



TEAM POPULISM – LEADER PROFILE SERIES

The Irregular Populist: André Ventura – The Leader of Chega

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NOVEMBER / 2022

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Team Populism
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WHAT IS TEAM POPULISM?

Team Populism brings together renowned scholars from Europe and the Americas to study the causes and consequences of populism. We seek to answer why some populist parties, leaders or movements are more successful than others.

Our general argument is that populism is best understood as a combination of individual and contextual issues ("demand side") and the availability of successful leaders ("supply side").

We expand on this broad framework by studying multiple levels of analysis, and we draw on different methodological tools, including experiments, surveys, and comparative analysis. To facilitate this work, individual teams are organized around functional tasks.

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The Irregular Populist: André Ventura – The Leader of Chega

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Abstract: This paper aims to measure, for the first time, the level of populist rhetoric of André Ventura – the leader of the Chega party. We did so by analyzing a total of sixteen discursive elements (selected speeches, interviews and tweets, between 2020 and 2022), using the holistic grading method with two graders.

Despite a total average of 1.14 (on a scale ranging from 0 to 2), which would suggest mild populism, we managed to identify several features of manifest populist rhetoric, such as a dualistic framework of politics, an agonistic dichotomy between Chega and the political and economic establishment – the “system” –, and an attempt to rekindle political conflict seen as a moral battle where Chega would act as the sole instrument to save Portugal from its enemies and problems. Taking this into consideration, the main conclusion of this paper is the classification of André Ventura as an *irregular populist*, considering the constant fluctuation of his populist rhetoric in order to adapt to the place, the audience, and, most likely, the political moment and the intended consequences of the speech itself.

Keywords: André Ventura; Chega; Populism; Portuguese Elections

Introduction

“I do not see myself as a populist,” said André Ventura in a February 2022 TV interview given a few days after his party, Chega, elected twelve representatives to the Portuguese parliament. Notwithstanding Ventura’s unwillingness to embrace the populist label, since the party’s breakthrough in the 2019 legislative elections - when Ventura managed to be elected as its sole MP - Chega has been described by academics, media, and his party’s opposition as a radical-right populist party (Marchi, 2020; Mendes, 2022). Many of its core features (i.e. anti-elitism, people-centrism, and producerism) had already been present in previous political formations (see Zúquete, 2022); however, most observers interpreted the rise of Chega as the “end” of Portuguese exceptionalism regarding right-wing populism.

What follows is the first attempt at measurement of the Chega leader’s populist discourse, combining both a quantitative and qualitative analysis of Ventura’s rhetoric as a Portuguese political actor. The data and results obtained ultimately confirm the Chega leader’s populist nature – even though, as will be explained further below, Ventura’s populism does not obey a regular pattern but rather fluctuates between high, moderate, and low levels of populist discourse, constituting an unsystematic reaction to events and situations. Thus, he may be classified as an *irregular populist*.

Methodology

Regarding the four principal definitions of populism – structural, economic, political-institutional, and discursive – the methodology of this paper follows the *discursive* definition, in line with Ernesto Laclau’s view of populism that, in a nutshell, is

built on empty signifiers that inhabit the political discourse (Laclau, 2005). In this sense, we consider the understanding of populism primarily “as a Manichaeian discourse that identifies Good with a unified will of the people and Evil with a conspiring elite.” (Hawkins, 2009: 1042).

When scholars began to problematize and define populism, qualitative analysis prevailed among political scientists, yet the growing need to measure the phenomenon and correctly identify populist politicians prompted political scientists to explore numerous quantitative research methods that can be systematized “into three broad categories: dictionary-based computerized content analysis, holistic grading, and traditional thematic text analysis” (Aslanidis, 2018: 1245).

We developed our work using the holistic grading method developed by Kirk A. Hawkins and adopted by Team Populism. First, we identified and analysed the presence of several discursive elements; a Manichean discourse including moral and dualistic dimensions powered by features of history reification, speech hyperboles, etc.; a bolstering of the General Will emanating from the “good” people of the majority versus the “bad” minority; an appeal for systemic change; and use of strong language combined with an “anything goes” attitude (Hawkins, 2009). Second, considering an interval scale ranging between 0 (non-populist) and 2 (extreme populist), we graded and commented on the populist score of each speech. Additionally, we made an intertemporal variation analysis of the speeches that occurred in a specific period in order to explore Ventura’s populist speech evolution across time.

In analysing the level of populism in Ventura’s discourse, we used a complete sample characterized by its heterogenic and longitudinal nature – it comprises twelve

speeches, two debates, one interview, and several tweets. This timeframe covers the two major moments of Portuguese politics of the period analysed: the 2021 presidential election and the 2022 legislative election.

