Asymmetrical power in discourse: The case of 'experts' and 'laypeople' on the radio phone-in programme Antena Aberta

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WHILST the public debate over the 'idea of Portuguese identity' within the European context has taken place during this last decade in the media,[1] I have not encountered (linguistic) studies on discourses of national identity construction and representation. Another omission is in-depth analyses of the media's contribution to the reshaping of discourse(s) hence social practice(s) in relation to national identity. I propose to bring together these two facets by analysing: "The discursive construction of Portuguese national identity on a radio phone-in programme discourse broadcast in June 2006", paying special attention to historical and socio-political contextual factors. As such, using a qualitative in-depth methodology (combining discourse analysis and conversation analysis), this paper explores power relations inter- and intra-social groups when framing discourses on national identity and the attempts to imagine and construct *national identity* within the *discourses* produced by 'experts' and 'laypeople' on a radio phone-in programme apropos the football World Cup 2006.

Introduction

Portugal has been subjected to various historical and social processes during recent decades. Joining the European Union in 1986, the increasing globalization of the economy, together with multiple influxes of labour migrants from different national backgrounds, contributed to the urgency of reflecting
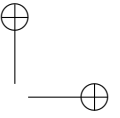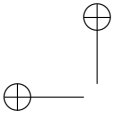
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[1] The list of events that brought about public debate is quite extensive: the Lisbon World Exhibition (1998); Oporto, Culture Capital of Europe (2001).the thirtieth anniversary commemorations of the 25 April democratic revolution (April 2004); EURO 2004; the Prime Minister of Portugal, Durão Barroso, being chosen to head the EU commission (June 2004).
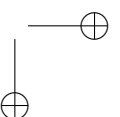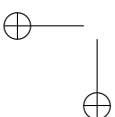
on the consequences of the revolution and to the ongoing debate about national identity. The revolution ended Portugal's political dominance of its former African colonies, thus affecting the long-standing debate on 'Portugal's symbolic role' and the mythical interpretation of the national identity phenomenon, and putting an end to "five centuries of imperial imaginary" (Ribeiro, 2004: 15). Moreover, during these thirty years, "the 'other' has progressively moved to make his or her home amongst 'us'" (Cunha, 1997: 1).[2] Nationalist feelings have surfaced in the past at times when there has been a sense of threat from what is perceived as the outsider. On the one hand, discursive strategies of 'othering' are instrumentalised to build a sense of national cohesion and belonging. On the other hand, national identity is constructed by in-group and out-group boundaries. These boundaries shift and change according to historic and societal contexts. The last three decades have witnessed national political upheavals, as well as mass migration from the former colonies and from rural to urban areas, thus producing new discourses of 'belonging'. Right after the revolution, Portugal received 600,000 'retornados' increasing its population by 5%, at a moment in national history when severe political instability and a far-reaching economic crisis were felt. The latter were mostly second or third-generation emigrants from continental Portugal who had been born overseas and often had never set foot in the European country itself.[3] The group also included Angolans, Mozambicans, Cape Verdeans, etc, who held a Portuguese passport and Timorese (after the 1976 Indonesian invasion of East-Timor), who also possessed a Portuguese passport. In parallel, Portuguese emigrants in Western Europe started to return to 'their homeland' in order to settle down definitively. By the 1990s and by the beginning of the twenty-first century, migrant-labourers from Brazil and from Eastern Europe (mainly Romania, Moldavia and Ukraine) respectively, arrived *en masse* in Portugal, amounting in 2002 to 5% of the resident population in official statistics. (Ramos, 2009: 767). Non-official estimates point to a much higher figure, although numbers fluctuate considerably. Nonetheless, and apart from references to the social and economic impact of the *'retornados'*, these other newcomers - who probably amount to 6% - 7% of the resident

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[2] All quotes from Portuguese sources are my own translations.

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

population - are rarely mentioned by the experts in social studies, apart from research in the field of migrant/minority studies.

The specificity of Portugal's recent history has reshaped discourses on Portuguese national identity, making this country an interesting case within Western Europe and deserving of closer investigation. As van Leeuwen (2005: 98) points out, drawing on Foucault, "discourses have a history". Mapping that history helps us to understand what is commonly perceived as self-evident or natural. Thus, the 'idea' of a Portuguese national identity has been overtly highlighted by the political elite since the later half of the nineteenth century, either to appeal against what was perceived as external threats, or as a mobilizing factor when facing major challenges such as the 25th April 1974 revolution, or joining the European Union in 1986 (Cabral, 2003; Mattoso, 1998).

This study draws on critical theory within a critical discourse analysis tradition and applies linguistic analysis (discourse analysis and conversation analysis) to media data. This paper begins by describing the main theoretical underpinnings of this study, namely the critical theory informing this research, the relationships between media and nationhood, and presents briefly the key concepts of public sphere and symbolic elite from which the main conclusions are drawn. After introducing the data analytical methods - critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) and conversation analysis (henceforth CA), the data set is described and analysed. The final section presents the main conclusions.

