Imperial Remains
A Critical Discourse Analysis of a Televised Retelling of
the Portuguese Colonial Period

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ABSTRACT

This research project articulates post-colonialism, collective memory and nostalgia and has as a primary focus the analysis of how present discourses of multiculturalism frame televised retellings of the Portuguese colonial period. The study employs Fairclough’s (1992; 1995) three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis, which is complemented by concepts stemming from theory of affects, in particular Tannock (1995)’s guideline for critical analysis of nostalgic texts. The media text in analysis is a sample of scenes from the 2013 drama series Depois do Adeus (‘After our Farewells’), broadcasted by the Portuguese state-owned public service broadcaster RTP (‘Rádio e Televisão de Portugal’). The analytical endeavour has shown that the present continues to represent Portuguese colonialism as lenient and benign, where social relations between the ‘colonizers’ and ‘colonized’ were harmonious, and therefore fails to engage in a critical dialogue of colonial legacies. In addition, the Portuguese nation continues to be represented as white and homogenous and where inclusion and exclusion of textual voices are themselves defined through the binary ‘white’/’black’. Televised retellings continue to struggle in critically engaging with historical texts and continue to perform a fetishized representation of the past.
INTRODUCTION

In a 2006 public lecture at LSE, Paul Gilroy suggested that in order to develop a durable and habitable ‘multiculture’ there was the need to move beyond the postcolonial melancholia that currently blockades attempts to work through the legacies of the ‘departed empire’ in relevant spheres, such as the social, cultural and psychological (Gilroy, 2006).

Beyond the Anglo-Saxon context, postcolonial melancholia seems to pervade former European colonial empires. Just three months ago, the culture section of the Portuguese daily newspaper Público exposed the lack of accessibility to heritage sites and museums for visual artists engaged in critical understandings of colonial legacies. Artist Vasco Araújo was prohibited from filming in Portugal dos Pequenitos¹ for an artwork, entitled ‘Parque Temático’, which sought to create a dialogue between the African sculptures that are held at the entrance of the pavilion for the former Portuguese colonies. In the words of the artist, the park reveals the ‘eurocentric and authoritarian’ look to others ‘as inferior and exotic’, which, in the light of the Lusotropical thesis, continues to feed into the idea of Portuguese colonialism as benign. According to Araújo, the refusal of the foundation responsible for the management of the park is ‘a reflection’ of how Portugal relates to its colonialist past (LUSA, 2016). Indeed, others had already highlighted the lack of willingness of the Portuguese State to openly discuss the topic of colonialism (Loff et al., 2014).

Today, Portugal engages in a number of geopolitical and cultural strategies directed towards the countries composing the former Portuguese empire. These have originated from conceptions of a Fifth Empire by Father António Vieira, who conceptualised a fifth civilisation led by the ‘Portuguese’, the ‘chosen people’, who would replenish the religious unity of the world, thus completing its mission to unite the peoples of the world (Ribeiro, 2004: 11). This is the sum of a religious attitude of tolerance that proposed the construction of a world of harmony and peace. Art and literature mobilised these ideologies, that are now supporting these contemporary formations around the ‘Portuguese language’, through works such as those of seminal poet Fernando Pessoa in A Mensagem and Livro do Dessassossego where he states: ‘A minha pátria é a Língua Portuguesa!’². These conceptions became muddled in the process of legitimation of the colonial experience, in particular when Gilberto Freyre’s (1933) exaltation of the civilising Portuguese mission through the theory of lusotropicalism was appropriated by Salazar’s dictatorship (Sebastião, 2016: 26–28).

¹ Theme park, consisting of miniature versions of Portuguese houses and monuments, and includes pavilions dedicated to the former Portuguese colonies.
Multicultural strategies at play today follow on these concepts of cultural commonality, highlighting instances of common identity, through history, geography and language, whilst at the same time emphasising the plurality of the Portuguese society (Almeida, 2006: 363). However, these efforts to highlight the diversity of Portuguese culture, and the harmonious relations in spite of it, is deeply anchored in the colonial process itself, in the myths of lusotropicalism and the Fifth Empire, which are the par excellence of racialized and racist constructions (Almeida, 2006: 363). In other words, as Fiskes (2009) states, the colonial subject today has become ‘Africanized’, recognised as different through its ethnicity and ‘race’, at the same time his/her commonality is emphasised through the linguistic supremacy of the Portuguese Language.

Consequently, the association between postcolonial melancholia and these new contemporary categories illustrate the urgent need for an increased consciousness of the power of colonial discourses and how it still permeates every aspect of contemporary life. In particular, there is a need to understand the role of culture and media in reinforcing the above, as many of these categories have themselves a strong cultural nucleus that has led to its ideological dissemination. In addition, the increase in the production of fictional historical dramas addressing the colonial period seems to also require an urgent attention to the ways in which conceptions such as collective memory and identity formation are associated with cultural processes of discursive reproduction (Burnay & Lopes, 2013). The main aspiration for this research project lies precisely in these preoccupations. Subsequently, this research project is mainly engaged in questions over present discourses of multiculturalism which follow from lusotropical myths, and how these are framed in televised retellings of past historical episodes. I employ Norman Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis in order to assess how these discursive formations are textually reproduced, an analysis which is complemented by concepts from the theory of affect in relation to understandings of nostalgia as a structure of feeling.

This paper is composed of several sections, which I will outline next. In the ‘Literature Review’, I explore the main arguments proposed by the literature on the link between racism and discourse, and critically assess key findings of the respective premises. In addition, I will show how this particular project relates to previous studies. This is followed by the exposition of the conceptual framework anchoring this research, and the enumeration of the research

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In English, ‘My Homeland is the Portuguese Language’.
questions. In the ‘Methodological Chapter’, I outline and justify the methodological approach in use and the sampling procedure. This is complemented with an exploration of the methodological limitations and the ethical implications underlying this project. In the ‘Results’ and ‘Discussion’ section, I provide a brief summary of the main findings of the analytical endeavour followed by a discussion on their articulation with the theoretical framework.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter aims to explore the theoretical link between television, discourse, memory and nostalgia within the Portuguese postcolonial context the articulation. It examines the role of fictional television in the construction of the social world, of culture’s shared meanings and collective identities and collective recollections, and its implications within relations of power. Furthermore, the chapter also examines how the use of nostalgic frames in fictional television has profound ramifications in the preservation of structures of domination and authority in the Portuguese postcolonial context.

The empire still stands... Multiculturalism as a present frame of Luso-tropicalism.

the present time is heir of too many unsolved problems, many of them 'hidden' by the hegemonic representation of Portuguese colonisation as lenient (Castro, 2004: 268).

The above epigraph puts forward one of the main arguments within the literature on racism, by claiming that colonial discourses are still constitutive of current representations of social groups and social relations. In the Portuguese context, scholars have made a similar effort in examining the ways in which lusotropicalism, as a colonial discourse, still retains an important role in contemporary constructions of racism and prejudice, and how it is disseminated culturally, ideologically, and politically (see e.g. Maeso & Araújo, 2010; Ribeiro, 2004; Vala et al., 2008; Almeida, 2006; Mata, 2006; Cabecinhas et al., 2006; Cabecinhas, 2002; Vieira, 2015; Monteiro, 2008; Ferreira, 2005; de Almeida, 2001).

The theory of lusotropicalism was first articulated by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1933; 1952) and it highlighted the positive effects to the Brazilian society of miscegenation processes. It refers to the perceived natural disposition of the Portuguese population for biological and cultural miscegenation with the people from the colonies, which would
eventually lead to the creation of a new and unique civilisation where ‘multiracial societies would be harmoniously integrated’ (Alexandre, 1999: 391–392). This ability was said to be characterised by the lack of racism and prejudice on the empire and by the benevolent and kind relationship established with the native population (Valentim, 2011). For an overview of the discursive origins, reproduction and legitimation from the scientific field, through ideology and its naturalisation in the everyday life, see Alexandre (1999; 2000), Castelo (1998) and Sapega (2008 for an emphasis on audio-visual and literary strategies).

According to Cabecinhas and Cunha (2003), this colonial discourse became, on one hand, the backbone of Portuguese national identity and nationhood, universally defined as the ability to adapt to other cultures; whilst, on the other hand, it highlighted its complexity and uniqueness, in opposition to the simplicity of being ‘black’. Therefore, lusotropicalism created an opposition between the heterogeneity of the Portuguese identity as complex and diverse, in contrast to the homogeneity of other cultures, in particular those that formerly constituted the Portuguese empire (Cabecinhas, 2002: 98).

Portuguese cinema (e.g. Cunha, 2003; Monteiro, 2008) and educational system (e.g. Cortesão & Pacheco, 1991) played a significant role in the dissemination of lusotropicalism, and therefore were considered crucial ideological tools. In addition, influential historians at the time started to publish a number of works on Portuguese identity that deployed many of the above ideals. See for example Dias’s (1950) *The Fundamental Elements of Portuguese Culture* and Leão’s (1960) *The Portuguese Enigma*.

The association between colonial discourse and nationalism follows similar Anglo-Saxon postmodern approaches and cultural studies perspectives (e.g. CCCS/Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1982; Hall, 1978; 1980; 1997; Gilroy, 2002; Westwood & Rattansi, 1994; Rattansi, 1994; Westwood, 1994; Bhabha, 1990; Said, 1994; 2003; 1986; Bauman, 1991) that emphasize the way collective identities, such as ethnicity, nationalism and racism, are the result of cultural politics of representation, ‘one which narratives, images, musical forms and popular culture more generally have a significant role (Rattansi, 1994: 74)’. Influenced by poststructuralist psychoanalytical scholars, such as Lacan and Kristeva, they see racism through sexuality, considering racism to be a response to ambivalent feelings of desire and fetishism towards the body of others (Fanon, 1986: 163–178; Wodak & Reisigl, 2007: 377).

Edward Said’s *Orientalism* ([1978] 2003) was foundational to the conceptualization of representations of ‘the Other’ and culture’s role in socially constructing them. Said, drawing
on Derrida’s deconstruction, Gramsci’s cultural hegemony and Foucault’s discourse and knowledge/power, introduces the term ‘the Other’ in order to highlight western’s fascination with the East/Orient. This representation of ‘the East’ is constructed through the systematic use of stereotypical images of the ‘Orient’ and ‘Orientalists’ in the media and cultural products more broadly. These reified and homogenising constructs set a dichotomy between the ‘West’ (i.e. the ‘Self’) characterised by rationality, civility, creativity and masculinity, against an ‘East’ (i.e. the ‘Other’) that was perceived as irrational, underdeveloped, despotic, passive, feminine and sexually corrupt. These images and stereotypes were designed to, consciously or unconsciously, preserve structures of domination and authority over the Orient.

An additional seminal thinker within this perspective is Homi Bhabha (1983a; 1983b), whom, echoing a number of critics of Said’s work, expands and problematizes the linearity between representations and object by arguing for ‘ambivalence’, in which the ‘otherness’ is at once an object of desire and derision (1983b: 19). Additionally, ‘fetishism’s irreconcilable logic’, in Young’s words (1990: 184), has important implications for agency, as albeit the colonial subject is ‘caught in the Imaginary as they are’ through this ambivalent fetishized logic, ‘these shifting positionalities’ have difficulty in threatening ‘the dominant power relations’, as the ambivalent categories are exercised ‘pleasurably and productively’ (Bhabha 1983a: 205).

Echoing similar calls for the need to historicize racism (see e.g. Shohat & Stam, 1996), Portuguese scholarship has moved towards a focus on the role of lusotropicalism in current forms of racism, and how it is enacted in state-sponsored policies/strategies and in popular culture (see e.g. Maeso & Araújo, 2010; Ribeiro, 2004; Vala et al., 2008; Almeida, 2006; Mata, 2006; Cabecinhas et al., 2006; Cabecinhas, 2002; Vieira, 2015; Monteiro, 2008; Ferreira, 2005; de Almeida, 2001).

According to Mata (2006), in the beginning of the 1990s Portugal began to see itself through a ‘multicultural stance’, where there is a continuation of the essentialization of ‘the Other’ and its perception as a different ethnocultural entity from those composing the nation. At the same time, the harmony of such diversity continues to be highlighted, in particular through a number of multicultural strategies that have led to the introduction of new categories through which the myth of lusotropicalism was allowed to reproduce: (i) PALOP (i.e. Portuguese Speaking Countries) became a euphemism for the former colonies; (ii) and ‘Lusophone/Lusofonia’ the linguistic link of commonality – i.e. Portuguese language - between the former colonies.
These geopolitical and cultural strategies that attempt to promote and accentuate instances of ‘common identity’ are argued to replicate the multiculturalism of lusotropicalism, as they avoid a critical engagement with linguistic legitimacy and ancestry, whilst at the same time producing a complete disregard to the political and economic processes that have originated such ‘commonality’ (Mendes & Ferreira, 2016). In addition, they create an ethnically determined difference, in which colonial subjects have now been ‘africanized’ through their skin colour and addressed as those from the PALOP’s, in particular in contexts of migration (Fikes, 2009).

Therefore, these ‘multicultural’ strategies are deeply ethnocentric ones, in which racial differences are determined by ethnic choices, in this case, skin colour, and which are culturally produce as ‘modes of identification and distinction’ from the national collective (Goldberg, 1993: 74–75). As Gilroy (2004) posits these geopolitical strategies are a ‘peaceful accommodation of otherness in relation to a fundamental commonality’ (p.3).

Moreover, this ‘multicultural’ stance in Portugal seems to lead to instances of ‘postcolonial melancholia’, as Gilroy (2004) terms it, in which colonial history and memory are whitewashed ‘in order to promote imperialist nostalgia or sanctified so that they endorse the novel forms of colonial rule currently being enforced’ (pp. 2-3). In other words, these conceptions follow the vision of a Fifth Empire linked through the cultural ex libris of the Portuguese language that would unite continents and lead to the final stages of progress. In turn, these conceptions of diversity, and harmony in spite of it, are anchored in the colonial process itself, and, therefore, on the process par excellence of racialised and racist constitution (Almeida, 2006: 363). These categories are historically constituted and seem to emphasise the imperial constitution of the Portuguese nation, in which the space of Lusofonia seems a yearning for a lusotropical society. This phenomenon, in its enthusiasm for ‘civilisationism’, leads precisely to ‘a comfortable racialized conception of geopolitics’, a danger that Gilroy had correctly envisioned (2004: 3).

Meanwhile, Mata (2006), recognising that conceptions of race and ethnicity are culturally produced, highlights how media and cultural products continue to illustrate this harmonizing aptitude and the exercise of what one assumes to be the agent of multicultural metamorphoses in debates, televised documentaries, writers’ salons on the ‘literature of others’, art exhibitions, radio programmes, etc.

In sum, in order to understand today’s racial prejudices and racist attitudes, there is a need to look to the ways in which colonial ideologies have become pervasive, as well as how these have informed the imaginary of the Portuguese nation as white and homogeneous (Maeso &
Araújo, 2010). In turn, the multicultural question suggests that the time of ‘difference’ is essential for genuine democratic spaces to come into fruition, however one needs to be careful not, in the anxiety to identify possible points of articulation, to emphasize the ineradicable need for this moment of différance (Hall, 2003: 87).

