Roraima é o único estado fora do sistema eletrônico nacional”, devido às decisões políticas que em 2019 suspenderam as relações com a Venezuela, funciona à base de termoelétricas, “que são bem mais caras”, declarou Lula da Silva.

Já Maduro garantiu que a Venezuela “**está preparada para recuperar esta cooperação elétrica**” e que pode começar imediatamente a enviar cerca de “190 megawatts”, embora tenha esclarecido que seria necessário um “investimento básico de quatro ou cinco milhões de dólares para recuperar as linhas de transmissão”.

Maduro participará nesta terça-feira numa cimeira sul-americana em Brasília, convocada por Lula da Silva para tentar relançar a cooperação e a integração entre os doze países da região.

O Presidente venezuelano disse ter tido uma proveitosa conversa com Lula da Silva e a sua equipa, argumentou que houve a aplicação de um modelo ideológico extremista contra a Venezuela que fechou todas as portas e janelas de seu Governo com o Brasil, e acusou outros países de tentarem impor um regime naquele país, sem identificar nenhuma nação diretamente.

Maduro defendeu que há democracia na Venezuela embora o seu regime seja reiteradamente acusado de impedir a vitória de adversários em eleições que realiza periodicamente.

Antes do encontro entre Lula e Maduro, o ex-presidente do Brasil Jair Bolsonaro publicou um vídeo da sua visita à Casa Branca, onde acertou com o então Presidente, Donald Trump, uma série de políticas de combate à “ditadura” venezuelana.

Bolsonaro explicou no vídeo como, com financiamento dos Estados Unidos, foi construído um centro de acolhimento em Roraima para atender os venezuelanos que saem da Venezuela à procura de melhores condições de vida.

Os líderes da América do Sul reúnem-se na capital do Brasil na terça-feira como parte da tentativa de Lula da Silva de revigorar os esforços de integração regional que anteriormente fracassaram, face às oscilações e polarização política do continente.

Analistas dizem que o Presidente brasileiro sente uma oportunidade de integração por causa das afinidades políticas dos atuais governos da região e parece querer testar a disposição dos líderes de cooperar através de uma reativada União das Nações Sul-Americanas (Unasul).

Article 6

Opiniões

Preparamos os nossos filhos para viverem sem nós?

Crianças colombianas sobreviveram na selva após morte da mãe. Precisamos entender que não somos eternas.



Cristiane Gercina

14 de Junho de 2023, 14:01



Uma das crianças que foram resgatadas na selva amazônica depois de um acidente de aviação
REUTERS/COLOMBIAN AIR FORCE

Além de atividades como comer sentado à mesa, usar o banheiro e dormir a noite inteira – que ensinamos a nossas crianças ao longo dos primeiros anos de vida – há muitas outras informações e conhecimentos necessários de serem passados de mãe para filho, de ser humano mais velho para ser humano mais novo, que talvez estejamos deixando para trás.



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Saiba mais

A jornada de sobrevivência de quatro crianças na floresta amazônica na Colômbia, resgatadas após 40 dias de um acidente aéreo no qual três adultos morreram, incluindo a mãe delas, me tocou.

A grande heroína foi a irmã mais velha, de 13 anos, que conseguiu manter os mais novos com vida utilizando o que aprendeu com a mãe, no dia a dia, no trato com os irmãos. E isso me fez refletir se estamos realmente criando nossos filhos para sobreviverem caso não estejamos presentes.

Temos treinado nossas crianças, especialmente nas grandes cidades, para que tenham posicionamento relevante na sociedade, o que é muito importante, mas atividades do dia a dia nem sempre têm feito parte dos ensinamentos de muitas famílias.

Não estar mais aqui não significa necessariamente morrer. Além disso, não estou defendendo um treinamento de sobrevivência na selva. Seja ela a natural ou a "selva de pedra". Podemos não estar presentes se precisarmos viajar por um tempo mais longo, ou se formos acometidas por problemas de saúde que nos impeçam de fazer atividades básicas ou nos levem a ser internadas.

Não gostamos de pensar na finitude humana – especialmente das mães – e ainda encaramos a morte como um tabu. Mas é preciso saber que não somos eternas. Essa questão me pegou muito forte quando, em 2022, precisei passar por duas cirurgias um tanto severas, que levaram 16 pedaços de mim.

Minhas meninas tinham, na época, 10 e 15 anos. Desde então – desde que a possibilidade de não estar mais presente na vida delas se tornou algo muito real mesmo que momentaneamente – tenho não apenas pensado no que é necessário ensinar, mas tratado disso de forma clara em nossas conversas, sem assustá-las.

Saber cozinhar, cuidar das próprias coisas, pensar duas vezes antes de fazer ou dizer algo, respeitar o seu corpo e as suas escolhas são ensinamentos necessários para a vida delas com ou sem mãe. Mas ter noção da sobrevivência básica vai além disso.

Não tenho aqui a lista completa e exata do que deveria ser ensinado, mas creio que o mínimo sobre se alimentar, cuidar do corpo e de si, evitar doenças, saber quando comer algo e que tipo de remédio tomar em emergências é essencial. São coisas que aprendemos com nossos antepassados e que precisamos prestar mais atenção se estamos passando para frente.

Não creio que a *mãe colombiana* tenha treinado as crianças para sua morte. Ela apenas transmitiu a seus filhos ensinamentos básicos sobre a existência humana, ligados especialmente à natureza. Além dos quatro pequenos guerreiros, essa mulher deixou uma lição: filhos não são um membro do nosso corpo, embora pareçam representar nosso coração. Eles são seres humanos que merecem viver e precisam ser preparados para a vida, mesmo que seja sem nós, mães.

Exclusivo PÚBLICO/Folha de S.Paulo

O PÚBLICO respeitou a composição do texto original, com exceção de algumas palavras ou expressões não usadas em português de Portugal.