Theoretical underpinnings

Sociologists understand collective memory to be 'a question of social remembrance' whose importance has been increasingly acknowledged. Nations have collective memories as part of their narratives of nationhood, through which national groups might share images and representations of the past (Brewer, 2006: 214) and, I should add, also share their 'imagined future'. This is the case with Portugal's collective image and symbolic construction of a present and future 'belonging to Europe' immediately after the 1974 revolution. The dictatorial period and the colonial war fall within what Wodak and de Cillia (2007: 338) describe as 'traumatic events' in a country's past. These
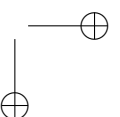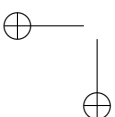
narratives are not only (re)produced through films, documentaries, political speeches and schoolbooks, but are also taken into the private spheres of families and peer groups (Anthonissen and Blommaert, 2006; Martin and Wodak, 2003; Wodak and de Cillia, 2007). At the same time, different groups within the same society compete for "the one and only narrative which should be hegemonic" (Wodak and de Cillia, 2007: 338). This latter narrative has a profound impact on the discursive construction of national identities and is built over a wide range of collective and individual memories (Wodak et al, 1999; Wodak and de Cillia, 2007). This paper has built on the cumulative body of knowledge in the area of critical theory tradition as it applies to *critical discourse analysis,* whose concern centres on denouncing social practices of dominance, discrimination, power and control, as manifested in language. This critical analysis of discourse follows in the tradition of the seminal work on social and political thought of Jürgen Habermas, Stuart Hall, Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu amongst others, whose approaches conceptualise the relationship between the "cultural dimensions of societies emphasising that capitalist social relations are established and maintained in large part in culture and not just in the economic base" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 260).

Thus, this study moves away from the more traditional *essentialist* view of identity, placing particular emphasis on who has *access to the enactments* on Portuguese national identity, who *controls their distributions,* what is *significant*, and what is placed in the background or omitted. For instance, the reiteration of the "imagined community" (Anderson, 2006) portrayed by a hegemonic narrative about the "country's destiny" or on the "country's opening to the world" closes the public sphere to different/other narratives. Thus, a key point to be explored is who, as a group, attains the political, social or symbolic power to shape, within the public sphere, *what should be remembered and what should be forgotten,* and whether these collective memories, which build an in-group of social shared narratives, compete or even collide with other narratives. The main assumption in this study considers that national identity is discursively constructed in many ways, according to co-text, setting and historical context.
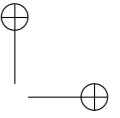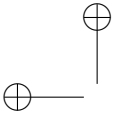
Media and nationhood

The media play a particularly important role in 'imagining the community' and make it possible for people "to engage in national discourse and to think of themselves as a national community" (Li, 2009: 86). They emphasize the most conspicuous symbols of 'banal nationalism' (term coined by Billig, 1995) by the continual reproduction of nations and national identity. These repetitions serve as continuous reminders of our nationhood. Through a process of routine formation, remembering occurs without conscious awareness. Billig calls this process inhabitation, through which "thoughts, reactions and symbols become turned into routine habits and, thus, become inhabited" (Billig, 1995: 42). National media in general (and newspapers, in particular, although these are not the object of study here) are one of the most important sites in which and through which the national agenda is articulated and disseminated.
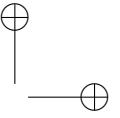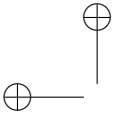
Since we inhabit our nationhood through a continual process of routine-formation, 'we', audiences, usually take it for granted that a story is about 'our' homeland or 'our' nation unless otherwise stated. This is because the media present a 'consensual model' of society, often simply translated into ours – **our** industry, **our** economy, **our** police force (Yumul and Özkirimli, 2000: 792).

Besides the media's role in the sedimentation of nationhood, we must also keep in mind the complex interdependencies between journalists who want a good story, politicians who depend on reporting in the media to disseminate their programmes, and various other groups in society who also want to be represented in the media in the sense of pluralistic reporting (Stråth and Wodak, 2009: 17). These studies capture both the dominant and, eventually, 'marginal' discourses on national identity by examining the language produced during a radio phone-in programme on the topic of national identity.

The radio broadcast ran on the topic of "Is national identity in crisis?" and, as Stråth and Wodak claim, the dissemination of the idea of national 'crisis' is reinforced by the media, in the public sphere, through processes of selection and omissions:

> In such communication, complex processes are reduced to certain images; many other accompanying, often contradictory, processes and positionings
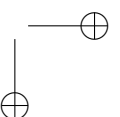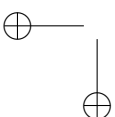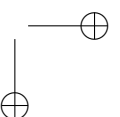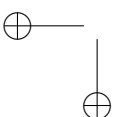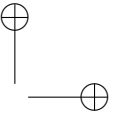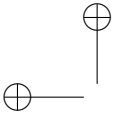
are simply not mentioned anymore or they are swept under the carpet. His-
tory, thus, is reduced to static events captured by images and agenda-setting
by journalistic news production. (2009: 16)

Arguably, the idea of 'crisis', within the context of the data, falls within the
realm of theoretical and abstract hypothesis, for the threats were non-tangible
in their nature i.e. these were perceived by the participants as economic, civic
and educational threats.