**Collective memory, language and social representations**

Social representations and Portuguese national identity have been mainly addressed in the literature through social identity theory, with a particular emphasis on collective and social memory (Cabecinhas *et al*., 2006; Cabecinhas & Abadia, 2013). These approaches emphasise the importance of socialization and group experience in the development of social categories, which are assumed to be necessary for the reduction of the complexity of the social world, as it helps to categorise what is unfamiliar (see for example Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1985).

The concept of collective memory, first theorised by Maurice Halbwachs (1925; 1968; 1992), allows for social groups to commemorate their past, in order to establish community boundaries, through membership and identity in opposition to others (see also Sturken, 1997; Zerubavel, 1995). Thus, the way national groups represent their history is fundamental in defining their own identity, and past representations determine how each group is positioned in the present and their strategies for the future (Cabecinhas *et al*. 2006). Hence, the systematic link between the concept of collective memory and social representations in the literature (see e.g. Jovchelotich, 2000; 2012; Jodelet, 1991; 2008; Moscovici, 1981; 2001a; 2001b).

Following a Durkheimian influence, Maurice Halbwachs ([1968] 1992) argued that memory, as images of a shared past, provides membership ties between the members of a certain group on the basis of a shared collective past conferring on it a perceived sense of immutability, and, at the same time, crystallising the values and renderings predominant in the group to which memories refer.

The concept of collective memory has been reformulated as social memory, in response to critiques of its social determinism and, therefore, as a way of overcoming the challenges of presuming both collective memory and group identity as static and coherent, thus, neglecting the dialogical and intertextual nature of the processes (Fentress & Wickham, 1992; Peralta, 2007).
Furthermore, collective memory\textsuperscript{3} is generally characterised as being a socio-political construct, as collective remembering is not evidence of an authentic and real shared past, rather the memories are put forward through a process of selection by particular agents of the respective community, according to its interests and self-image. Therefore, memory is negotiated by ever-changing power relations in the socio-political sphere (Edy, 2011).

Collective memory is also a continuous and multidirectional process, in the sense that it is ‘defined via an oppositional yet complementary movement from the present to the past and from the past to the present’ (Neiger, Meyers, \textit{et al.}, 2011: 4). In other words, the accumulation of memories from past experiences and social interactions form a complex personal knowledge system that shape the way we see the world and position ourselves within it, and, simultaneously, present images have the dynamical and contingent effect of guiding our reading of the past (Schudson, 1997; Zelizer, 1995: 221).

These floating images are materialised and concretized through physical structures and cultural artefacts such as commemorative rituals (Connerton, 1989), monuments (Young, 1993), historical museums (Katriel, 1997), educational textbooks (Soares & Jesuíno, 2004), and many more.

Empirical studies have shown how history is the most valued identity dimension in conceptions of Portuguese national identity (Miranda, 2006), and results from a number of studies reflect hegemonic representations of history. For example, they illustrate how representations of the discovery and colonization of Brazil raise consensually positive emotions in Portuguese, such as pride and fascination, denouncing the persistence of idealization of this period in the history of Portugal (see e.g. Sá \textit{et al.}, 2004; Vala & Saint-Maurice, 2004; Cabecinhas \textit{et al.}, 2006).

Furthermore, these processes of remembering and representations have an important linguistic foundation. Halbwachs ([1968] 1992) posits that language is ‘at the same time the most elementary and the most stable framework of collective memory’ (p.45). In other words, collective memory is an inherently mediated phenomenon, as collective memories can only exist through their discerned ongoing use and its articulation by various forms of public expression. Language is not only a trigger for recall, but also for identification and (re)classification of stored and present images; in short its how human being process, and

\textsuperscript{3} The following exploration will continue with the use of the same concept, but however retaining the inherent argument that memory is socially constructed.
articulate memory, and established shared knowledge (Moscovici, 2001a; Morigi et al., 2012).

Aforementioned, the literature indicates how the way individuals and societies remember and retell their past is crucial for the way identities and representations are formed, but also that these retellings/rememberings are functional and in play in a field of struggles of its mnemonic power. Therefore, these reveal pivotal questions in studies relating to memory, including who remembers, what is the context of memory, what does it oppose, what is forgotten, what is considered worthy of memorizing, what is the active role of memory in the present, and many others. In particular to media studies, memory studies can further textured questions of representation, socio-cultural power relations, and the role of narrativity in the process of the social construction of meaning (Neiger, Meyers, et al., 2011: 4).

Affectivity and Nostalgia

There has been a recent call for research to start prioritising analysis of embodied forms of knowledge apprehended by the senses, knowledge which could lead to new possibilities in engagements with politics of representation and identity formations (Chakrabarty, 2002; Massumi, 2002; 2010; Stewart, 2007). Therefore, it seems relevant for this project to invite analysis of the affective responses to nostalgia alongside perspectives on postcolonial studies and cultural memory studies, in order to understand how affect, as a form of knowledge production separate but still transversal to discourse and memory (Gregory & Witcomb, 2007: 263), ‘can be mobilised to produce new forms of historical understanding in contemporary audiences’ (Bachmann-Medick & Tygstrup, 2015: 17).

The study of affect is broadly preoccupied with a phenomenon that can colloquially be termed as ‘being moved’, and in function of the particular bodies (i.e. individual, collective or composite) being affected and their distinctive responses, what new possibilities for agency are produced or, alternatively, which affective factors are undermining them (Bachmann-Medick & Tygstrup, 2015: 14–15, 17).

Many studies on affect follow the suggestion made in Structure of Feeling by Raymond Williams’s (1977) of a third infrastructure – that of affectivity - for the analysis of social and material infrastructure. Williams was particularly interested in the phenomenon of lived experience and the layers of affect and feeling in the historical fabric of culture. Albeit that Williams did not provide an exhaustive explanation of affect as a concept, his work was suggestive for further research and gave a number of directives for analysis.
Similarly, Roland Barthes (1985) posits a ‘third meaning’ which, in contrast to semantic and symbolic meaning, works in a rather more imperceptive and arbitrary manner. This ‘third meaning’ works through semantic and symbolic signification, giving them density and texture as they move through bodies and the material world.

This understanding of affect as intensity and as a texturing agent is followed by a significant strand of theory of affects, which include Baruch Spinoza’s *Ethics* ([1677] 1989), later problematized by Gilles Deleuze in his *Spinoza: Practical Philosophy* (1988), which in turn has inspired additional work in affect studies, in particular that of Brian Massumi (e.g. 2002; 2010).

To this end, nostalgia has come to be understood as a widespread structure of feeling in Western modernity, and therefore should be understood in the larger historical, social and economic context alongside its aesthetic considerations (see e.g. Tannock, 1995; Pickering & Keightley, 2006; Atia & Davies, 2010).

Furthermore, critique of nostalgia tends to be divided into two main strands. On the one hand, some scholars tend to associate the phenomenology of nostalgia with a widespread structure of feeling that has been ‘appropriated and invested in by reactionary politics’ (Tannock, 1995, p.455) and, therefore, ‘nostalgia can be used for the political purpose of directing behaviour into approved roles and politics into approved ends of power’ (Combs, 1993: 28). Indeed, Doane & Hodges (1987) posit the link between memory and nostalgia as one of social amnesia, in which the longing for a more stable past may be conflated with a desire for a stable, traditional, and hierarchized society. Similarly, Raymond Williams (1975) writes on how the literary tradition of the pastoral idealizes and fantasizes feudal values, albeit obscuring or forgetting the oppressive regime that supported the social order (p.37) (cf. Jameson, 1991).

On the other hand, many others have conceptualized nostalgia in a more ambivalent manner, with the affective responses producing nostalgia allowing for a site of confrontation and critical awareness of the ‘lived experience’ (Niemeyer, 2014); and therefore can be argued to be a valuable way of approaching the past, important to all social groups (Tannock, 1995: 453).

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4 For an historical overview of the term nostalgia from is medico-discourse beginnings, which during the nineteenth century became de-medicalised, to today see e.g. Bolzinger (2007).
Tannock (1995), following Fred Davis in *Yearning for Yesterday* (1979), characterizes nostalgia as widespread structure of feeling, in which longing is based on continuity (either from a stable or unstable past) and a positing of discontinuity, working through a periodizing of emotion: ‘that was then, and this is now’. For the author, nostalgia has always two readings and therefore is inherently ambiguous. The importance lies on what is brought to the present and how the discontinuity is represented, whether by invoking the past, the nostalgic subject becomes involved in a loss of identity or lack of agency in the present, or alternatively, invocations of the past allow the nostalgic subject in a present oppressive context to maintain and reproduce its identity.

Following, nostalgia becomes a powerful mnemonic benchmark, as it helps individuals, collectives or composites, to actively (re)construct former selves and redefine both past and present selves. Thus, on one hand memory can be seen as the actual process of remembering the past, whilst, on the other hand, nostalgia is the affective and emotional component of remembering and, therefore, crucial for questions of identity formation (Wilson, 2005: 35).

Consequently, nostalgia, interpreted through affectivity, offers unique interpretations for memory studies (Atia & Davies, 2010: 181), in particular regarding the role of nostalgia on cultural production that attempt to retell/remember the past, and develop historical understanding (Niemeyer, 2014). For example, Gregory & Witcomb (2007) explore how heritage sites can be thought of as affective environments and have found how different spaces and, in turn, its distinctive affective responses changes imaginative engagement widely across sites: one reproducing dominant, hierarchized narratives, others a more disruptive response which is said to lead to a more critical awareness of the ambivalence of history.

Nevertheless, authors within the Portuguese context tend to have a more pessimistic view on the consequences of the affective responses producing nostalgia. For example, Paulo de Medeiros (2011), following Rosaldo (1989), posits that in the present Portuguese context cultural productions have been plagued with forms of ‘Imperialist Nostalgia’, where there is a paradoxical feeling of nostalgia for the same forces that have once constructed what has been destroyed by them. Furthermore, Vieira (2015) has found that Portuguese literature and cinema production after 1974 have followed themes ranging from colonial nostalgia, the trauma of the Colonial War, and the loss of the empire, but that struggle with the task of ‘decolonizing the mind’ and struggle to avoid a fetishized representations of its former empire (Vieira, 2015: 284).
The role of Media: Television, Discourse, Memory and Nostalgia

Media has a paramount role in the circulation and constitution of cultures’ shared meanings, and, hence, has an important engagement in questions of collective identities (Hall, 1997). In this day and age where media pervades almost every aspect of everyday life, mediating most of our social interactions with the different spheres of society, it becomes pivotal to understand the spectacle as an active component of the construction of our social world and the way individuals position themselves against others (Couldry, 2000: 3–7).

Stuart Hall (1997) theorised that the construction of collective identities is achieved through processes of differentiation in an oppositional relation to other identities. In other words, collective identities are constructed through the formation of classificatory systems mainly articulated by a incessant ‘boundary work’ where the reproduction of sameness and difference operates (Silverstone, 2007: 19).

Accordingly, scholars have highlighted two levels by which media marks these symbolic boundaries: binary oppositions and stereotypes (see e.g. Silverstone, 1999; Orgad, 2012). On one hand, media constructs meanings through its opposite, representing the world in dialogical positions, in turn defining who is considered to be an ‘outsider’ in relation to an ‘insider’ (Woodward, 1997: 33). On the other hand, media tends to overly simplify characteristics and traits that in turn can be widely recognised, and ‘that stereotypically contributes to the symbolic construction and reproduction of the “Other”’ (Orgad, 2012: 30).

Furthermore, these binary oppositions and stereotypes are not void of hierarchical constructions of social order, as they are embedded in the milieu of power relations, and, therefore, contribute to the reproduction of marginalisation and subordination (pp.33-34). In addition, these hierarchical and social constructed realities are exacerbated by the media’s construction of reality as factual and credible (Couldry, 2000: 4).

Nostalgia in the media ought to be understood within the increasing trend of nostalgic logic practices by corporations that has created ‘a past-centered consumer unwilling to relinquish lost media objects’ (Lizardi, 2015: 6), through a systematic focusing of its gaze on the past (Wasko, 2008).

Accordingly, this particular nostalgic logic is exposed in the literature as presentist and self-perpetuating (see e.g. Žižek, 1992; Jameson, 1991; Hughes-Warrington, 2007; Sorlin, 1980).
Following Laclan’s (1977) psychoanalytical concepts of mirror stage and drive stage, contemporary media texts are believed to appeal, through affective connections, to contemporary structures of feeling, contained within historical representations (Lizardi, 2015: 19, 23), that mirror a simpler ‘reality’ that in fact never existed. The denial of this meaningful past leads to a constant pursuit of an affective remedy in the consumption of a ready-made past (Boym, 2001), and an incessant drive to recreate the unattainable media-defined past (Mulvey, 2006: 345). In other words, media creates viewers and players who fiercely maintain connections to their individual mediated past (Boym, 2001). Therefore, risking a complete conflation of past and present that can lead to a perpetual reaffirmation the dominant ideologies of today (Jameson, 1991), as ‘consumers are trained to avoid looking at the present, therefore benefiting those who are dominant in contemporary power structures, while making current goals seem “natural” and “unchanging” (Lizardi, 2015: 18’.

Moreover, media has a pivotal role for collective memories, as their presence can only be discerned through their systematic public articulation. In other words, collective memories are an inherently mediated phenomenon, which does not exist in abstract, but rather through public expressions such as rituals, ceremonial commemorations and mass media texts (Neiger, Meyers, et al., 2011: 3). Therefore, the media have a decisive role in shaping current collective recollections through their structure and form (see e.g. Huysken, 2000; Edy, 1999; Neiger, Mayers, et al., 2011) and their implication of social constructions of nationality, identity, social groups (see e.g. Castelló, 2007; Ben-Amos & Bourdon, 2011; Price, 1995; Edgerton, 2001; Moss, 2008; Wheatley, 2007; Anderson, 1983).

The process of shaping mnemonic signifiers is paralleled in the literature to decision-making dynamics over the events that are perceived to be salient, in contrast to those that are dismissed, and how, through a storyline, they are infused with social morals and lessons (Neiger, Meyers, et al., 2011: 5). Thus, collective memory is confrontational and it involves political, cultural, and sociological struggles and conflicts, in which different mnemonic agents compete over relevant readings of the past in the public arena (Sturken, 1997). Hence, media in on one hand is perceived as a platform where these socio-cultural struggles play out; on the other hand, media is itself a mnemonic agent with particular mnemonic interests, that seeks to establish itself as, in the words of Neiger, Meyers and Zandberg (2011), an authoritative story teller of the past (p.6).

Consequently, media and memory also are articulated at the level of ‘musealisation’, using Huyssen’s (2000) term. ‘Musealisation’ refers to the redefinition of objects in the museum, that losing their initial value they simply become signs of it (Bohn, 2007: 145). Specifically,
media acts has the creator of certain milestones of the past, that are stabilized and (re)referred to throughout time (Laffond, 2011), becoming recognizable symbols of the past that can be understood from the present (Huysssen, 1995: 25–27; Sherry, 2003: 313). This process in television tends to be materialized through reiteration, emphasis and simplification of historical events (Laffond, 2011: 176).

Frosh (2011) highlights television’s capacity to form a simulacrum of memory, to be materialized into a concrete, shared audio-visual ‘now’ in a central spatial location that is connected to everyone (p.128). In other words, television allows for the centralization of this nucleus of remembering, as audiences act synchronously, through the audio-visual simulacrum, gathering them together as a collective in the reimagining of a past shared in and through television (ibid.). This ‘ghost effect’, as Rotman (2007) puts it, allows television to underpin ‘the diversity that appears in intuitive spatial and temporal forms’ (Stiegler, 2003: 6).

**CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

This research project is grounded on the articulation between post-colonialism, collective memory and nostalgia, with a focus on the analysis of how present discourses of multiculturalism frame televised retellings of past historical episodes of the Portuguese colonial period.

In the present context, the Portuguese postcolonial context seems to be saturated with the mystifying discourses of lenience of the Portuguese colonial experience and the socially harmonious quality of the Portuguese population to different cultures. Portugal continues to see itself through multicultural lenses, in which there is an attempt to promote the notion of common identity with ‘former colonies’, but at the same time neglecting the political and economic processes of exploitation that led to this. In turn, there continues to be the perception of the other as a different ethnocultural entity from the nation, which is represent as white and homogenous (see e.g. Maeso & Araújo, 2010; Ribeiro, 2004; Vala et al., 2008; Almeida, 2006; Mata, 2006; Cabecinhas et al., 2006; Cabecinhas, 2002; Vieira, 2015; Monteiro, 2008; Ferreira, 2005; de Almeida, 2001). Although some literary and film studies have made an attempt to address these discursive and ideological formations, there seems to be a complete lacuna of empirical studies that solely focus on the presence of these discursive formations in popular culture today. Indeed, racism seems to have been a focus of fields such
as social psychology studies and studies that followed a prejudice perspective, rather than historicize racism (Maeso & Araújo, 2010).

Furthermore, studies have shown how collective memory has a fundamental role in constructions of nationalism, group identity and social representations (Neiger, Mayers, et al., 2011; Cabecinhas et al., 2006). Indeed, the historical past is perceived as a crucial nucleus of Portuguese national identity (Miranda, 2006). Thus, there is a need to understand how this past is remembered and how is it framed from the present. As argued above, collective memory is a socio-political construct, in which memories are constructed through processes of selection, by particular agents of the community according to its interests and perceptions of self-image (Edy, 2011). In turn, this is particularly relevant today as there is an increased interest in fictional productions that attempt a historical retelling, within a context that is already constructed and saturated with nostalgic products and objects (Lizardi, 2015; Wasko, 2008; Burnay & Lopes, 2013). Therefore, there is a need to understand the ways in which we are seeing the past from the present context. Taking into consideration the fact that Portuguese conceptualization of multiculturalism are inherently linked to the myth of lusotropicalism, there is an urgent need to understand how media texts frame past events and how the process of selection and ‘elimination’ might construe these episodes through a lusotropical and multicultural lenses.

In addition, it seems that Portuguese literature and cinema production after 1974 that addresses the colonial period struggle to avoid a fetishized representations of its former empire (Vieira, 2015: 284). Is there a similar trend of these frames in television retellings? Or, does a nostalgic structure of feeling in television allow for new possibilities of agency and critical edge in interpretations of what is considered to be Portuguese collective past? Affect is defined in this project as intensity and as a texturing agent that allows for forms of knowledge production separate but still transversal to discourse and memory (Williams, 1973; Tannock, 1995). Does this allow for new interpretations of the discursive formations present in the historical retellings? What are the possible affective responses and how these contribute to the instances of discrimination?

**RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

Accordingly, this research project has the primary objective of analysing the way present discourses of multiculturalism, which follow from lusotropical myths, are framed in televised retellings of past historical episodes.
This research is set to make an important contribution to the studies as it fills the lacuna of empirical studies that have, as their main focus, these discursive formations in popular culture today and that have their object of analysis in television studies. Moreover, racism in Portuguese academia seems to have been a focus of fields such as social psychology studies and seem to follow a prejudice perspective, rather than historicize racism.

To do so it addresses the following research question:

(1) How are present discourses of multiculturalism framing retellings of past historical episodes?

In order to answer this question, the following supplementary questions will be addressed:

- In what ways are the different social groups and relations represented in contemporary televised retellings, and are they reinforcing or subverting discursive frames of lusotropicalism?

- In what ways is the colonial experience represented in contemporary televised retellings, and are they reinforcing or subverting discursive frames of lusotropicalism?

- What is the mnemonic role of contemporary televised retellings in reinforcing or subverting discursive frames of lusotropicalism?

- What is the role of nostalgia, as a structure of feeling, playing in reinforcing or subverting discursive frames of lusotropicalism?

**METHODOLOGICAL CHAPTER**

This chapter outlines the methodological approach chosen and its suitability for the study of the phenomena in exploration in this study, followed by an overview of the sampling procedure. In addition, the chapter explores the methodological limitations and the ethical implications underlying this project.
Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis, henceforth CDA, has the fundamental role of uncovering the ways in which ‘abuses of power, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted through written and spoken words in a social and political context’ (van Dijk, 2001: 352).

In that regard, this methodological tool seems suitable for this particular research project, as they seem to be conceptually compatible. Specifically, this project takes as its principal aim the uncovering of the way present discourses of multiculturalism, founded in lusotropical myths, are framed in televised retellings of past historical episodes and how these have reproduced racist categorizations. Similarly, Fiske (1987) defines ‘discourse as a language or system of representation that is developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings about an important topic area’ (p.14). Hence, CDA allows the researcher to understand the role of present discourses of multiculturalism as a ‘concrete realization of [these] abstract forms of knowledge-discourse’ (Lemke, 1995, cited in Wodak et al., 2001: 6). In addition, CDA sees texts ‘as sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourse and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance’ (Weiss & Wodak, 2003: p.15). In turn, this seems compatible with the idea that collective memories are not only an inherently mediated phenomenon through language, either spoken or written, but also a platform where these socio-cultural struggles over mnemonic interests play out.

A methodological pilot on a preliminary application of Norman’s Fairclough’s CDA (1992; 1995; 2001; 2003; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) on a smaller sample utilized for this final research project indicated the suitability of the framework. Following, this methodological approach, above others, allows the analyst to take a critical position over the power structures of society, and not simply make descriptive observations of the discursive practice. Moreover, as argued above, CDA presents discourse (text, talk and other semiological systems) as one moment of social practice that is in a dialectical relationship with other non-discursive dimensions of social practice; in contrast for example to Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory which sees the world as fully discursively constituted (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002: 19). Lastly, unlike discursive psychology, which takes as its analytical focus social interaction, and Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory, which is interested in how discourses limit our possibilities for action, CDA is more in line with Barthes’ slogan that ‘people are both masters and slaves of language’ (cited in Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002: 17).

In order to trace the multiple dimensions of discourse, I employ Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional model (1995), which I will discuss further below.
Methodological Limitations

Despite the overall suitability of this approach to the research questions, CDA suffers from a number of limitations that might jeopardize the validity of the ensuing analysis and discussion. On one hand, CDA requires the employment of a detailed micro-linguistic analysis to texts and the systematic language use, which can be time consuming and unfeasible to large corpus. On the other hand, the lack of standard guidelines for textual analysis may prove replicability difficult (Mengibar & County, 2015: 44).

In addition, the implementation of CDA also encompasses a number of issues relating to transcription and translation. Transcription is in itself a theory, using Ochs’s (1979) words, and involves interpretation of the spoken word. In turn, this process becomes more entangled as CDA requires a detailed micro-linguistic analysis, and therefore it is necessary to use detailed systems of transcription (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 80–81).

Furthermore, CDA has also been called upon for its tendency ‘to analyse pictures as if they were linguistic texts’ (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 61), thus this project would have benefitted from an audio-visual analysis, as these additional dimensions are of tremendous importance in the uncovering of systematic inequalities in the social realm.

Moreover, as posited in the literature review there is a need for analysis of embodied forms of knowledge apprehended by the senses (Chakrabarty, 2002; Massumi, 2002; 2010; Stewart, 2007). Therefore, it seems relevant for this project to invite methodological concepts of affectivity, such as analysis of nostalgic constructions as a complement to discourse and memory formation.

On a final note, CDA’s limitations also stem from a neglect of audience reception. Albeit drawing suggestions on what certain representations invite the audience to conclude, its link to whether the audience reaches those same conclusions is not fully addressed. Supplemental methods, such as interviews and focus groups, would mitigate this particular limitation (Fairclough, 1995: 31), however this research project suffers from time and space constraints that do not allow for further inquiry.

Ethical Implications

Regarding the ethical implications of this project, the analyst recognises that the analysis being performed and herself are embedded within and constituted by the very textual
practices that it attempts to be analysed. Nevertheless, the researcher should never neglect the critical stance that this methodological approach requires (Rose, 2007: 222).

Having these in mind, the researcher discloses that she has Portuguese nationality, grew up embedded in a society that reproduces many of the historical narratives and social practices discussed above. Perhaps, more worryingly the researcher has a family history associated with the colonial experience, as her maternal grandfather was stationed throughout the empire as a navy officer and her mother was raised in Cape Verde and East Timor. The background described here may open this study to accusation of being illegitimately rewriting the history of the minority group in question, as bell hooks (1990: 343) warns: ‘Re-writing you, I write myself anew. I am still author, authority. I am still [the] colonizer, the speaking subject, and you are now at the center of my talk.’

To mitigate this prospective accusation, I have justified the choice of each methodological decision, ranging from the choice of my conceptual framework, to sample selection and through the operationalization of my analysis. In the end, these steps will hopefully allow the analysis to be as transparent as possible equally to allow an essential distance from the preconceived knowledge systems the researcher is embedded. On a final note, this research has also received ethical approval from the department.

**Sampling**

This research project follows an analysis on a sample of texts transcribed from the drama series *Depois do Adeus* (‘After our Farewells’), which in its totality comprises 26 episodes with an average length of 45 minutes each, and was broadcasted in 2013 by the state-owned public service broadcaster RTP (‘Rádio e Televisão de Portugal’). A summary of the plot, from the official programme’s website, is available on Appendix #1.

Due to the nature of the methodological approach in use here and, therefore, to retain the quality of the analysis and project, a sample had to be chosen amongst the 26 episodes. Following the gathering of the available episodes for public access, 19 episodes were collected, and I have chosen a number of scenes that fulfil at least one of the following selection criteria:

- The scene makes a characterisation of those considered to be ‘the Other’, in this case the native population of Angola;
- The scene makes a characterisation of the population of expatriates who lived in Angola;
- The scene makes a characterisation of the population in the ‘metrópole’ / ‘metropolis’;
• The scene alludes to the nature of the social relationship between the colonisers and the colonised;

• The scene makes a characterisation of the site of the colonial experience, in this case Angola;

• The scene alludes to feelings of nostalgia, to the feeling of ‘saudade’.

For the purpose of the analysis, this media text was transcribed from its original audio-visual format to text, followed by its translation into English. The author took particular care in the transcription to accurately punctuate and intonate the extracts; and in translating in order to retain the semantic, grammatical and lexical relations from the original Portuguese text, which was used for the analysis. The extracts are included on Appendix #4.

**Analytical Framework**

As previously mentioned, the research project follows Fairclough’s (1992; 1995) three-dimensional model of analysis. The first dimension of the model focuses on textual analysis, which is mainly based on Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics (1989). This particular framework of analysis takes a particular emphasis on the semantic, grammatical and lexical relations, and processes of transitivity (Hopper & Thompson, 1980: 251), and modality (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 84; Fairclough, 2003: 38, 158). In addition, this level of analysis also takes a particular focus on how different lexical maps relate to ‘ideologically different systems of classification’ (Fairclough, 1992: 28). In mediation between the textual and the wider social and political matrix (Fairclough, 2003: 38), the second level of analysis focuses on genres, discourses and styles. In particular, the analyses looks at intertextuality (Fairclough, 1995: 117) and interdiscursivity (p.56). Finally, the last dimension as implicitly mentioned above aims ‘to map the partly non-discursive, social and cultural relations, and structures that constitute the wider context of the discursive practice - the social matrix of discourse’ (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 86).

However, these distinction are not so straightforward and tend to merge (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999), thus the succeeding analysis takes a holistic approach in its presentation. The analysis will also be complemented by concepts stemming from theory of affects, in particular I will follow Tannock (1995) framework for critical analysis of nostalgic texts.
RESULTS

The annotation and analysis performed in this research project is exemplified in Appendix #3. Due to space constraints, the extracts included in Appendix #4 are not the totality of the analysis undertaken, thus the appendix solely includes the extracts quoted in the following discussion, with their respective translation. In addition, all excerpts are referenced, for ease of navigation through the analysis, in the following manner: (episode number: extract number [line number]).

Following, the analysis performed yielded a number of interesting findings, in particular in relation to lexical use. Table 1 and 2 show brief lexical maps used to describe a number of different social groups and the site of colonial experience, respectively. Albeit not visible in the tables, the lexical chains become quite revealing once the individuals enunciating them are considered, and, thus, the groups to which they are positioned to belong. Moreover, ‘Angola’ is categorized differently in two separate temporal dimensions, past and present, with different connotations each. Finally, the media text reveals interesting instances of intertextuality and interdiscursivity that attempt on one hand to establish triggers of biographical memories, whilst, on the other hand, the legitimization of the fictional historical narrative as credible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native population of Angola</th>
<th>Characters in Lisbon</th>
<th>Expatriates in Angola</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘pretos’ / ‘blacks’</td>
<td>‘mesquinhos’ / ‘petty’</td>
<td>‘brancos’ / ‘whites’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘macacos’ / ‘macacos’</td>
<td>‘matumba’ / ‘stupid’</td>
<td>‘returnados’ / ‘returnees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘malditos’ / ‘damned’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘refugiados’ / ‘refugees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘selvagens’ / ‘savages’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘galdéria’ / ‘whore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘angolanos’ / ‘angolans’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘parasitas’ / ‘parasites’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1* - Lexical map by different social groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Angola before the escalation of violence</th>
<th>Angola after the escalation of violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘grande’ / ‘great’</td>
<td>‘colónia’ / ‘colony’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rica’ / ‘rich’</td>
<td>‘pantanas’ / ‘chaotic’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Due to the holistic approach inherent to this methodology, the full results of the analytical endeavour are articulated in relation to the discussion section, which promptly follows.

**DISCUSSION**

The following section provides an articulation between the main findings of the analytical endeavour and the themes presented throughout the theoretical framework.

**Refugee vs. Returnee**

The analysis revealed a systematic conflict between the manner of self-identification of expatriates in Angola, now having to return to Portugal, and the manner in which those from the ‘metrópole’ / ‘metropolis’ identify them. Specifically, the text frames an opposition between representations of the group as refugees versus returnees, in particular through contrastive semantic relations between both sentences and clauses (e.g. ep. 2: 3[1-2]).

These contrastive semantic relations in the text reveal a site of difference (Fairclough, 2003: 88) and more broadly are part of the continuous social process of classification of equivalence and difference between objects, entities, groups of people, etc., that, as previously argued, the media has a predominant role (Woodward, 1997). These textual relations are important as they reveal and help shape the way people think and act as social agents through ‘logics of equivalence’ and ‘logics of difference’ (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985).

The establishment of difference is also materialized through the use of epistemic statements of a high degree of affinity by the Mendonça family members, in negation to their identification as returnee, followed by their self-identification as refugee. The justification of such negation is performed through the recourse of rationalisation strategies and materialised in the following manner: ‘I was not born in Lisbon, I was born in Luanda’, therefore ‘I should be referred to as a refugee and not a returnee’ (e.g. ep. 2: 3). Indeed, the text alludes solely to legitimisation by rationalisation, in contrast to more moral evaluations of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘terra desenvolvida’ / ‘developed land’</th>
<th>‘Ultramar’ / ‘Overseas’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘colónia’ / ‘colony’</td>
<td>‘selva’ / ‘jungle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘África’ / ‘Africa’</td>
<td>‘África’ / ‘Africa’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2 - Lexical map by site of colonial experience*
their status. Habermas (1986) sees this trend as an outcome of modernisation’s separation of instrumentality and morality in specialised system.