The public sphere

The data selected for this study can definitely be considered as *communication
in the public sphere*. The modern media are technologies that enable reflexiv-
ity on a social scale, as they produce and circulate meaning in society. Accord-
ing to Jürgen Habermas' model ([1989]1996), the social system comprised the
private sphere, the social sphere and the public sphere. The mediating element
of the system is the *public sphere*, which included major political and cultural
institutions and the press. Nowadays, the mediating element can be widened
to include the media in general. As such, the media are responsible for the
mediation and interrelations between the various institutions within the ideal
of a rational, democratic society. Habermas' communication model of delib-
erative democracy seeks to implement a "self-regulating media system where
anonymous audiences grant feedback between an informed elite discourse and
a responsible civil society" (Habermas, 2006: 411-12). According to Haber-
mas' highly idealized rational dialogue, the interlocutors in the public sphere
should "find a consensus based on the most acceptable and logical argument"
(Koller and Wodak, 2008: 2). Nonetheless, and still according to these au-
thors (ibid.), the concept of public sphere has changed 'drastically' as the
Habermasian ideal type of community (white male middle-class) has no echo
in "today's social structure and communicative behaviour" (ibid.: 2). Fur-
thermore, to discuss the concept of public sphere today, we must include new
media formats and genres where, for instance, political discourse (information
genre) is blended into various forms of media entertainment such as "infotain-
ment, edutainment and reality soaps" (ibid.: 5). Since media producers must
necessarily be aware of readers/receivers as both members of civil society and
consumers, media production "always walks the line between content orien-

tation, factual representation, and the necessity to reach and entertain as many people as possible" (ibid.: 6).
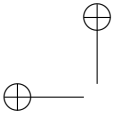
These various dimensions of what the contemporary concept of public sphere entails (and the view that rather than one public sphere there are many) must inform my data analysis. The traditional Habermasian model offered the possibility of examining how "the duality of structure and of culture operates" (Jensen, 2002: 6), which meant that the model referred both to a "structure of social institutions and to social agents' imagined relation to these institutions" (ibid.: 6). Social agents, in imagining configurations, either reproduce or contest the institutional structure, therefore enabling a potential for reflexivity, by individuals and by collectivities. In line with this, the radio callers' participation fall within this potential for *reflexivity,* enabled by the media as a public-sphere interface. On the one hand, they belong to the institutional structure and, on the other, as social agents, they reflect and contest the social institutions they are embedded in. This double bind becomes a rather complex analytical object, as we are in the presence of both the discursive construction of national identity by the nation-state through the media and, simultaneously, by the commentators' and participants' meta-discourse on national identity. To this, we must also add a third dimension of entertainment.

The symbolic elite

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

According to Hall (1997), there is a range of socio-political factors, such as education, culture and economic conditions, that shape how we understand and interpret messages. Thus, semiotically, "we make sense of the message [. . .] to the extent that we share the same signs or coding systems" (Wright, 2008: 27). At the same time, language users have different texts, and these texts are the material with which they engage in communication (Blommaert, 2005: 15). People are constrained by the range and structure of their texts,
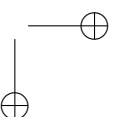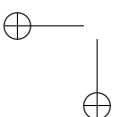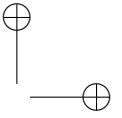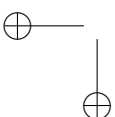
and the distribution of elements of the texts in any society is unequal. As such, what people produce as discourse is determined by their sociolinguistic and contextual backgrounds. This relates to Bourdieu's argument about the importance of symbolic capital, a key issue in the discursive construction of collective memories and collective narratives, and for understanding the social function of symbols (Bourdieu, 1989: 15). For Bourdieu, (symbolic, cultural and political) power is essentially the capacity to mobilise the authority accumulated in what he designates the market. Control of the 'symbolic marketplace' is a central part of the exercise of all social power. Therefore, the experts who come in on the radio programme exercise 'symbolic domination', through which they impose their discourses on national identity and belonging. Their symbolic power is legitimized by their privileged access to the media, and to the legitimacy readers and listeners endow them, and thus determining who dominates 'flagging of nationhood'.
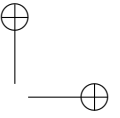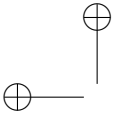
Methodological framework and analytical tools: (Critical) discourse analysis and conversation analysis

Discourse analysis focuses on talk and texts as social practices and on the resources that are drawn on to facilitate those practices. However, while the investigation of text-internal criteria (coherence and cohesion) predominates in traditional *text linguistics*, and the text-external factors remain in the background, in discourse analysis, the text-external factors or context (intertextuality, intentionality, acceptability, informativity and situationality) play a major role in understanding the text which is regarded as "a manifestation and result of particular combinations of factors" (Wodak, 2008: 9). As such, discourse analysis is not just a method but a whole perspective on social life, and its research entails a range of theoretical assumptions. First, discursive practices involve ritualized forms within the institutional setting from where they stem (the field of action, in this case the media), the genre (in this case, the radio phone-in programme) and context (historical and situational); secondly, discourse analysis links the micro- meso- and macro-structures involved in the process of social interaction or social practice.