Still in regards to textual processes of classification, the representation of those who have fled Angola, referred to as ‘returnees’, is made in a pejorative sense, as the lexicon is used as an interjection in exclamative sentences (e.g. ‘look, it’s the returnee!’, in ep. 2: 3 [1]) and in evaluative statements through which the lexical choice performs a negative characterization of this group (e.g. ‘returnees [female] are all the same’, in ep. 15: 1[3]).

Furthermore, this conflict is underlined by questions of national identity. In other words, the text is not only infused by an on-going process of self-identification of being a refugee, but also this process is intensified by claims that this group of citizens have Portuguese nationality and therefore their rights should be guaranteed (e.g. ‘I am a Portuguese citizen! I have my rights, I and my family!’ (ep. 4: 2[5])). An additional relevant feature is the textual development made by the character Cidália, that, starting in the televised drama by identifying those in exile as ‘returnees’, moves along the text towards an identification of the group as ‘refugees’. The statement made in extract 4 of episode 6 that the brother of Natália is amongst those who came back articulates a process of reasoning that is embedded throughout this knowledge-exchange, and which integrates the ‘us’ and ‘them’ within the same category - i.e. ‘Portuguese’.

In addition, this boundary work has another layer of complexity as it seems that the text is determining who is ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ the Portuguese nation (Woodward, 1997), mainly through the establishment of difference in function of ethnicity, and, in this case, skin colour. For example, right in the beginning of this televised retelling, the following statement was enunciated by one member of the Mendonça family: ‘We are white, but we are Angolans’ (ep.1: 2 [7]). At a later stage in the text, the same character makes the following statement: ‘I am a Portuguese citizen! I have my rights, I and my family!’ (ep. 4: 2[5]). Hence, the text seems to be highlighting the naturalization of the belief that membership in the nation is equal to the individual’s skin colour. In other words, the first statement is making an opposition to the common belief that skin colour defines someone’s nationality, thus the contradiction that in spite of being ‘white’, the speaker is ‘Angolan’. Nevertheless, the latter excerpt then contradicts the previous statement, as in the end they were Portuguese and not Angolan, and that not only in Portugal but also in Angola these classificatory values of whom belongs to which nation have clear ethnic boundaries. The Mendonça family, in the end, is positioned within the Portuguese nation by Dona Cidália, as discussed above.
In turn, this textual characteristic seems particularly pertinent and consistent to the current boundary formations in the Portuguese society, in which its citizenship is enacted through the encounter of individuals from the PALOPs (Fikes, 2009), that in spite of their official national status they are regarded as migrants from the PALOPs due to their ethnicity, and therefore lie ‘outside’ what is considered to be the nation. A nation which continues to be represented as white and homogenous (Mata, 2006), an ethnic boundary which the text seems to be enacting. This will become clearer in relation to representations of the ‘Other’ discussed below.

The ‘Other’ in ‘After our Farewells’

The text is constructing the representations of three different groups - the colonizers in Lisbon, the expatriates living in Angola and the native population of the Portuguese former colonies -, in a complex relation as illustrated in the following diagram (See Figure 1). Figure 1 shows a complex interplay between two groups that can be perceived as ‘the Other’, meaning that the representation of the native population of the Portuguese former colonies and the expatriates who fled Angola are both constructed as an ‘outside’ group from those in the ‘metrópole’/‘metropolis’.

![Figure 1 – Diagram of the interplay of social representations of groups in ‘After our Farewells’.](image)

The characters representing the group of expatriates from Angola tend to describe the native population as ‘pretos’/‘blacks’ (ep. 1: 2 [4]), ‘macacos’/‘monkeys’ (ep. 1: 3 [4]), ‘malditos’/‘damned’ (ep. 1: 3 [4]). For example, in the scene disclosing the death of the Mendonça’s family servants back in Angola, there is the use of an exclamative sentence in parallel with the lexical use of the word ‘bando’/‘pack’ and ‘selvagem’/‘savages’. The use of animal-related lexicons intensifies the pejorative connotations made both by the lexical choice and the
exclamation and it can be perceived as a depersonalisation of the social actors in evaluation. Similarly, the adjective ‘savages’ (ep. 3: i[16-18]) is layered in intertextuality and interdiscursivity and, therefore, suffused by other texts and discourses particularly those in racial theory (Young, 1994: 6). In other words, it is associated with what I term in the diagram ‘White Mythologies’, meaning the representation of the ‘colonized peoples’ as ‘big children’, infantile, less intelligent, underdeveloped, wild, violent, irrational and sexually corrupt, where there is a reification of their image through the silencing of their voices and the salience of the exotic and sensual body (see e.g. Cunha, 2001- overview of their discursive origins in Portugal).

Furthermore, these categorisations are not specifically identified, due to the use of personal pronouns, making interpretation ambiguous and arbitrary in certain contexts. For example, when Joana states ‘they arrive, kill, steal, violate ... take people with them’ (ep.4: i[1]), the actions being stated are established towards an undefined subject, ‘eles’/’them’, which can fleetingly be interpreted as Angolans, but cannot be precisely determined. This is politically and socially significant as these instances of generic identification, as Fairclough (2003: 146) terms them, reveal the continuous the homogenization of the group being characterized, as it produces a generalization of the characterization to the whole group of ‘Angolans’ and ‘blacks’, the latter due to the binary opposition at play.

According to Bakhtin’s (1981; 1986a; 1986b) view on language, all texts are dialogical, as they have different ‘voices’ that are in interaction with each other, and which texts can assume different orientations to it – i.e. from more dialogical to less dialogical. It sets textually instances of social difference of inclusion and exclusion in the meaning process of the text. Subsequently, the prevalence throughout the media text of characters representing individuals native to the ‘colonies’ within activity-exchange reveals an exclusion of dialogicality and difference. For example, in episode 1 (extract 1, line 1 and 2) there is an instance of activity-exchange, where the character Mica orders Preciosa to place two more plates on the table. The use of a rather imperative sentence types, establishes therefore a grammatical mood (ponha is in the third person imperative verb tense), which manifests a hierarchical difference between the characters and a distance between employer and labour. Additionally, throughout the text of the first episode, characters, whom are ‘black’ and ‘Angolan’, seem to be textually represented in servant roles manifested by the use of activity-exchange and the use of the imperative verb tense.

As Fairclough (2003: 42) notes, these strategies lead to an acceptance of differences of power which suppresses conflict and dialogue over meaning and norms with this particular minority
group in the text. As shown in Figure 1, the text reveals no interaction between the group named ‘colonised peoples’ and the group ‘expatriates’, as we have a number of assumptions that are not politicised, i.e. the way this group is represented is not followed by disruptions or some other form of attrition. Therefore, the fact that these actors prevail solely within activity-exchange, i.e. their participation is limited to events and, hence, they do not contribute to any type of representational construction, further contributes to this type of orientation of difference towards an acceptance of the established power structures.

However, social interaction between the group of ‘expatriates’ and the individuals of the ‘metrópole’ seem to enact a more dialogical relation in the text. The characters in the drama series that represent the Portuguese population in the mainland tend to represent ‘returnees’ through assumptions and ready-made judgments that were reproduced in colonial discourse. For example, the text creates a conflict between totalizing generalizations of ‘returnees’ being ‘full of diseases’ (ep. 2: 7[3-7]), parasites that are ‘stealing jobs in Portugal’, that ‘have bad habits’ (ep.5: 1[4]) and ‘bad faith’ (ep. 8: 3[2]), and therefore belonging in the ‘jungle’ (ep. 3: 4[2]). These tend to be immediately refuted in the many knowledge-exchanges throughout the text by the Mendonça’s through the recourse of rationalisation strategies or through the evaluation of the ignorance of these constructed and imposed categorizations. For example, following the generalization of ‘returnees’ as being ‘full of diseases’ made by the speakers’ mother, now presented in indirect speech, the listener classifies her through the adjective ‘matumba’ (ep. 2: 7[3-7]), meaning ‘stupid’ in the Angolan dialect.

This discursive aspect is particularly explicit in the social construction of the female ‘returnee’, in which its overtly derogative representation is materialized through the use of adjectives such as ‘galdéria’/’whore’ (ep. 15: 1[3-4]), particularly used in relation to the clothing habits of ‘female returnees’ - i.e. ‘usa as saias até aqui’/’high waisted skirts’ -, and its generalisation implied in the statement ‘as retornadas sao todas iguais’/’the returnees are all the same’ and ‘how they are an easy catch’ (ep. 6: 2[5]). There is an attempt to disrupt such assumptions with the use of irony in order to convey contempt. For example, the lexical chain constructed in line 6, of extract 3 episode 14 - ‘mato’/’jungle’, ‘não tenho educação’/’no education’, ‘perco a cabeça’/’I will loose my composure’- makes reference to the construction of ‘blackness’ and ‘Africa’ as a uncivilized place, a jungle, where violence is primitive. In this case, this social interaction becomes meaningful, as there an active negotiation of differences in the text (Giddens, 1993) and a co-presence in the text of the voices from these two groups (Bakhtin, 1981; Ivanič, 1998; Wertsch, 1991).
As a final note I would like to highlight the social interaction and representations made by the members of the Mendonça’s family in regards to the minority group in question. Following, there is an almost complete absence of derogative lexicons with the exception of the scene depicting the family moving to a refugee accommodation in a hostel and the youngest son, recognising all surrounding individuals in the dorm room, makes the exclamation that ‘they are all black’ (ep. 17: 1[1-2]). In turn, the Mendonça family textually seems to predominantly have a more fetishized gaze in their assumptions of the ‘Other’, such as the desire for the greater resilience of the African population (ep. 18: 3[1]). Therefore, textually this achieves a distancing between the members of the family and those whom compose the group of expatriates, to which they belong. Despite this distance, they continue to reify the ‘native population’ through their gaze of fascination.

Subsequently, the text seems to be establishing them as constitutive of moral order, by positioning the family away from representing the native population through colonialist knowledge system and by establishing the family with the crucial role of disrupting these same assumptions made towards them by the group from the ‘metrópole’ (Fairclough 2003, pp.41– 42). In other words, the text seems to be making an analogy of the family as individuals beyond their time, belonging to the present (now), in comparison to other characters. They establish the moral compass of the story and they help to textually disrupt racist knowledge systems, whilst seemingly admiring the resilience and quality of ‘native population’, showing a harmonious relation to those from other cultures and their peaceful capacity to accommodate otherness.

Alongside current multicultural strategies, the text continues to place as ‘outsiders’ individuals from the Portuguese former colonies due to its process of reification through the family’s gaze of fascination of the native’s body, as well as the latter’s lack of voice in the text. In addition, the construction of difference through ethnicity made by the opposition ‘white’/’black’, in conjunction with the fact that those throughout the text are characterised as ‘Angolans’ and ‘blacks’ seem to remain excluded in processes of categorisation and negotiation of meaning further problematizes the above. This comes in parallel with similar claims that in socio-political life colonial subjects have now been ‘africanized’ through their skin colour, regardless of their citizenship status (Fikes, 2009). Therefore, the text reveals the same salience of difference through skin colour, without giving the group in question a textual voice.
A mythical Angola: ‘Our Angola has died’

The nostalgic structure of feeling in this text has led to the mystification of a past Angola that neglects the extent to which the decline or the fall of this past is caused by pressures and forces internal to the ‘the utopian world itself’ (Williams, 1973: 96–107).

Following, the text constructs two different representations of ‘Angola’, one from the past and one from the present, where the latter establishes a discontinuity, caused by a fatal fall. ‘Angola’ as a pre-lapsarian world is described as ‘a place where everything that is loved lies’, ‘where everything was great, and so perfect’ (ep. 3: 2[7]), through a lexical chain of terms such as ‘grande’/‘great’ and ‘rica’/‘rich’ (ep. 1: 2 [3]), and the use declarative sentences with a high degree of affinity. In addition, the text uses a number of sensorial triggers to evoke this utopian world – e.g. ‘do cacimbo, dos cheiros’ (ep. 16: 1[6]). In other words, this particular media text seems to be simplifying a past site where all was right, harmonious and stable, and where adversity and hardship were non-existent.

Furthermore, this perfect Golden Age that the present ought to be (e.g. ‘I would give everything to be in Luanda and for everything to be same as it were before’ (ep. 3: 2[3])), is disrupted by forces that are framed to be external to a previously stable utopian system. These forces, perceived as the fall of the Portuguese dictatorship, although never explicitly referred to, have created a present ‘Angola’ that is textually characterized as ‘chaotic’, ‘violent’, and ‘lost’ (ep. 3: 1). The ‘Angola’ where everything was great and perfect is now ‘gone’ (ep. 12 : 4 [2]), ‘dead’ (ep. 4: 1[9]), its ‘soul’ ripped apart (ep. 12 : 7[1]). The negative characterisation is exacerbated by personification of discontinuity, the ‘cut’, the ‘decline’, through death related lexical chains (‘Our Angola died’, in ep. 4: 1[9]).

Consequently, the implication of a nostalgic rhetorical structure, evident in the construction of the site of ‘Angola’, is that it confers an image of greater innocence to the colonial experience. This media text seems to follow an ‘Imperialistic’ use of nostalgia, as Rosaldo (1989) warned, and runs in parallel with trends in recent literature and cinema on the subject as argued by Vieira (2015). Textually, this televised retelling seems to struggle to critically assess the events, by this I mean, in a manner that reveals at least its complexities and that avoids a fetishized representation of the past. The creation of a past that is oversimplified does not bring to the present the voice of the oppressed and the nature of the social relations that was inherent to the colonial experience. In turn, it creates a past that was ‘perfect’ and a present that is ‘violent’ and ‘chaotic’, a past that fell not as a result of the myth of
lusotropicalism and the oppressive regime, but as a consequence of the fall of government in the ‘metrópole’.

**The Colonial Condition**

‘After our Farewells’ also textually addresses the conflict between understandings of the nature of the colonial experience in Angola: those who understand it as harmonious; and others who, distancing themselves from the colonial system, declare the oppressive nature of the Portuguese control of Angola.

Next, the individuals living in the ‘metrópole’ justify the need for the white population in Angola to go into ‘exile’, due to ‘their’ mistreatment of the native black population (‘you were kicked out of the colonies, because you were beating down the “blacks”!’ (ep. 2: 3[3]); ‘Well, had you not stolen from the blacks!’ (ep. 3: 3[15]); ‘Well, you have earned it by exploring the blacks, right?!’ (ep. 7: 3[9])). The use of causal and conditional semantics for making these accusations also run in parallel with instances of indirect reported speech, where, in most cases, the speaker is a child restating comments and assumptions made by his/her parents. This can be seen as a textual strategy to deflect accusations to an unseen first speaker (usually identified as their parents) and negotiate it through children’s innocence and purity (Moeller, 2002).