Often, a primary objective of media discourse analysis (from the linguistic to the sociological) is the problematizing of power relations in society. Therefore, the introduction of a *critical* impetus to the analysis was imperative, to
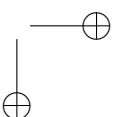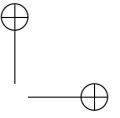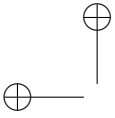
allow for the describing and interpreting of different asymmetrical relations. (Critical) discourse analysis involves looking at language in use and looking at patterns. These patterns are then explained in the light of co-text, specific setting, context and social practices. In this study, the patterns will be explored by way of a form of abductive inference (Jensen, 2002: 259 and 263ff), moving from theory to data analysis and vice versa, which is characteristic of qualitative media research (Jensen, 2002: 264).

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

CA and CDA share various theoretical assumptions. Both are discursive approaches to the social order and to the study of talk in interaction. Each claims that identities are organised out of the social order, are mobilized within the ongoing details of talk and communication, are sequentially organised, within a situated use and within a process of an ongoing interaction. Both assume that we construct and are constructed by societal and historical discourses. The differences arise from the way each approach conceptualizes *context* and their methodologically endeavours to invoke context in the *interpretation of social action*. CA approaches discourse analysis with a focus on the activity of language use, "investigating the to-and-from of interactions" and "looking for patterns in what language users (speakers) do". (Taylor, 2001: 7). In this approach, the user is not considered a free agent but is seen as being constrained by the interactive context and meaning is created within the interaction. However, both CDA and CA regard the language user as always "located, immersed in the medium and struggling to take her or his own social and cultural positioning into account" (Taylor, 2001: 9-10). Moreover, both approaches pay due attention to the "all-enveloping nature of discourse as a fluid, shifting medium in which meaning is created and contested". (Taylor, 2001: 9). Van Dijk states that the research fields are not incompatible but
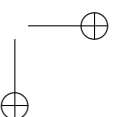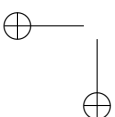
are able to complement each other, since CDA shares many basic criteria and aims with CA:

> [I]nterest in naturally occurring text or talk, acknowledge the context-de-pendency of discourse, recognize the relevance of an interactional dimen-sion of language, attend to sequential phenomena in text and talk and, in general, examine order and organization of expression, meaning and ac-tion at several levels of analysis. [...] Both CDA and CA are relevant for analysing the social dimensions of discourse, namely socially situated interaction, and more global, societal structures, respectively. [...] Both CA and CDA have developed as directions of research interested in doing-social-analysis-by-doing discourse-analysis. (1999: 459-460)
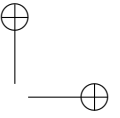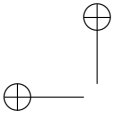
It is in the light of these overlapping aims that I chose to apply a CA approach to the radio data.

Rationale of CA in this study

The radio phone-in broadcast revealed some distinct features deriving from genre (media discourse, public and semi-public discourse) and metadiscur-sive features. Some of these features were audience participation, constraints of topic and time, conversational tone and the local interactive processes of negotiating. CA allows the analyst to focus on how normative frameworks underpin the sequential organisation of interaction within a constrained and highly conventional (institutional) setting and what kind of patterns emerged. The aim is to understand or explain the talk-in-interaction without contextual categories (power, gender, race, religion, social class etc.) postulated a priori, unless these were highlighted by the participants themselves. As such, while from a CDA the analyst could bring to the analysis his or her social, histori-cal and contextual knowledge (for instance, that being right-wing or working class or a scholar affects the way people construe national identity), from a CA perspective these issues will have to come out through talk without any a priori assumptions, which is, in fact, what the data appear to suggest.

The argument here is that this method allows the analysis of the *organiza-tion of interaction*, one of the key features present in this data, and that helps shed some insights into the immediate language or text-internal co-text. CA
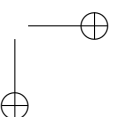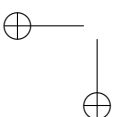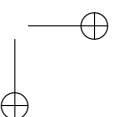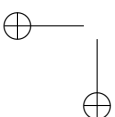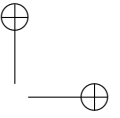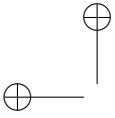
provides the necessary framework for the detailed analysis of the on-going interactional situation in order to answer the following questions: (1) How does the host introduce the topic and callers? (2) How does the caller manoeuvre into position as expert or lay person? (3) How is talk-in-interaction negotiated? Finally, and most important: (4) Do these traits impact on the discursive construction of national identity and if yes, how? Our claim is that in this particular data set, talk-in-interaction is negotiated according to the immediate institutional setting (radio phone-in broadcast live) but the basic elements of turn-taking and sequencing follow a specific pattern determined by *who* is doing the talking. We suggest that *who* is doing the talking (expert or lay person) links to wider social structures connected with power and dominance, i.e. enabling a detailed analysis of differences in interactional patterns.

Describing the data

Portuguese national radio broadcast has an audience share of 57.2% distributed by twelve different radios, as table 4.3 illustrates. In the period July-September 2006 (during which the radio programme was broadcast) Antena 1 was the fifth radio with the widest audience, with 4.7% of the total national radio audience (*Bareme Radio*. Marktest). Thus, the audience share was not a criterion, but rather the topic of the programme itself. The data set consists of a radio phone-in national programme called Antena Aberta (Open Antenna), broadcast live on June 27, 2006 during the football World Cup, when the Portuguese team seemed at the time a possible finalist.