Moreover, there is a constant use of the third person personal pronoun, which directs the accusations solely to those who lived in Angola, presumably ‘white’ as it seems to be marked by its binary opposition, as illustrated in the above examples. Hence, the use of the third person creates a distancing of the behaviour referred in the accusations and its site, as ‘Angola’ or lexical equivalences are identified through the use personal determinants and derived contractions in the third person plural. In simpler words, the textual characteristics of the accusation seem to be making the following statement: ‘it was your land and it was your wrongdoing’; therefore deflecting the implication of colonialism to those who lived in the Overseas territory, in turn establishing distance from responsibility away from the social group in the mainland.

Furthermore, the Mendonça family avoids these accusations not only through statements of ignorance (‘your mother is stupid!’ (ep. 2: 7[4])), but also through the use of legitimation tools based on reasoning, in which the lack of exploration is based on their statements that all of their ‘employees’ had incomes and, therefore, were financially rewarded for their work – i.e. they were not slaves (e.g. ‘I have never lived at the expense of anyone. Obviously I had
employees in Angola, but they were all paid ...’ (ep. 2: 9[15])). In addition, these economic relationships are framed as harmonious throughout the text. For example, the respective family’s ‘house helpers’ are framed as being part of the family (‘She is part of the family!’) ‘We had Preciosa...She came to our place before I was born. She always took care of us!’ (ep. 5: 3[3-4]), and through shows of empathy and care for their employees and respective family (e.g. ‘I hope everyone is okay Justino...’ (ep. 8: 1[6-7])).

These textual strategies work in parallel to the socio-political context currently present in Portugal. Without disregard to the overt accusations of exploration, questions of the pervasive relations of colonial power is not fully addressed in this retelling, partly due to the evasive textual devices of such accusations, and the emphasizes on the emphatic relations that the Mendonça family establishes with its employees.

Again notwithstanding the initial attempt to engage with questions of colonial power and, hence, the nature of the colonial experience and the role individuals had in their maintenance, the text seems to be embedded within frames of luso-tropicalism, as it continues to emphasise the benevolent and lenient nature of colonial relations and with accusations failing to engage in a critical dialogue between these two conflictual understandings.

**The mnemonic role of ‘After our Farewells’**

As explored in the literature review, television has an important role as a mnemonic agent through processes of musealisation that help shape collective memory and, in turn, the social world is perceived.

Accordingly, ‘After our Farewells’ is embedded in an on-going process of musealisation of the Portuguese democratic revolution as a symbol of the foundation of the contemporary Portuguese nation (Sherry, 2003: 313; Laffond, 2011: 176; Huyssen, 1995: 25–27). This process has a number of important implications, including arising issues over the conflation between the democratic revolution and the process of decolonisation, followed by a complete lack of proper reckoning of the place of colonialism in the construction of the dictatorship (Loff, 2014). In turn, this has blocked efforts to engage with questions regarding the imperialist dimension of the Portuguese dictatorship and the manners in which it was ideologically legitimised, as any discussion on the dictatorship invariably leads to references of the 1974-1975 Revolution (ibid.).
Similarly, the above is paralleled with the fact that the process of decolonization in the dominant public memory is understood as an inexplicable event, precisely due to the fact that Portuguese colonialism was perceived through the lusotropical imaginary (Loff et al., 2014). Indeed, this is precisely the argument made in the section above on the mythic Angola, where the text seems to consider the surge of violence as an external force, a force outside of the colonial system in place. The return of nearly 500,000 ‘returnees’ is considered to be the social tragedy of the loss of the empire and has led to an overload of personal biographies in the public sphere, especially from the 1990s-onwards, that not only contributed to an increase of imperial nostalgia, but equally blocked analysis of war crimes committed during the Overseas War or discussions of colonialism for that matter (ibid.).

Likewise, the increasing development of fictional products with a historic basis by the Portuguese national channels that revive different times and personalities constitutive of local collective memory and imagination have a huge penetration in the public sphere. These have reached a total of 35 productions, forty percent of which reflect the decades of 1930 through the 1970s, and many of which were commissioned by the Portuguese public broadcaster (Burnay & Lopes, 2013). If on one hand, the Portuguese state was never willing to discuss the topic of colonialism (Loff et al., 2014), on the other hand, scholars emphasise the lack of independence of the public broadcaster, that regardless of its call for public interest, maintains and perpetuates an operating logic of service provision to political power (Sousa & Santos, 2003).

These trends are clearly illustrated in the media text under analysis, as it engages with the personal struggles of the family of returnees, and crimes committed against them, whilst there are clear and significant absences, including a deeper engagement with the oppressive nature of the colonial experience and the war crimes perpetrated against ‘Angolans’. As previously discussed, the text continues to engage in frames of lusotropicalism through evasive textual devices of accusations of oppression and the emphasis on the emphatic relations that the Mendonça family establishes with its employees. These are already quite revealing of multiculturalism and lusotropicalism continue to frame retellings of the past and the way we engage with social groups. In addition, the text creates distance of the role of the mainland in the colonial experience, which runs paralleled to current memory policies that aim at reconciliation rather than a more critical engagement with the public’s collective memory.

Moreover, the intense use of interdiscursivity, materialised through the use of the historical archive alongside the characteristics of the fictional genre, seems to be inscribing legitimacy
to the narrative of the historical events depicted and to the specific memories that are brought to the present in this retelling. The interdiscursive nature of the text is enacted by the use of past radio and television news reports from the public broadcaster’s archives (e.g. ep.1: 2 [1]), which vests the narrative with institutional authority (Fairclough, 2003: 98). It endows authority to what is being enunciated as the truth, as it establishes these biographies as a reliable documentation of history in spite of its fictional character (McLuhan, 1964; Silverstone, 1999). In the official press release of the program this is clearly emphasized: “After our Farewells” the faithful portrait of a time that was anything but fiction!” (see Appendix #1).

Furthermore, in promotional media engagements (see Appendix #2) the production of this series has also explicitly expressed its intention to allude to individuals’ recollection of this period, and calling for the ‘community’ to continue the debate on presentations of biographies of the ‘victims of the colonial process’ (Cardoso, 2013). This is textually enacted through the use of intertextuality, particularly visible through some lexical choices as they draw on earlier texts and communicative events, such as other news reports, official documents, personal experiences, and so forth. For example, referencing ‘Congo’ will invariably draw the viewer to the 1960 Congo crisis and the ensuing outbreak of racial violence that led to similar events depicted in the series (e.g. ep.1: 2[6]) (Scott, 1969).

CONCLUSIONS

This research project has shown how present discourses of multiculturalism frame televised retellings of the Portuguese colonial period. The nation continues to be enacted through ethnicity, consistent with current boundary formations in the Portuguese society, in which its citizenship is enacted through the encounter of individuals from the PALOPs (Fikes, 2009), that in spite of their official national status are regarded as migrants due to their ethnicity, and therefore lie ‘outside’ of what is considered to be the nation.

In addition, there continues to be an emphasis on the colonial experience as benevolent and lenient, as accusations of oppression fail to engage in a critical dialogue between these two conflictual understandings. This was textually evident through the use of evasive devices of accusations and the deflection of responsibility away from those in the mainland, which runs parallel to current memory policies that aim at reconciliation rather than a more critical engagement with the public’s collective memory.
Televised retellings continue to struggle in critically engaging with historical texts and continue to perform a fetishized representation of the site of colonialism, by creating a past site that was ‘perfect’ and a present that is ‘violent’ and ‘chaotic’, a past that fell not as a result of the myth of lusotropicalism and the oppressive regime, but as a consequence of the fall of government in the ‘metrópole’ / ‘metropolis’.

These findings illustrate the inevitability for future research to further engage with questions of multiculturalism, as there is an urgent need to better understand the ways in which genuine democratic spaces can be constituted and the ways in which we can encounter difference without the ineradicable need for this moment of différance (Hall, 2003: 87).

Albeit the effort to make a substantial contribution to the Portuguese scholarships and fill in lacunae in studies following discursive methodological approaches to media and popular studies, a number of qualification to these findings should be highlighted. This study has an overreliance on text, as an audio-visual dimensions could have benefited the uncovering of systematic inequalities in the social realm and highlighted additional affective structures and aesthetics not at play in the media text. Moreover, albeit drawing suggestions on what certain representations invite the audience to conclude and justifying the dominant discourses through substantial references in the literature review, supplemental methods, such as interviews and focus groups, could have mitigated the lack of address of audience receptions.

Future research should in addition build upon the findings highlighted in this project and address the limitations here exposed. In this case, scholarship should continue to focus on audio-visual objects of analysis, in particular the focus on television studies and period dramas, as cinematic consumption of Portuguese cinema is extremely low and literary studies, for their nature, do not have an audio-visual dimension (Nogueira, 2010). Furthermore, recognizing the importance of discourse and media, Portuguese scholarship ought to continue its efforts on building discourse analytical approaches veered to the Portuguese language, in addition to avoid an overreliance in quantitative or descriptive methodologies.
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To MJF - for corvus oculum corvi non eruit.
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Summary Plot from the Official TV Show Website

“A series that depicts a family in Portugal in the aftermath of the 25th of April.

Álvaro and Maria do Carmo Mendonça had a happy life in Angola. Álvaro was a successful businessman and Maria do Carmo a stay at home mum. Together they had two children, Ana and João, who studied and lived adolescence on the streets of Luanda. Until it the civil war began and all came to an end. Between calls for independence, a wave of violence emerges and the until then sense of well-being and the established order disappeared.

In July 1975, leaving all their belongings of a lifetime behind, the Mendonça family, along with more than five hundred thousand people, embarks on an airlift that would mark the biggest exodus in the history of Portuguese people towards a land that most knew only from photographs and which they called "Metropolis".

In Lisbon, the small apartment of Joaquim and Natália Cardoso, brother-in-law and sister of Álvaro, the Mendonças begin to rebuild their lives from scratch. But that hot summer of 1975, the integration is not going to be easy. With Portugal suddenly reduced to its true and committed dimensions in a revolutionary process that, at certain times, left the country in a state of near anarchy, the family has to start from scratch, living with strangers who perceive them as suspicious (on the streets and even from inside the family) and whom label them 'the Returnees' (word incomprehensible to their two sons, who were born in Africa). Álvaro has to get a job and everyone has to shake the pride and accept humility, suffering in silent nostalgia for all that they were forced to leave behind.

(...) With each episode starting with a major event at the time (of the political or social sphere), using the RTP archival footage, "After our Farewells" tells the story of a time that is reflected in the "stories" of a family that suddenly sees itself a foreigner in their own country. This is the portrait of the Mendonça family, from the day they "return" to a world they have never been and that was never theirs, in order to find their own place; and the portrait of a young Portugal that, as the Mendonça's, must drop the past and live the future.

After our Farewells - A part of history that many Portuguese are unaware - Another side of the post-25 April and the lives of returnees in the new series of time of RTP. "After our Farewells" the faithful portrait of a time that was anything but fiction!” (Anon 2012)

- See more at: http://www.rtp.pt/programa/tv/p28774#sthash.3y04t3YL.dpuf, last accessed on August 2016.
Appendix 2

Press Cutting

“In Africa we have time, the West has a clock,” says Isabel Fragata, smiling, about life in the former Portuguese colonies. Countenance loaded to remember another time after 1975 already in Portugal: "Returnees were unloved." Neither all accept the term, nor the subject is simple, but this week, after a spate of books on Africa exodus of hundreds of thousands of Portuguese is the time for television fiction and radio to focus on the returnees. ‘After Our Farewells’ debuts Saturday in RTP1 and brings “a country that teemed” to the screens, says the director Patricia Sequeira.

The real story of Isabel Fragata, video testimony presented on Monday at the Hotel Mundial in Lisbon - that housed families from the former colonies - alongside the new series, is one of many that now inspire fictions. "There is a rise," noted the historian Helena Matos and consultant of the series, not a resurgence of these narratives "and this is also History - no one spoke about their situation, which is common in cases of refugees."

In 2011, the award-winning novel The Return by Dulce Maria Cardoso, was perhaps the corollary to the attention of several generations of Portuguese authors to the disruptive effect of decolonization in Portuguese society - in which those born or immigrated to Africa and there have left their lives after 1975 and the "continental", describes the actor João Reis, who in a period of social and political redesign (do not) welcome the so-called returnees. To Luís Marinho, Director General of content at RTP, ‘After our Farewells’ "portrays a controversial historical period, and the series will also be controversial for it."

After Our Farewells, title borrowed from Paulo de Carvalho’s song that was the password for the April revolution and now plays in the generic series, it is proposed a journey from the 25th April (which was the chronological end to the series ‘Tell me how it was’, the successful series from RTP1 and that made the director of programs to want to "complete the cycle") to Ramalho Eanes election, with stops in the ‘Hot Summer’ or November 25th through the life of families from Angola and Lisbon residents.

Has pointed beetles and collars, the skybridge, Maoists and Nostalgic Luanda. Each of the 26 episodes is linked to particular historical episode not only by chronology, but also by images of the RTP archives (Antena 1 also launched the ‘Start Again’ program, stories and sounds of the period, and the webradio Antena 1 Memory - After our Farewells, to start again).

All to tell "the recent past for which we have some grievances," says the actor Diogo Infante who, like João Reis, plays a returnee in the series starring Ana Nave and José Carlos Garcia and produced by SPTV. "We retell this past now because it has" absolutely extraordinary stories of escape, survival, resistance and so it is normal that, like everyone, we like our heroic stories, "says Helena Matos.

If Diogo Infante sees in After Our Farewells a direct link to the current moment - "From here to 20 years we might be doing a series on our times and the suffering of families living dramatic moments; fiction returns us this human reality "- João Reis believes that the rapprochement to this past, either through the documentary series The War, literature or with this new series, we will know better" the modus operandi of the Portuguese. " Helena Matos
is peremptory: "The history of these people and the country in 1975 and 76 shows that there is always a way out."

Appendix 3

Annotation Guideline

The sections underlined contain relevant semantic, grammatical, and lexical relations that are later explored in the squared brackets below the respective sections, in the text box, where the main textual analysis can be found. Furthermore, annotations are only made in the text box, in which the lines of the dialogue are appropriately numbered. Lastly, when the lines have at their end brackets, this information pertains to the analysis of types of exchange and their speech functions. Italicised sections pertain to instances of interdiscursivity - i.e. moments where ‘different discourses and genres are articulated together in a communicative event (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 73)’.

Exemplification of analytical process

Mica: Olha o Victor e a Teresa. Preciosa ponha mais dois pratos na mesa, se faz favor.
Preciosa: Sim senhora.
Teresa: Já souberam?!
Victor: Houve um golpe na metrópole! As tropas tomaram o poder! Ouvimos agora na rádio. Vocês não estão a ouvir?!
Álvaro: Não.
Victor: Não se fala de outra coisa!
Álvaro: Vou ligar a telefonia.
Teresa: Será que é desta que a guerra acaba?!

Mica: Look, it's Victor and Teresa. Preciosa, place two more plates on the table, please.
Preciosa: Yes ma'am.
Teresa: Have you heard?!
Victor: There was a coup in the metropolis! The troops seized power! We've just heard it on the radio. Have you not be listening?!
Álvaro: No.
Victor: No one speaks of anything else!
Álvaro: I'll turn on the radio.
Teresa: Will the war finally end now?
1. **Mica**: Olha o Victor e a Teresa! Preciosa, *ponha* mais dois pratos na mesa, se faz favor. (Demand)
2. **Preciosa**: Sim, senhora. (Offer)

[Unlike ‘knowledge exchange’, where the focus is on exchange of information, lines 1 and 2 are an instance of ‘activity exchange’, where the focus is on activity, on people doing things or getting others to do things (Fairclough 2003, p.106). Indeed, this is inherently related to primary speech functions. In line 1, the character Mica orders Preciosa to place two more plates on the table, hence the use of a rather imperative as a sentence type, establishing therefore a grammatical mood (*ponha* is in the third person imperative verb tense). Furthermore, this type of activity exchange manifests a hierarchical difference between the characters and a distance between employer and labour.]