The presence of ordinary members of the public talking in the show is one of the reasons that make this data particularly interesting to analyse. Lay members of the public sharing their opinions crosses between key sociological categories such as private and public, lay and professional in, sometimes, complex ways. The data are therefore quite different from the discourse of broadcast news. The discourse of broadcast news occurs within a defined domain to which access is regulated on the basis of profession or being a recognized public figure or member of the public with a particular involvement in the news (Montgomery, 2007). Keeping in mind this key point, the spoken corpus presents three important features: we can consider the talk to be *semi-public, naturally occurring* and *unscripted* or *fresh talk*. It is *semi-*

public discourse (Wodak et al., 1999), because lay participants publicly share their *authentic* opinions and beliefs, following the rationale of authors who apply this label for data gathered in a focus group setting such as Wodak et al. (1999). The talk is 'naturally occurring language' (i.e. without the interference of the researcher), although the situational context has a declared purpose (the discussion of the topic of national identity) and a particular venue. Even though designating this data as *naturally occurring* is indeed controversial, our take here is that talk can occur in a natural way in more structured situations. Wetherell et al. (2001: 27) discuss this issue of 'naturalness', stating that it does not necessarily refer to speakers being unselfconscious "but to the talk being uninfluenced by the presence of the observer". Even though the researcher is not present or even conceived as such, the programme's perceived audience will tend to constrain participants. Nonetheless, and even though the amount of naturalness we may observe is arguable, it is possible to claim the 'naturalness' of this data if compared to scripted talk.

Due to necessary concessions to the tendencies to informalisation and conversationalisation, Montgomery (2007) claims there are various degrees of scriptedness, ranging from the very constrained news bulletin (which presents very different, although equally complex, participation frameworks) to the various kinds of loose scripting, such as questions in interviews. He distinguishes between news bulletin programmes, interviews and live two-ways. Furthermore, he suggests that degrees of scriptedness should be noted in studies of the discourse of broadcast news. However, the data are not broadcast news, but a radio phone-in programme.
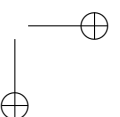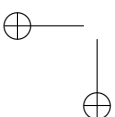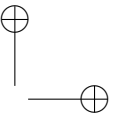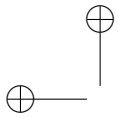
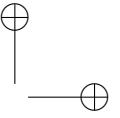**Table 1 List of extracts, participants and turn duration[4]**

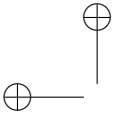| Participant no.	Turn time to the second
radio presenter	0:00:46
host	0:01:58
1	0:01:38
2	0:02:23
3	0:08:01
4i	0:01:00
4ii	0:02:49
5	0:05:37
6	0:04:02
7i	0:00:22
8	0:01:34
9	0:05:18
7ii	0:02:38
10	0:04:21
11i	0:00:39
12	0:05:01
11ii	0:11:27
13	0:04:11
14	0:02:45
Total duration	**1:06:30**

Consequently, phone-ins unfold in real time, they are not scripted, meaning that callers must be creative in reacting and responding (Hutchby, 2006), even though the macro-topic and the participation framework guides participants to the construction of certain discourses and users of the discourses in a distinctive set of roles (Montgomery, 2007: 29).

Fourteen people come on the show, with different lengths of turn duration, ranging from 1 to 5-minute calls (see table 1). However, there is the exception of Callers 3 and 11[5], who are both presented as university research

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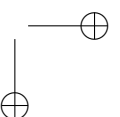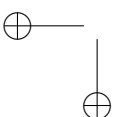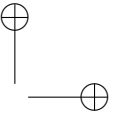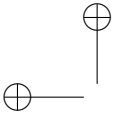[5]Each participant was ascribed a number according to the call sequence.
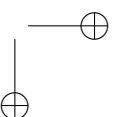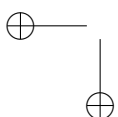
professors. Significantly, during these two calls, the host intervenes six times, asking questions or for clarification, whereas with the remaining twelve participants the host intervention is reduced to two or three brief turns. The fact that these experts are allotted significantly more broadcast time (c. 8 and 12 minutes) impact on the discourses produced on national identity, and on how participants claim various "truths" about the nation, and its people, as we will see below.

What do the participants say?

The show begins with a radio presenter followed by the host introducing the topic. Both presenters contextualize the programme's theme by referring to the recent commemorations of the day of Portugal, the 20th anniversary of Portugal joining the EU (1986) and the Portuguese team's winning streak during the football World Cup. Furthermore, they also mention how people complain that the Portuguese only "feel proud of being Portuguese" on these commemorative occasions. Therefore, they argue, there is a case for debating the topic of national identity. The host quotes Portuguese canonical writers who have dealt with this issue and who have elected "language and culture as the main pillars of our identity". The host ends her long turn with questions that, according to her, are "tormenting the country", such as "Is there a feeling of national identity?" and "How did the EU affect the country's national identity?" The debate then follows a regular pattern: the host immediately hands over to the caller after greeting him or her very briefly.