3. **Teresa**: Já souberam?!
4. **Victor**: Houve um *golpe* na *metrópole*! As *tropas* tomaram o poder! Ouvimos agora na rádio. Vocês não estão a ouvir?!

[Lexical choice, also imbued with intertextual meaning, and it signals the eve of the collapse of the dictatorship 25th April 1974. The use of the word ‘metrópole’ to describe Lisbon is a noun with significant relation to the Portuguese colonial past and its discourses. In addition, there is a choice of calling the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas/Armed Forces Movement), tropes.]
Appendix 4

Transcription and General Guidelines

*Transcription Guidelines:* This is a transcription of an episode from its original audio-visual format to text. These extracts only contain spoken words. The author has taken particular care when transcribing the episode, in order to accurately punctuate and intonate the extracts below.

*General Caveats:* The author has made a careful effort in retaining the semantic, grammatical and lexical relations from the original Portuguese text in translating to English. However, as these languages come from two different linguistic branches, much of the textual characteristics have been lost in translation. All the analysis in the text boxes were performed using the original language of the TV show, Portuguese, therefore translations should only be used as mere guidelines for comprehension of the Portuguese text.
Extracts from the sample by respective episode

Name: “O Fim”/“The End”
Episode 1

Extract #1

Mica: Olha o Victor e a Teresa. Preciosa ponha mais dois pratos na mesa, se faz favor.

Preciosa: Sim senhora.

Teresa: Já souberam?!

Victor: Houve um golpe na metrópole! As tropas tomaram o poder! Ouvimos agora na rádio. Vocês não estão a ouvir?!

Álvaro: Não.

Victor: Não se fala de outra coisa!

Álvaro: Vou ligar a telefonia.

Teresa: Será que é desta que a guerra acaba?!

Mica: Look, it's Victor and Teresa. Preciosa, place two more plates on the table, please.

Preciosa: Yes ma'am.

Teresa: Have you heard?!

Victor: There was a coup in the metropolis! The troops seized power! We've just heard it on the radio. Have you not be listening?!

Alvaro: No.

Victor: No one speaks of anything else!

Alvaro: I'll turn on the radio.

Teresa: Will the war finally end now?
Rádio Reportagem: Notícias geralmente confusas chegadas de Lisboa, dão conta de ter eclodido ali, um movimento cujas características se não conhecem ainda. O Governo-Geral está a tentar obter informações fidedignas que dará conhecimento público logo que as tenha.

Victor: Nós estamos perdidos, está visto!

Álvaro: Não estamos nada! Isto é bom... É sinal que as coisas vão mudar! Angola é grande e rica! Não precisa da metrópole para nada.

Victor: Épa! E se os pretos começam a mandar?!

Álvaro: A metrópole é que não pode mandar! Angola é de quem cá está e de quem vive e trabalha nesta terra.

Victor: Bem, e se acontece aquilo que aconteceu no Congo! Os pretos a expulsarem brancos e...

Álvaro: Ninguém vai expulsar ninguém! Nós somos brancos, mas somos angolanos. E então, mais cedo ou mais tarde, este regime tinha que acabar.

Victor: Épa, pois... Está bem! Mas... Ó Álvaro, tu confias nesta tropa?

Álvaro: Não te preocupes pá! Não vai sair daqui nenhuma catástrofe!

Victor: Vamos ver...

Radio News Report: Largely confusing news have arrived from Lisbon, stating the there has initiated, a movement whose characteristics are not known yet. The General-Government is trying to get reliable information that will give public knowledge as soon as it has them.

Victor: We're doomed, oh right!

Álvaro: We're not! This is good ... It is a sign that things are going to change! Angola is great and rich! It doesn't need the metropolis for anything.

Victor: C'mon! What if the blacks come to power?!

Álvaro: The metropolis is the one that mustn't rule! Angola is for those who are here and who live here and work on the land.

Victor: Well, then what if it happens the same that it did in Congo?! The blacks forcing the whites out and...

Álvaro: No one will force out anyone! We are white, but we are Angolans. And then, sooner or later, this regime had to come to an end.

Victor: C'mon, right ... fine! But ... Álvaro, do you trust these troops?

Álvaro: Do not worry, man! Disaster will not come our way!

Victor: We will see...
Álvaro: Cinco contos?! Mas porquê só cinco contos?

Stranger in the line: Porque lhes apetece! Só podemos trocar cinco contos por cada passageiro maior de idade e nem mais um tostão!

Álvaro: E para levantarmos o resto das nossas poupanças, como é que fazemos?

Stranger: Tem que ir ao Banco de Angola na Baixa. Mas olha que, por este andar, provavelmente só segunda-feira! Malditos angolanos! É que é mesmo dinheiro macaco. Até logo!

Alvaro: Five contos?! But why only five contos?

Stranger in the line: Because they feel like it! We can only exchange five contos per passenger of majority of age and not a penny more!

Alvaro: And to take out the rest of our savings, how do we do?

Stranger: You have to go to the Bank of Angola in downtown. But, at this pace, probably only Monday! Damn Angolans! It really is monkey's money. See you later!
Kids: “Olha o retornado!”

João: “Não sou retornado, sou refugiado! Não nasci cá, nasci em Luanda!”

Kids: “O meu pai diz que vocês foram corridos das colónias porque batiam nos pretos!” (Pedro goes running after kid, bypassing his cousin and sister on the street)

Anita: “Nunca pensei que em Lisboa tivéssemos que ir buscar água ao chafariz!”

Luísa: “Não faltava água lá em Luanda?”

Anita: “Que eu me lembre não! Mas como pode faltar água na Metrópole?”

Luísa: “É tudo culpa do Salazar e do Marcelo. Preferiram gastar dinheiro numa Guerra, em vez de se preocuparem com o abastecimento de água.”

Anita: “João?! Dá aqui uma ajuda que nós já estamos cansadas e isto pesa! Vá lá mano! Tens mais força que nós as duas juntas! (João takes the water barrels) Obrigada!”

Luísa: “O teu irmão está sempre assim, bem disposto?!?”

Anita: “Ele não conhece ninguém aqui… e tem saudades de Luanda.”

Kids: Look, it’s the returnee!

João: I am not a returnee, I am a refugee! I was not born here, I was born in Luanda!

Kids: My father says you were kicked out of the colonies, because you were beating down the ‘blacks’! (Pedro goes running after kid, bypassing his cousin and sister on the street)

Anita: I never thought we would need to fetch water from a well in Lisbon!

Luísa: Did you not have water shortages in Luanda?

Anita: No from what I can recall! But how come it is possible to have a water shortage in the metropolis?

Luísa: It’s all Salazar and Marcelo’s fault. They had preferred to spent the money on a War, rather than worry about the water distribution system.

Anita: João?! Give us a hand that we are already tired and this weights a ton! C’mon brother! You are stronger than both of us! (João takes the water barrels) Thanks!
Neighbours’ kid: “Tu é que és o sobrinho da Dona Natália, não és?”

João: “Como é que sabes?”

Kid: “A minha mãe disse-me. E também disse que vocês vieram cheios de doenças, lá de África!”

João: “A tua mãe é uma matumba!”

Kid: “É o quê?”

João: “É uma estúpida!”

Kid: “Desculpa!... E um macaco, não tens um macaco? Ouvi dizer que os retornados…”

João: “Eu não sou um retornado, pá! Nasci em Angola!”

Kid: “Desculpa!”

João: “Mas afinal quem és tu, ah? O que é que tu queres?”


João: “Vai-te lixar!”

Scene ends.
Artur: “Henrique, o Álvaro é o homem que lhe interessa! Honesto, trabalhador… e percebe do negócio!”

Henrique: “Eu preciso mesmo que um encarregado que esteja disposto a trabalhar! Não me venha cá com ideias de greve, nem saneamentos…”

Álvaro: “Não estou aqui para fazer greves, nem me meter em confusões! Só quero trabalhar para sustentar a minha família.”

Henrique: “Óptimo! E tem mesmo a experiência no ramo dos cameões frigoríficos?”

Álvaro: “Garanto-lhe que ninguém conhece melhor as máquinas do frio do que eu. Fazia tudo nos meus armazéns”

Henrique: “Tem armazéns do frio? Onde?”

Álvaro: “Em Luanda, tive que deixar tudo para trás. Mas ainda enviei para cá um dos camiões e mais dia e menos dia deve estar a chegar.”

Henrique: “É retornado?”

Álvaro: “Sou refugiado, mas sim vim de Angola!”

Henrique: “Ó Artur, devias de me ter avisado! Ó amigo eu não tenho nada contra os retornados, mas a minha empresa tem co-gestão, foi a única maneira de eu não ser saneado.”

Artur: “Mas se eu te avisa-se tu nem sequer tinhas vindo falar com o Álvaro…”
Henrique: “Era a pessoa certa para o lugar… mas eu tenho que gerir as coisas com a comissão de trabalhadores e eles nunca o vão aceitar como um encarregado.”

Álvaro: “Posso trabalhar como qualquer um deles…”

Henrique: “Eles vão-lhe dizer que está a tentar roubar um lugar ou a viver à custa dos pretos… que vêm para aqui viver às custas dos brancos.”

Álvaro: “Nunca vivi à custa de ninguém. É claro que tinha empregados em Angola, mas todos recebiam…”

Henrique: “Desculpe, mas eu nunca os vou conseguir convencer. Vão acusar-me de meter um parasita na empresa e a coisa ainda corre mal para o meu lado… Boa sorte!”

Álvaro: “E agora o que é que eu vou fazer Senhor Artur?!”

Henrique: “You were the right person for the job… but I have to manage everything through the workers commission and they will never let you in as a manager.

Álvaro: I can work as anyone there…

Henrique: They are going to say that you are trying to steal a job, or that you are living at the expense of blacks… that now you are going to live at the expense of white people.

Álvaro: I have never lived at the expense of anyone. Obviously I had employees in Angola, but they were all paid for…

Henrique: I am sorry, but I will never be able to convince them. They are going to accuse me of placing a parasite in the company and then everything is gonna go wrong for me… Good luck!

Álvaro: “E agora o que é que eu vou fazer Senhor Artur?!”

Scene ends.

Scene ends.
Mica: Everything was out of control when we left... We never thought it could get any worse...

Teresa: In these last few days Luanda has become unrecognisable! I wish I and Victor had left with you... But he wanted to protect the company. “It took a lifetime to build it, nothing is gonna make me leave it behind”. If we had left, maybe he would be here now...

Álvaro: I understand Victor, is not easy to leave everything we have built behind...

Teresa: Well, I don’t... It cost us too much, just so we would loose everything just the same! You made the right decision, Álvaro!

Álvaro: But I made sure to leave someone in charge of the business... the business and our home!

Teresa: Don’t be naive, Álvaro! As if it were possible to protect something in that land.

Álvaro: Do you know anything?

Teresa: The man you left in charge of things fled to South Africa.

Álvaro: My warehouses, refrigerated trucks?

Teresa: Haven’t you heard on the news?! They moved them to store corpses.

Álvaro: Corpses in my warehouse?
Mica: Temos andado tão ocupados, às voltas no IARN, no Banco... nunca pensámos que... uma coisa destas tivesse a acontecer!
Álvaro: Estamos sem nada! Deram cabo de tudo o que eu construí!
Mica: E a nossa casa? Ai Teresinha, diz-me que não...
Teresa: Foi atacada Mica! Levaram tudo... e mataram os criados.
Mica: A Preciosa e o Juvenal?
Teresa: Não pouparam ninguém, Mica! São um bando de selvagens... Correu o boato que eles eram da FNLA e foram lá à procura deles!
Mica: A Preciosa e o Juvenal morreram...
João: O Juvenal morreu?!
Álvaro: Vocês não deviam de estar a ouvir isto meninos...
Anita: Porquê? Já somos crescidos, temos o direito de saber o que se está a passar!
Mica: Ela tem razão, Álvaro. A nossa casa foi atacada, destruíram tudo, e os armazéns foram ocupados.
Teresa: Desculpa Mica! Não queria ser eu a trazer-vos estas notícias...
Álvaro: Não chores filha, por favor!
Anita: Acabou tudo, pai! Foi-se tudo!

Álvaro: Ficámos nós... estamos juntos e com saúde! É o mais importante.
Anita: E isso serve-nos do quê?! A nossa vida acabou de qualquer maneira. Dava tudo para estar em Luanda e que tudo fosse como antigamente.

Álvaro: Havemos de voltar um dia!
Anita: Até lá, não temos nada, pai.

Álvaro: Fazemos tudo de novo... aqui ou lá! As coisas hão-de melhorar... e tu ainda vais ser muito feliz!
Anita: Aqui?! Não vou pai! Tudo aquilo que eu amava ficou em Luanda: os meus amigos, o Liceu, a vida lá! Era tudo tão bom, tão perfeito! Agora sou obrigada a viver num sítio que eu odeio.

Álvaro: É uma questão de hábito! Isso muda...
Anita: Eu não me quero habituar. Aqui as pessoas tratam-me como se tivesse feito alguma coisa de mal. São pequeninas e mesquinhas! Ó pai é horrível! Só se preocupam com o que os outros dizem, com a vida dos outros.

Álvaro: É um mundo diferente, eu sei! Acredita que também é para mim! Sabes que às vezes a vida põe-nos à prova... e não adianta discutirmos ou ficarmos amuados. Temos que aceitar as coisas como são e olhar para a frente!

Álvaro: Don’t cry honey, please!
Anita: It has all come to an end dad! Everything is gone!

Álvaro: We are here... we are together and in good health! That’s all that matters.
Anita: And that serves us how?! Our life is over anyway. I’d give anything to be in Luanda and that everything was as before.

Álvaro: We will come back one day!
Anita: Until then, we have nothing, dad.

Álvaro: We will do it all again ... here or there! Things must improve ... and you are still going to be very happy!

Anita: Here?! I will not father! Everything I loved was in Luanda: my friends, the High School, life there! It was all so great, so perfect! Now I have to live in a place I hate.

Álvaro: It is a matter of habit! That will change ...

Anita: I do not want to get used to this. Here people treat me as if I have done something wrong. They are petty! Oh father, it’s horrible! They only care about what others say, with the live of others.

Álvaro: It's a different world, I know! Believe me, it is also for me! You know sometimes life puts us to the test ... and no use discussing or become sulky. We have to accept things as they are and look forward to the future!
F.E.: Comrades, the boss of this factory plans to hire labour-workers who break strikes! A strike that we have called legitimately. And between you and me we have here a capitalist lackey!

Joaquim: C’mon Costa! They have misunderstood everything! My brother-in-law just wants to work and I wanted to help him, nothing else you see!

F.E.: The boss wants to hire labour-workers who break strikes to sabotage our struggle, comrades!

Joaquim: That’s not it! Explain, explain to these guys, explain yourself if you please!

Costa: Me?! You explain as...

Álvaro: If I may explain! Please!

F.E.: You can’t explain anything! You are in charge here... You are not in charge of anything,!