From a point of view of the semantic macro-structures viewpoint, it is possible to identify two overarching themes connected to several topics framed by the participants. Theme 1 is linked to *past historical events*, with a positive valuation from the lay callers; theme 2 is linked to *the economic and political situation*, to *governance* and to *the European Union*. Thus, in this identity discourse we find the semantic relationship between identity and economic issues, therefore social class, as extract 1 illustrates below, and the second is the semantic relation linking identity to government. This means there are several instances where national identity becomes discursively linked to eco-

nomic issues as well as to issues of political governance, as the extract (1) illustrates[6]:

Extract 1[7]

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

        [umum uma coisa é (.) a identidade do nosso país e outra
        coisa é a gestão do nosso país agora em termos de gestão
        do nosso país é que infelizmente (.) isso tem que ser
        equacionado será que os nossos políticos estão a- a gerir
        umm com um verdadeiro umm sentido de identidade
        nacional?]
```

The following topics or semantic macro-structures were identified: (1) the concept of national defeat; (2) the narrative of a collective political and historical past; (3) the discursive construction of Portugal's membership of the European Union; (4) the discursive construction of the absence of a common future; (5) the discursive construction of Portugal vs. Spain; (6) the discursive construction of an economic and class division: 'us' (the poor and workers) versus 'them' (the rich, the elite, the politicians).

According to van Dijk (2001: 354) "language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication belong to the micro-level of the social order". On the other hand, power, dominance and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro-level of analysis. CDA bridges the gap between both levels. However, in everyday interaction the separation or

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[6]– A dash indicates a false start or cut-off.
(.) A dot enclosed in a bracket indicates short pause.
sou:::nd Colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or word.
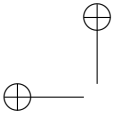[ ] Square brackets indicate where overlapping talk starts and ends.
= The 'equals' sign indicates contiguous utterances.
((in breath)) A description enclosed in a double bracket indicates a non-verbal activity

[7]All extracts have been translated from the Portuguese transcription of the programme. The translations are meant to convey the gist of the original rather than the exact wording. Many of the participants are grammatically inaccurate, very hesitant and repetitive. The translation attempts to keep these oral traits.
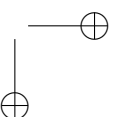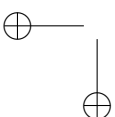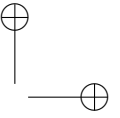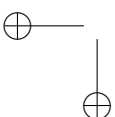
gap is not clear-cut. For instance, the broadcast participants' interactions will produce language use and discourse to be interpreted at the micro-level, e.g. "Portugal is an old country whose main strength lies in its people's soul, a people who have never closed themselves within its borders". Simultaneously it will reproduce a hegemonic or dominant stance at the macro-level, since these are not only words with certain semantics but are also the dominant semantic and social representation of Portugal and its people, therefore not allowing for other (marginal) representations. The radio programme opens with this wording reiterating the dominant discourse at both micro and macro level, engaging in what van Dijk designates as creating members-groups (2001: 354), since the host as an individual actor engages in discourse as a member of the media institution Antena 1. In the data analysed we can observe several different ways of bridging both levels: both academics that come on the programme engage mainly in discourse as a group members. Nevertheless, as language users and social actors, they also bring in their social and personal representations, although distinctively more of the former than of the latter, since they are engaging in the institutional discourse genre of academia. Conversely, the lay participants apparently engage more on individual or personal representations than on socially shared representations, although the role of the CDA analyst is indeed to uncover the discursive representations brought in by the social representations:
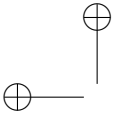
Extract 2

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

        [Ora Portugal se não me enganar muito(.)está pratica-
        está praticamente há- há 9 séculos com a sua identidade
        (.)umm que a identidade deste povo está em risco? ai
        ela está. e para isso basta a globalização e Bruxelas]
```
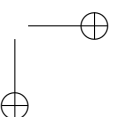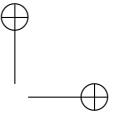
Co-construction of meaning – interaction in spoken discourse

The co-construction of meaning in talk-in-interaction impacts on the discourse produced on national identity as certain topoi, topics, perspectivization and "othering" strategies are framed, produced and recontextualized co-textually. There are three causes affecting the discourses produced on national identity in the data. First, the co-construction of arguments within the interaction; then, the asymmetric positions set up in the opening turn sequences between host and callers; and finally, the strong and deep-seated hierarchical forms of address in the Portuguese language.

The opening sequences on a talk radio show are crucial to observe participants establishing their relevant institutional identities by manoeuvring into position and adjusting their frame (Hutchby 1999), thus pointing to the relationship between language use and social life. The radio calls routinely open by means of a single two-turn sequence as shown in extracts 2 and 3 below. The typical interaction proceeds in a strongly ritualized form: goodbye salutation to former participant immediately followed by greetings to new participant and statement of his occupation and place of residence.