Costa: Calm down, calm down ... Calm down! Oh! Comrades! Let’s all calm down! Let’s put a point of order. The House must decide whether or not this man has the right to speak. Who is for him speaking, raise your hand! Who is against raise your hand! The plenary has decided that this man has the right to speak, go for it!

Álvaro: My friends...

Crowd: What friends?!

Costa: Order.

Álvaro: My friends... I have arrived recently from Angola

Crowd: Uiiiiii.....

Álvaro: I have lost everything!

F.E.: Well, had you not stolen from the blacks!
Álvaro: A única coisa que eu pretendo, é um trabalho nesta empresa!

F.E.: Volta para a tua terra, onde andaste a roubar os pretos e agora queres roubar-nos a nós! Camaradas, camaradas! Aqui quem manda somos nós! Há lugar na fábrica para este homem?! Damos-lhe emprego?!

Crowd: Não!!!!

F.E.: Quem é que vota a favor? Quem é que vota contra?

Crowd: Vai-te embora!

F.E.: Põe-te a andar retornado!

Álvaro: The only thing I want is a job in this company!

F.E.: Go back to your land, where you went to steal the blacks, and now you want to steal from us! Comrades, comrades! We are in charge here! Is there any room at the factory for this man?! Do we give him a job?!

Crowd: No!!!!

F.E.: Who is voting in favor? Who votes against?

Crowd: Go away!

F.E.: Get yourself out of here, returnee!
**Extract #4**

**Paulo:** Então pà! Para que é que foi isso?!

**Teenager:** Esse puto ainda acha que está na terra dele! Volta mas é para a tua selva ó retornado!

**Paulo:** Hey! What was that all about?

**Teenager:** This kid still thinks he is in his land! Go back to the jungle, returnee!
Joana: Chegam, matam, roubam, violam...levam pessoas com eles. As pessoas desaparecem sem deixar rasto. Nas ruas há cadáveres, nas lojas falta tudo... agora há noite, se vais a uma boate, é como se aterrasses em Las Vegas!

Mica: Como?!

Joana: Mica, as pessoas não têm nada a perder e como sabem que o dinheiro que têm não vale nada fora de Angola, estoiram-no todo! Em... sei lá, champanhes, vinho, o que houver!

Natália: É uma pouca vergonha! Gastam o que têm e o que não têm e depois vêm para cá exigir tudo e mais alguma coisa!

Joana: Como é que aguentas aquilo?!

Mica: Não tem sido nada fácil, mas é a irmã do Álvaro, não quero arranjar problemas. As pessoas aqui têm uma mentalidade tão fechada. Vamos ter tantas saudades de Angola...

Teresa: Eu já tenho muitas! A nossa Angola...

Mica: Desculpa Teresa, não queria falar disso...

Joana: Também não há avião que nos possa levar de volta! A nossa Angola morreu.

Joana: They arrive, kill, steal, rape... take with them people. People have been disappearing without trace. In the streets there's corpses, in the shops shelves are all empty... now at night, if you go to a nightclub, is like you have landed in Las Vegas!

Mica: Pardon?!

Joana: Mica, people have nothing to loose and as they money is worthless outside Angola, they waste it all! In... like, champagnes, wine, whatever!

Natália: Shameful! They spend all they have and more and then they come here demanding everything and more!

Joana: How the hell can you handle this?!

Mica: It's not that easy, but is Álvaro’s sisters, I don’t want to get in trouble. People here are so closed-minded. We are gonna miss Angola so much...

Teresa: I already do a lot! Our Angola...

Mica: I am sorry Teresa, I didn’t mean to talk about that...

Joana: Well, there are no planes that can take us back! Our Angola died.
**Extract #2**

**TV report:** São centenas os retornados de Angola alojados neste momento no aeroporto de Lisboa. Rondaram mesmo o milhar. Para todos uma só casa de banho…

**Luísa:** Amanhã vai à manif, tio?

**álvaro:** Tenho que ir… para ver se conseguimos resolver alguma coisa.

**Joaquim:** Ó Álvaro, não digas isso! O Estado até vos ajuda! E não te esqueças que vocês foram para Angola de livre vontade!

**Álvaro:** Eu sou cidadão português! Tenho os meus direitos, eu e a minha família! E já viste que nós temos o nosso dinheiro no Banco e ninguém nos deixa tocar num tostão!

**Natália (voz off):** Já lhe estou farta de dizer que não é assim que se cortam as cebolas. Parece que faz de propósito!

**TV report:** Hundreds of returnees from Angola are currently housed at Lisbon airport. They are almost a thousand. For all one bathroom…

**Luísa:** Are you going to the demonstrations tomorrow uncle?

**Álvaro:** I have to… let’s see if we can get a solution out of it.

**Joaquim:** Ó Álvaro, don’t say that! The Government is helping you! And don’t Forget that you went to Angola from your own free will!

**Álvaro:** I am a portuguese citizen. I have my rights, me and my family! Eu sou cidadão português! Tenho os meus direitos, eu e a minha família! And what our money that is in the bank and no one let us touch a penny of it!

**Natália (voice off):** I'm sick of telling you that that is not the correct way to cut onions. It seems like you do it on purpose!
Natália: O Álvaro continua a viver naquela pensão. Mas pelos vistos está melhor que em minha casa! Ó Odete, só me custa é ele não me vir pedir desculpa!

Odete: Ele há-de cair nele!

Natália: O problema é aquela víbora da Maria do Carmo! Eu imagino o que ela envenena o Álvaro a meu respeito!

Odete: Ai, filha…olha cada um tem aquilo que merece! E ela há-de ter a sua paga! Tirando o teu irmão esta gente de África só trouxe maus hábitos, doenças e ainda vêm roubar o emprego aos que cá estão! Eles deviam era de voltar todos para a terra deles!

Natália: A Maria do Carmo podia ir já! Não faz cá falta nenhuma! Ainda bem que vou passar o fim-de-semana fora!

Odete: Ah, vão para a terra?

Natália: O Joaquim anda a falar deste fim-de-semana há meses…

Odete: Sabes Talinha? Eu tenho saudades de ter uma família, gostava tanto de ir assim para fora… estou sempre aqui enfiada!

Natália: Olha eu nem sei! Da maneira que as coisas estão, se calhar ainda acontece uma coisa na viagem! E depois também não me sinto bem em deixar cá a Luísinha e o Pedro sozinhos!

Odete: Ó filha! Eles já são uns matulões! Com que idade é que eles estão?

Natália: Álvaro continues to live on that residential. But apparently it's better than my house! Oh Odete, how it hurts to not have received an apology from him!

Odete: He will come to his senses!

Natália: The problem is that viper, Maria do Carmo! I wonder how much she poisons Álvaro in regards to me!

Odete: Ah, honey… Everyone has what they deserve! And she will have to pay! Apart from your brother these people of Africa have only brought bad habits, illnesses and they come here to steal jobs to those who have always been here! They ought all to go back to their land!

Natália: Maria do Carmo could go now! She will not be missed! Good thing I will spent the weekend outside the city!

Odete: Ah, you are going home?

Natália: Joaquim has been talking about this city break for months…

Odete: You know what Talinha? I miss having a family, I would love to travel … I am always stuck in the same place!

Natália: Well not sure about that! The way things are, maybe something happens whilst I am not here! And I don’t feel comfortable leaving Luísinha and Pedro alone in the house!

Odete: Oh honey! They are young adults! How old are they?
Gonçalo: Estas a segurar?
Anita: Hum-hum. É muito simpática a dona Lurdes. E trata-vos a todos como filhos, não é?
Gonçalo: É. Ela já trabalhava cá antes de nós nascermos. Faz parte da família!
Anita: Nós tínhamos a Preciosa... Foi lá para casa antes de eu nascer. Sempre cuidou de nós! Mataram-na a ela e ao filho! Custa-me saber que nunca mais a vamos ver…
Gonçalo: Desculpa, não queria que te lembrestes de coisas tristes.
Anita: Oh... a culpa não é tua. Mas é difícil não pensar naquilo que aconteceu e no que perdemos. E os teus pais? Vocês vivem sozinhos com a dona Lurdes há muito tempo?
Gonçalo: Os meus pais foram para Paris depois do 25 de Abril. Preferem viver num sítio mais sossegado até as coisas estabilizarem... Antes disso já andavam cá e lá. O meu pai trabalha lá.
Anita: Paris deve ser uma cidade linda! Já foste visitar?
Gonçalo: Já lá estive, mas antes de eles se mudarem. Agora acho que há coisas mais importantes para tratar aqui, com tudo o que o povo está a passar. Mas isso agora não interessa! Eu quero é saber mais coisas sobre ti!

Gonçalo: Are you holding it?
Anita: Hum-hum. She is so nice – Mrs. Lurdes. And she treats you all as her own children, isn’t it?
Gonçalo: Yes. She was already working here before we were all born. She is part of the family!
Anita: We had Preciosa... She came to our place before I was born. She had always took care of us! They killed her, and her son! It hurts to know that I will never see her again …
Gonçalo: Sorry, I didn’t mean to make you remember sad things.
Anita: Oh... is not your fault. But it's hard not to think about what happened and we whatr we have lost. And your parents? You live alone with the Mrs. Lurdes for long?
Gonçalo: My parents moved to Paris after 25th April. They prefer to live in a quieter place until things stabilize ... Before that they were always here and there. My father works there, though.
Anita: Paris must be such a beautiful city! Have you visited it?
Gonçalo: I have been there, but before they had moved. Now I think there are more important things to deal with here, with all everyone is going through. But that does not matter now! I want to know more about you!
Extract #2

Gonçalo: Pensei que estavas com o Afonso?!

Anita: O teu irmão saiu.

Gonçalo: Ah... e tu não foste com ele? Ao jantar parecia que estavas a gozar muito das parvoíces dele!

Anita: E o que é que tu tens haver com isso?! Eu gosto do Afonso, ele faz-me rir! E eu gosto de me rir.

Gonçalo: Pois eu já percebi que tu gostas muito dele e dos amiginhos dele, mas sabes que há muita gente que só quer estar com as miúdas de vêm de África porque elas podem ter liamba ou porque...

Anita: Gonçalo, vê-lá o que é que tu vais dizer!

Gonçalo: Desculpa... Mas eu só estou preocupado contigo Ana.

Anita: Não preciso que te preocupes comigo! Se eu quiser andar com o Afonso ando, não tens nada haver com isso!

Gonçalo: Estás a fazer isto só para me provocar é?!

Anita: Isto não podia ter acontecido!

Gonçalo: I thought you were with Afonso?!

Anita: Your brother has left.

Gonçalo: Ah ... and did you not go with him? At dinner it seemed you were enjoying his nonsense!

Anita: And what do you have to do with this?! I like Afonso, he makes me laugh! And I like to laugh.

Gonçalo: Right, I have already realized that you like him very much and you are very friendly with him, but you know that there are people who just want to be with girls who come from Africa because they can have lyamba or because ...

Anita: Gonçalo, be careful about what you are gonna say next!

Gonçalo: Sorry...But, I am just worried about you Ana.

Anita: There is no need for you to worry about me! If I want to date Afonso I will, that's none of your business!

Gonçalo: Are you doing this just to tease me is ?!

Anita: This shouldn’t have happened!
Cidália: Coitados dos refugiados de Timor! Com tanta criança pelo meio! Pobrezinhos...

Odete: Ó Dona Cidália, são os de Angola, os de Moçambique, os de Cabo Verde! Em vez de voltarem para a terra deles, andam aí à facada com os ciganos! Agora também é os de Timor! Eu não sei aonde é que vai caber tanta gente neste país! Francamente!

Cidália: Então, aonde é que queriam que eles ficassem, em Timor? Portugal já não consegue controlar nada, Odete! Não há lá ninguém para pôr aquilo na ordem! Já viu que andam a prender militares portugueses?!

Natália: Mas a Odete tem razão! Como é que nós vamos conseguir receber tanta gente?!

Cidália: Ó Natália! O seu irmão foi um dos que voltou! As coisas são mesmo assim! Nós temos que lhes dar a mão que eles também são portugueses. Bom…! Eu vou andando, até logo!

Odete: Até logo, Dona Cidália! Ai, que chata! Tratata-tratata, que não se calava! Possa, vais parta à mulher! Ai… olha Talinha, tenho uma coisa para te contar. O Senhor Duarte contratou a tua cunhada para vir trabalhar para aqui!

Natália: Maria Odete!

Odete: E estava todo derretido com ela! Ele nem quiz saber daquela história do chocolate, nem nada!

Natália: Tu tens que ter cuidado! A minha cunhada só arranja problemas… viste, tu viste que ela conseguiu virar o meu próprio irmão contra mim!

Odete: Olare! Mas olha, eu não me fico! Se ela tentar alguma coisa, ela vai se arrepender de ter posto os pés na minha

Cidália: Those poor refugees from Timor! There is so many children as well! Poor things ...

Odete: Oh Dona Cidália, is those of Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde! Instead of returning to their land, they come here to go around stabbing Gypsies! Now it is also the one's from Timor! I do not know where they will all fit in this country! Quite frankly!

Cidália: So where do you wanted them to stay, in Timor? Portugal can no longer control anything, Odete! There is no one there to put things in order! Haven't you heard that they have been arresting Portuguese military officers?!

Natália: But Odete's right! How are we going to be able to receive so many people?!

Cidália: Oh Natália! Your brother is also amongst those who came back! It is inevitable! We have to lend them a hand, they are also Portuguese. Well…! I'm have to go, see you soon!

Odete: Goodbye, Dona Cidália! Oh, what a nuisance! Tratata-tratata, she wouldn't shut up! Jesus, damn you women! Oh … look Talinha, I have something to tell you. Mr. Duarte hired your sister to come to work here!

Natália: Maria Odete!

Odete: And he was all infatuated with her! He didn’t care about that chocolate incident, or anything!

Natália: You have to be careful! My sister only attracts trouble ... see, see, that she was able to turn my own brother against me!

Odete: Olare! But look, I won’t fall for it! If she tries something, she'll regret having set foot in my grocery
mercearia! Tu podes escrever isto!  

Natália: Ai, eu acho muito bem! Não te deixes enganar como eu... Eu acreditei nela, estendi-lhe a mão e tu viste o resultado!

Odete: Talinha, este é primo deste!

store! You can write this!

Natália: Oh, good good! Do not be fooled like me ... I believed her, I held her hand and you now look at the outcome!

Odete: Talinha, this (pointing to her eye) is the cousin of this one (pointing to the other eye) .
Radio report: O exército de libertação dos Açores, braço armado da LTLA, continua a ofensiva da reacção e exerce as suas teias entre os militares que se encontram no arquipélago. Também na Madeira, a manipulação da direita, que se encontra por detrás dos apelos à independência.

F.E.: Os da MFA bem podia meter estes reaccionários dos Açores e da Madeira na ordem… com a mania que podem ser independentes pá!

Álvaro: Boa tarde!

F.E.: Boa tarde…

Costa: Boa tarde, Álvaro! Ainda bem que chegias! Precisava muito da tua ajuda aqui com estes catálogos. É que isto vem tudo em Inglês e a gente não percebe nada. Se não fosses tu… tu tens sido uma grande ajuda!

Joaquim: Então, como é que correram as coisas lá pelo… Banco?

Costa: Ainda está lá um pandemónio?