Extract 3[8]

```
Host    Élio Sousa good morning electrician is in Braga
        what is your opinion?

Caller  Good morning I think tha::t Portuga::l

        [Élio Sousa bom dia electricista está em Braga
        qual é a sua opinião?

        [Bom dia eu penso qu::: Portuga:::l]
```
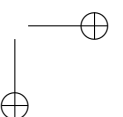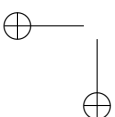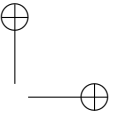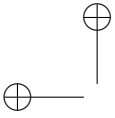
Extract 4

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[8]Names have been changed to keep anonymity of participants.

```
Host    I'm on my way to meet another participant Augusto
        Branco, he's a baker, and is calling from Beja (.)
        good morning=

Caller  =Good morning, Doutora Eduarda Maia (.)

Host    We're listening Augusto

Caller  look I'm going to talk about

        [Vou ao encontro de mais um ouvinte Augusto
        Burrica é padeiro está-nos a ligar de Beja.muito bom dia=

        =Bom dia Dr.ª Eduarda Maia (.)

        Estamos a ouvi-lo Aureliano

        [olhe é para falar]
```
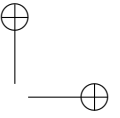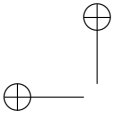
Hutchby's (1996) point on the asymmetry of host-caller positions in arguments (what he calls the potential action-opposition sequence) fully applies to the data, since the organization of calls on talk radio requires callers to begin by stating their position. The way participants say things are as important as what they say. Interaction may be constrained by conventions about who asks questions, how they are answered, who speaks next, and how participants mutually define topics and relevance (Myers, 2005: 81). However, the typical framework for experts is quite different. Significantly, not only are the experts given more broadcast time, but the host also intervenes several times, as it was pointed out above.

The host has the first opportunity for opposition within each call and this turns out to be a powerful argumentative resource (Hutchby, 1996). Besides the asymmetry of host-caller positions in arguments, there is also a second type of asymmetric power relations evident in the forms of address in Portuguese, which links to the notion of conversationalizing institutional talk, discussed in the following section.
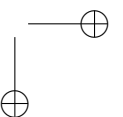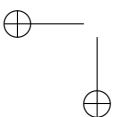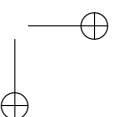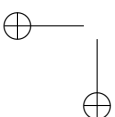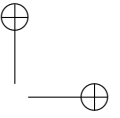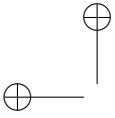
Authenticating and conversationalizing institutional talk

Two further strategies contribute as well to the asymmetric power relations, not only between lay participants and host, but also between lay participants and the academics who participate as experts. To consider these, the concepts of *authenticating* and *conversationalizing* institutional talk will be taken on board.

Asymmetrical power relations enable hosts' discursive strategies to authenticate "the expert" and "the layperson" (Thornborrow, 2001b). This authentication of roles is accomplished when participants build relevant identities for themselves in the early moments of their talk. In the Portuguese language, forms of address are crucial in setting a person's social identity. Speakers addressing adult strangers usually "select a form based on the social or professional position of the hearer, all of which require the third-person singular form of the verb" (Oliveira, 2005: 308). In the show, however, the host is considerably more informal with the lay participants than with the academics. She addresses lay callers by their first names exclusively, which implies a certain degree of familiarity and equality in the relationship on her part: "Hi, António, good morning". This in-between formal [*Senhor(a), Doutor(a), Eng*.(a), etc] and informal [*tu*] way of address is not reciprocated by any of the lay participants who instead use the very formal and deferent forms of "*Dona* Eduarda Maio" or *"Doutora* Eduarda Maio" [Ms. Eduarda Maio] or "*Minha Senhora*" [Ma'am]. These indicate a perceived bottom-up class hierarchy from those who "defer" to the host. Traditionally, the Portuguese language has strategies that enable people to defer linguistically to people who are formally better educated. However, in this particular setting, several participants are framed as being as "educated" as the host (i.e. having completed a university degree), therefore the asymmetric relationship is more striking. In sum, the data reaffirms how the asymmetric power relations are profoundly embedded in the Portuguese social network and in the linguistic enactment of asymmetric dominance in the construction of social identities.

The academics are discursively framed within the role of experts by four different indicators: by the moderator's longer introduction, by the formal form of address "professor", by the way they establish an equal-term relationship with the host by being, out of the fourteen participants, the only two addressing her on a first-name basis. Finally, another means of contrasting

their role is their rather long turns compared to the other participants. Thus, these diverse positionings of participants' social identities convey hegemonic access to the media, hence asymmetrical access to constructing discourses on national identity. On the other hand, and from the audience's viewpoint these strategies authenticate their "expertise".

"Portugal is an old country whose main strength lies in its people's soul": the topic of "pride in being Portuguese"

Both the initial presenter and the host refer to the topic of "pride in being Portuguese" because of the "pride felt for our ancestry" (topos of history and topos of culture), quoting canonical literary authors, who are collectively known for having discursively constructed representations of both the Portuguese people and the Portuguese "fatherland" [*pátria*].