Álvaro: Tenho sérias dúvidas se alguma vez vou reaver o meu dinheiro…

F.E.: O melhor é esqueceres pá! Também o ganhaste a explorar os pretos né?! É melhor que ele fique por lá para eles se governarem.


Joaquim: O João faz anos hoje?

Radio report: The Liberation Army of Azores, the armed wing of LTLA, continues the offensive reaction and exercises its webs in the military who are in the archipelago. Also in Madeira, the right handling, which is behind the calls for independence.

F.E.: The MFA very well could get these reactionaries the Azores and Madeira in order ... with this crazyness that they can be independent, oh man!

Álvaro: Good Afternoon!

F.E.: Good Afternoon...

Costa: Good Afternoon, Álvaro! I am glad you’re here! Really needed your help here with these catalogs. These are all in English and we do not understand anything. If it wasn’t for you ... You have been a great help!

Joaquim: So how did things go... in the bank?

Costa: Still chaotic?

Álvaro: I seriously doubt if ever I will get my money back ...

F.E.: It is best to forget man! Well, you have earned it by exploring the blacks, right?! It is better for them to take it so they can govern themselves.

Álvaro: The money is mine. I have earned it at the expense of my labour! I spent years working to get where I am. Now I have no money to buy a gift to my son for his birthday.

Joaquim: Is João’s birthday today?
Álvaro: Não, depois de amanhã. Faz catorze anos e eu não tenho dinheiro para lhe dar nada! Custa ver desilusão na cara dos nossos filhos.

Costa: Bom, está para aí no estaleiro uma bicicleta velha se tu tiveres mãozinhas para arranjar aquilo, pode ficar com ela e oferecer ao miúdo!

Álvaro: Estás a falar a sério?

Costa: Mas olha que eu não sei se vais conseguir fazer alguma coisa daquilo! A bicicleta está mesmo podre…

Álvaro: Não custa nada tentar! O João tinha uma em Angola… eu acho que ele vai gostar! E eu posso passar aqui a noite a arranjar a bicicleta!

Joaquim: O quê? Tu vais ficar aí a trabalhar até mais tarde?

Álvaro: É a única hipótese que eu tenho de ter qualquer coisa para dar ao meu filho!

Joaquim: Pois claro, claro que tem.

Costa: Tenho um colega meu que trabalha no Século, pode ser que ele arranje umas entradas para a feira popular, ah?

Álvaro: Ó Costa, eu não sei como te agradecer!

Costa: Não tens que agradecer!

Álvaro: No, the day after tomorrow. He will be 14 and I have no money to gift him something! It's hard to see disappointment on the faces of my children.

Costa: Well, there is an old bike in the yard if you can make anything out of it, you can keep it it and give it to your kid!

Álvaro: You're serious?!

Costa: But look I do not know if you're gonna get something out of it! The bike is really rotten ...

Álvaro: It's worth trying! João had one in Angola … I think he'll like it! And I can spend the night here to get the bike ready!

Joaquim: What? You will be here working later?

Álvaro: It's the only chance I have to make something to give to my son!

Joaquim: For sure, sure you have.

Costa: I have a colleague who works in the Século, he may arrange some tickets to the fair, ah?

Álvaro: Oh Costa, I do not know how to thank you!

Costa: You do not have to thank!
Álvaro: Aiii Justino, fico contente por saber que está bem! Já arranjou sítio para viver?

Justino: Estou a viver em casa da família da minha mulher, não é.

Álvaro: And work?

Justino: Trabalho, arranjei um trabalho como mecânico. O patrão sabe que se precisar de um motorista, sabe que motorista melhor que eu …

Álvaro: Quem me dera Justino! Sabe alguma coisa dos armazéns, dos camiões de Nova Lisboa, dos funcionários, da Júlia…?

Justino: Nada patrão… Aquilo tá muito muito mau, mesmo! Desde que a UNITA tomou conta da Nova Lisboa… eu só tive tempo de pegar na minha família e… ir-me embora. Nunca mais vi ninguém da firma.

Álvaro: Espero que estejam todos bem Justino…

Álvaro: Ah Justino, I'm glad to know you're okay! Have you made living arrangements?

Justino: I'm living in the family home of my wife.

Álvaro: And work?

Justino: Employment, I got a job as a mechanic. You know that if you need a driver, you know that there is no better driver than me …

Álvaro: I wish Justino! Do you know anything of my warehouses, the lorries in New Lisbon, the employees, Júlia…?

Justino: Nothing boss … Everything is very very bad, indeed! Since UNITA took over New Lisbon … I just had time to take my family and … leave. I never saw anyone from the firm.

Álvaro: I hope everyone is okay Justino…
Gonçalo: Tens que ter mais calma com esse discurso contra os retornados, pál!

Jorge: Gonçalo, irrita-me, o que é que queres! Os gajos foram para a África, nunca quiseram de saber de ninguém para nada e agora que a vida lhes corre mal acham que tudo lhes é devido!

Anita: Mas a Ana não tem nada haver com o teu pai! Não podes descarregar nela!

Jorge: O meu pai é amigo dos pais dela!

Gonçalo: Eles conhecem-se?

Jorge: O meu pai é padrinho do dela! Por isso não me digas que não tem nada haver, tem tudo!

Gonçalo: Sim, mas a Ana não tem culpa do que o teu pai te fez! Tu tens é que resolver as coisas com ele!

Jorge: Gonçalo, não te metas na minha vida! Podemo-nos concentrar nisto que é o que realmente importa?! O Pedro ligou-me, ligou-me a avisar que vamos avançar para a ocupação daquele prédio na Ajuda! Vamos fazer lá uma creche!

Gonçalo: You have to be more careful with that discourse against returnees, man!

Jorge: Gonçalo, it annoys me, what do you want! The guys went to Africa, never cared about anyone and now that life is hard they think that everything is owed to them!

Anita: But Ana has nothing to do with your father! You can not blame her for it!

Jorge: My father is a friend of her parents!

Gonçalo: They know each other?

Jorge: My father is her godfather! So do not tell me that she has nothing to do with it, they have it all!

Gonçalo: Yes, but Ana has no blame for what your father did to you! You have is to settle things with him!

Jorge: Gonçalo, do not meddle in my life! Can we focus on this, which is what really matters?! Pedro called me, called me to let you know that we will proceed with the occupation of that building in Ajuda! We are going to turn it into a nursery!
Radio report: Agostinho Neto içou a bandeira do MPLA em Luanda proclamando o país livre e independente: “Em nome do povo angolano, o comité central do Movimento de Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA, proclama o nosso país constituído em República Popular de Angola. “

João: Acabou! Angola já não é o nosso país!

Anita: A partir de hoje não pertencemos a lado nenhum. É estranho! Estás bem? Eu percebi que tiveram a discutir e o pai dormiu no sofá?

João: E hoje saiu mais cedo…

Mica: O vosso pai tinha-vos tido que ia fazer um trabalho para o Senhor Artur. Ele vai estar fora uns dias…

João: Mas não foi por isso que discutiram! O que é que aconteceu?

Mica: São coisas nossas…

João: Se o pai dormiu no sofá, não é coisa boa!
Extract #7

Teresa: Ainda nem acredito que deram independência à Angola! Arrancaram-nos a alma e ninguém quer saber!

Artur: É... e tanta coisa para uma guerra que não serviu para nada!

Joana: Aos que perderam tudo como nós! Ficaram uns pobres tanas que mal têm onde cair mortos!

Teresa: Já chega! Joana, senta-te! Vá senta-te!

Joana: Não, não... Vou para casa!

Teresa: Não, tu hoje ficas comigo Joana!

Joana: Não passa... Larga, larga! Vou para casa! Vou para o palácio do meu marido! A casa que roubámos!

Artur: O Filipe que a leve! Filipe! Espere, espere Dona Joana! Filipe, vai levar a Dona Joana a casa se faz favor!

Joana: Não quero!

Artur: Quer, vá! Não precisa de ir. O Filipe é responsável e nós vamos beber uma jeropiga! Sente! Sente! Ele é responsável, não se preocupe! Vá, sente-se. Aproveita e trás mais uma garrafinha de jeropiga e um copinho para mim. Sente-se Dona Teresa!

Cidália: Outra?!

Artur: Sim, só para mim e para ela! Fazemos um brinde!

Teresa: I still cannot believe they gave independence to Angola! They tore our souls apart and no one cares!

Artur: Indeed... and so much for a war that did not serve any purpose!

Joana: To those who have lost everything! And were left so poor they have nowhere to fall dead!

Teresa: Enough! Joana, sit down! Come and sit!

Joana: No, no ... I'm going home!

Teresa: No, today you will stay with me Joana!

Joana: No more ... Let go, Let go! I'm going home! I will go to my husband's palace! To the house we have stolen!

Artur: Felipe should take her! Felipe! Wait, wait Dona Joana! Felipe accompany Dona Joana home if you please!

Joana: I do not want to!

Artur: Sure you do! You don't need to go. Felipe is responsible and we'll drink a jeropiga! Sit! Sit! He is responsible, do not worry! Go sit down. As you are here and bring me one more bottle of jeropiga and one glass for me. Sit Dona Teresa!

Cidália: Another one?!

Artur: Yes, just for me and for her! We will make a toast!
Name: “Golpes e Contra-Golpes”/“Coups and Counter-Coups”
Episode 14

Extract #3

Natália: Só se eu não tivesse coração é que deixava o meu irmão ficar sem tecto!

Odete: Não sei como é que ela teve coragem de correr assim com o marido.

Natália: Não faz mal. O meu irmão está a ser muito bem tratado! E finalmente está a perceber que está muito melhor sem ela! Ele sabe que foi um erro casar com uma mulher daquelas!

Mica: Não tem nada melhor para fazer Natália? Não acha que devia parar de se meter na vida dos outros?!

Natália: É a vida do meu irmão! Você não merecia um homem assim. E não admira que ele tenha que encontrar consolo fora de casa! Quem é que o pode censurar? Eu sei o que se passa. Você deve ter feito de tudo para o Álvaro, porque ele não é um vale de fenos!

Mica: Sabe Natália? Eu vim lá do mato, não tenho educação nenhuma, e se eu perco a cabeça sou capaz de lhe dar dois pares de estalos! Por isso agora pare de se meter no meu casamento! Está tudo arrumado, feche a loja Dona Odete!

Natália: If only I had no heart that I would let my brother homeless!

Odete: I have no idea how she had the courage to kick out her husband.

Natália: It’s okay. My brother is being treated very well! And finally he can realize how much better he is without her! He knows it was a mistake to marry a woman like that!

Mica: Is there nothing better to do Natália? Do you not think you should stop meddling in the lives of others?!

Natália: It is the life of my brother! You did not deserve such a man. And no wonder he has to find comfort away from home! Whom can censor him? I know what's going on. What have you done with Álvaro because he is no a hays valley!

Mica: You know what Natália? I came here from the jungle, with no education, and if I lose my mind I can very well give you two pairs of slaps! So now, stop meddling in my marriage! It's all tidy, you can close the shop Dona Odete!
Extract #1

**Odete:** A Maria do Carmo aproveitou-se da historia do filho estar doente e há horas que não põe cá os pés!

**Natália:** Ela hoje tem outras coisas com que se preocupar. Apareceu-me lá em casa a meio da noite para dizer que a filha estava presa.

**Odete:** Presa?! Ai, minha Nossa Senhora! Presa?! A Carmo não tem mão nos filhos?! As retornadas são todas iguais! A tua cunhada é o que é! E aquela a amiga dela, usa as saias até aqui!

**Natália:** Galdéria!

**Odete:** Ela anda metida com o Filipe do café. É verdade! Eu não sei como é que o marido ainda não descobriu, não se comenta outra coisa aqui no bairro! É uma desgraça esta gente... é uma desgraça!

**Natália:** Já teve notícias da sua filha?

**Mica:** Ainda não... Mas obrigada pela preocupação.
**Extract #1**

**Cidália:** Coitaditos! Deve ser duro passar o Natal no hospital!

**Teresa:** Pelo menos têm quem os anime.

**Cidália:** E a Dona Teresa, onde vai passar a Consoada?

**Teresa:** Devo passar na pensão, Dona Cidália.

**Cidália:** Não deve ser fácil para si... o primeiro Natal que passam longe de Angola!

**Teresa:** É tudo tão diferente lá! Tenho tantas saudades... da nossa vida, do meu marido, do cacimbo, dos cheiros... Nem me dá vontade de festejar. Pelo menos tenho os vestidos! Têm vendido bem.

**Cidália:** Tá a ver?! Afinal nem tudo lhe corre mal!

**Artur:** Foi arriada a última bandeira portuguesa em Timor...
Extract #1

**João:** Isto é só pretos!  
**Anita:** E depois?!  
**Álvaro:** Isto deve ser a vossa camarata.  
**Mica:** Bom dia... Olha filha aquela cama parece que está livre!  
**Anita:** E tu?  
**Mica:** Fico nesta.

**João:** They are all black!  
**Anita:** And?!  
**Álvaro:** This must be your dorm.  
**Mica:** Good Morning... Look honey, that bed is free!  
**Anita:** And you?  
**Mica:** I will stay on this one.
Extract #1

**João:** Não percebo por que é que temos ficar nas camaratas no meio daquela gente toda!

**Álvaro:** Não comeces, João! Pensa que ao pé dos nossos vizinhos do quarto temos muita sorte! A maior parte passaram horrores para chegar à metrópole! Tiveram que fugir para a Namíbia, e dali esperar que fosse montada uma ponte aérea para Lisboa.

**João:** Quero lá saber! Estou farto de camaratas! Até a porcaria da pensão do Rato era melhor!

**Mica:** Dá cá isso, João!

**João:** E quando começarem a desocupar os hotéis e as pensões por causa dos turistas, nós… vamos para debaixo da ponte!

**Álvaro:** Chega, João! Eu sei que as coisas não estão fáceis… Mas vocês têm que acreditar em mim! Nós vamos conseguir ter uma casa nossa, está bem?!

**Mica:** Vá João! A mãe tem que abrir a mercearia e tu tens que ir para as aulas, vá la filho!

**Álvaro:** E eu vou falar com o Senhor Artur para ver se ele tem algum serviço para mim.

**João:** I don’t get why we need to say in the dorms in the middle of all those people!

**Álvaro:** Don’t start, João! Think that in comparison to our neighbours we are pretty lucky! The majority of them had to go through horrors to get to the metropolis! They had to flee to Namibia e from there they had to wait for the air bridge to lisbon to be established.

**João:** I don’t care! I a sick of dorms! Even the crappy residential from Rato is better!

**Mica:** Give me that, João!

**João:** And when they start to vacate the hotels and residential for tourists, we… are going to be homeless!

**Álvaro:** That’s enough, João! I know that it hasn’t been easy …But you have to trust me. We are gonna be able to get our own house, okay?!

**Mica:** C’mon João! I have to open the shop and you have to go to school, c’mon son!

**Álvaro:** I am gonna speak to Mr. Artur to see if he has any service orders for me.
Álvaro: Não sei como é que conseguem Mica! Depois de tudo o que passaram estarem aqui a dançar e a rir…

Mica: Quantos mais problemas temos, mais falta nos faz um pouco de alegria… Anda.

Álvaro: Ainda bem que te tenho amor!

Álvaro: I don’t know how they do it Mica! After all they have been through, being here dancing and laughing…

Mica: The more problems we have, the more we need a bit of happiness … Come.

Álvaro: I am glad I have you love!
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