When opening the debate, the host quotes several literary authors; she then proceeds with a quote from the Portuguese President, who is quoted in having quoted the same authors (several levels of explicit intertextuality). Extract 5 below illustrates the hegemonic discourse on national identity as it is reproduced in institutionalized and official settings. Thus, the topos of authority - based on the conclusion rule: Portugal possesses all those qualities because the canonical writers (authority) are correct - is fed by rhetorical devices such as stereotypical positive attributions that implicitly construct positive difference and by visible dichotomies that enhance the nation's positive identity. Thus, predication devices such as the ones that occur in extract 5 together with the contrast between "old country" but "main strength", the reference to the open "borders", and finally, the reference to 'a people' who were the pioneers of "the universal spirit" illustrate this idea. This is the state's 'official' discourse, subscribed to and reproduced by state figures in official state acts and ceremonies:

Extract 5

```
Host Portugal is an old country whose main strength lies in its
     people's soul (.) a people who have never closed themselves
     within borders and in a: way umm have shown (.) the world
```
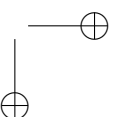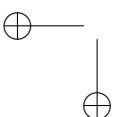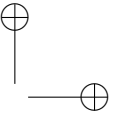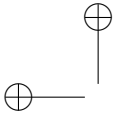
```
(.) taught the world not to be afraid of  the sea
((in breath)) a people who anticipated the European spirit
pioneer of the universal spirit

[Portugal é um velho país cuja força principal sempre
residiu na alma do seu povo (.) um povo que não se fechou
nas suas fronteiras e de ce::rto: modo umm mostrou (.) ao
mundo(.) ensinou ao mundo a não ter medo do mar
((inspiração)) um povo que foi precursor do renascimento
europeu e pioneiro do espírito universalista]
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Conclusion

The radio phone-in revealed distinct features deriving from genre (media discourse, semi-public discourse) and meta-discursive features: audience participation, constraints of topic and time, conversational tone and the local interactive processes of negotiating. CA allowed me to focus on how normative frameworks underpin the sequential organisation of interaction within a constrained and highly conventional (institutional) setting and what kind of patterns emerged. My aim was to explain the talk-in-interaction without contextual categories (power, gender, race, religion, social class etc.) postulated *a priori*, unless the participants themselves highlighted these. As such, the CA instruments illustrated how macro-topics such as the marked class divide could also become evident through the analysis of initial turn taking, forms of address and argumentation construction within the interaction.

This study was guided by the elites' discursive representations of national identity vs. the ordinary people's own representation dichotomy, addressing the question of what discourses semi-public lay participants draw on to construe and/or represent Portugal's national identity. Thus, the data revealed features such as the hegemonic or dominant discursive construction of national identity to be embedded in the Portuguese collective past, collective history, collective memory and canonical writers. Furthermore, the data illustrate that discourses are fragmented and the show is (mostly) non-interactive. In the light of these findings, it is appropriate to quote Santos (1993) who argues that the exaggerated mythic interpretation of Portuguese national identity by the (symbolic) elites could be a compensatory strategy for not acknowledging or understanding social reality, since these elites are unable to bridge the gap
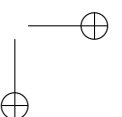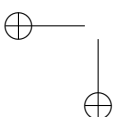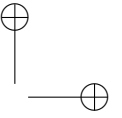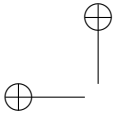
between external reality and themselves. However, the lay participants share the social representations of this dominant discourse, for they do not question the discursive constructions that convey them. As such, the deliberate and overt omission of the 'other' (first and second generation of labour migrants, mentioned in the introduction of this paper) is a constant in the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity, is spite of the recent reconfiguration of the historical and social context. Evidently, this is a form of exclusionary practice. These conclusions confirm what Cunha (1997: 29) argues in her study on national identity and opinion articles in the press, where she applies a content analysis methodology to 99 opinion articles published between 1993 and 1995 in the main Portuguese newspapers:

> The lack of debate, the emptiness generated by the omission of the Other, the silence and the silencing of his or her voice (rarely heard) emphasize the way the Portuguese have of talking of the Other as a continuation of themselves, in a narcissistic and autistic movement, avoiding either public or private confrontation, between the symbolic universe and the daily practices or the debate about future perspectives of building relationships and living together.[9]

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

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[9] "A ausência de debate, o vazio gerado pela ausência do Outro, o silêncio e o silenciamento da sua voz (raramente ouvida e escutada) vêm reforçar a tendência dos portugueses para falarem do Outro apenas como prolongamento de si próprio, num movimento narcísico e autista, evitando quer a confrontação, pública e privada, entre o universo simbólico e as práticas do quotidiano, quer a discussão e assunção das perspectivas futuras de relacionamento e convivência." (Cunha, 1997: 29).
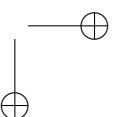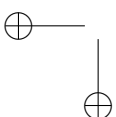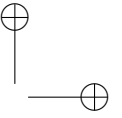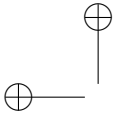
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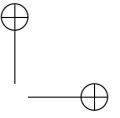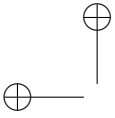BILLIG, M., *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage, 1995.

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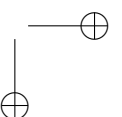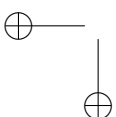
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