The chosen sample covers a plurality of contexts, venues, and audiences so that the analysis is as thorough as possible, always with a common criterion: the particular importance of the chosen speech. This research includes the most emblematic and mediatic speeches, performed in key political moments from 2020 through 2022, which are detailed in the next two paragraphs. They occurred in several contexts: the main party rallies, congresses and internal meetings; in a very notorious 2020 street demonstration; in the Portuguese Parliament; on television, comprising an interview and also debates of Ventura with the Portuguese Prime Minister and with the leader of the main opposition party; and Ventura's tweets in the decisive last fifteen days of the 2022 parliamentary elections campaign. Overall, we meant to capture data from different moments, while focusing on specific elements that received more coverage, in order to have a complete view of Ventura's populism.

The 2021 presidential election featured the following speeches: a speech performed in a public rally of the Chega party on July 19, 2020, a speech performed on August 8, 2020 in a street demonstration against the political system and during the presidential campaign, a speech performed on September 19, 2020 in the Second Chega Party Congress a few months before the presidential election, a speech performed in the Portuguese Parliament on October 14, 2020, a television interview on January 11, 2021, and a speech performed in the aftermath of the presidential election on the January 24, 2021.

Our analysis for the 2022 legislative election includes the following speeches: a speech delivered at a Chega congress on December 3, 2021 and before the 2022 parliamentary election campaign, a speech performed in a private party members' event on December 13, 2021, a speech performed at a December 22, 2021 party rally, a televised debate between Ventura and Rui Rio, leader of the Social Democrat Party (centre-right in Portugal) on January 3, 2022, a televised debate on January 6, 2022 between Ventura and Prime Minister António Costa, the Socialist Party leader, a speech performed at a party rally on January 9, 2022 during the parliamentary election campaign, where Spanish populist ally Santiago Abascal was in the audience, a speech performed at an January 11, 2022 party rally, a speech performed at a January 17, 2022 party rally, and Ventura's tweets during the parliamentary elections campaign over a fifteen-day period between January 15 and January 30, 2022. Furthermore, we analyzed a speech given on October 4, 2021 to an audience of party members recently elected in the September municipal elections.

Some authors, such as Teun Pauwels, identify problems with holistic grading that are common to other content analysis methods: "(1) insufficient reliability; (2) the labour intensive work which makes comparisons over time and space difficult; [and] (3) possible subjectivity by the coders" (Pauwels, 2011: 102). Also, Paris Aslanidis points out obvious limitations, namely human error derived from factors including insufficient training, misinterpretation of speeches, and the inherent limitation of the ordinal scale, which may not capture with enough precision the variation of the different populist levels (Aslanidis, 2018: 1248-9).

We addressed the ‘human side’ issues (namely the potential subjectivity and misinterpretation flaws) by approaching Ventura’s speeches in a rigorous and analytical way, supported by the proper training performed on holistic grading. Also, in order to ensure the reliability of the results, the speeches were double-coded, and all of the double-coded scores were within an average of half-point of the scale from each other. Afterwards, the grades were discussed among the three authors.

Our Ventura’s populism measurement with holistic grading follows the ideational approach of populism which “defines populism as a discourse dividing the political world into two camps: the good, identified with the virtuous will of the common people; and the evil, embodied in a conspiring elite.” (Hawkins and Castanho Silva, 2018: 29). Moreover, the ideational approach is especially useful to the task of “operationalization and measurement, because it identifies elements that should be present in a discourse for it to be populist.” (Hawkins and Castanho Silva, 2018: 29).

Other strong arguments favouring the usage of holist grading are its high testability and validity track record across a substantial number of countries and time periods (Hawkins and Castanho Silva, 2018: 30), and “because it works at the level of whole texts, it can be used to generate data relatively quickly, at least for human-coded analysis.” (Hawkins and Castanho Silva, 2018: 31).

We found holistic grading to be an overall consistent and trustworthy way to measure populism – a task relatively recent to political science but very much needed, even considering that it will probably never be one hundred percent accurate.

Results

If, as Hawkins argues, “the label of populist is often applied without any systematic empirical justification” (Hawkins, 2009: 1048), the present paper aimed at doing the very opposite by following a clear method during a case study whose results we shall now expose.

Concerning the question of whether André Ventura is a populist and to what degree, an analysis of his political speeches, interviews, debates, and tweets shows that the answer is far from being definite or clear-cut. If we take into account the average grade of the 16 evaluated elements, which together have a value of 1.14, we could be tempted to classify Ventura’s speeches as *moderately populist*. However, a standard deviation of 0.41 and a mean average deviation of 0.38 (very high, considering a scale ranging from 0 to 2) show how hasty that conclusion would be. It is obvious that adding or subtracting 0.4 to 1.14 would take us to a very different analysis. This becomes even clearer when we look at the maximum score of 1.8 for an extremely populist speech only lacking the even more morally charged and bellicose tone that would place it within a populism paradigm, and at the minimum score of 0.6, which indicates slight populism and places Ventura closer to pluralism.

Therefore, an average score of 1.14 for the Ventura speeches and other texts mentioned above is not completely representative of Ventura’s level of populism and, thus, is insufficient for the task at hand, which means a more thorough exercise is required. In fact, because the positional analysis has failed, we made use of a dynamic one: the intertemporal evolution of Ventura's populism, depicted below in FIGURE 1.

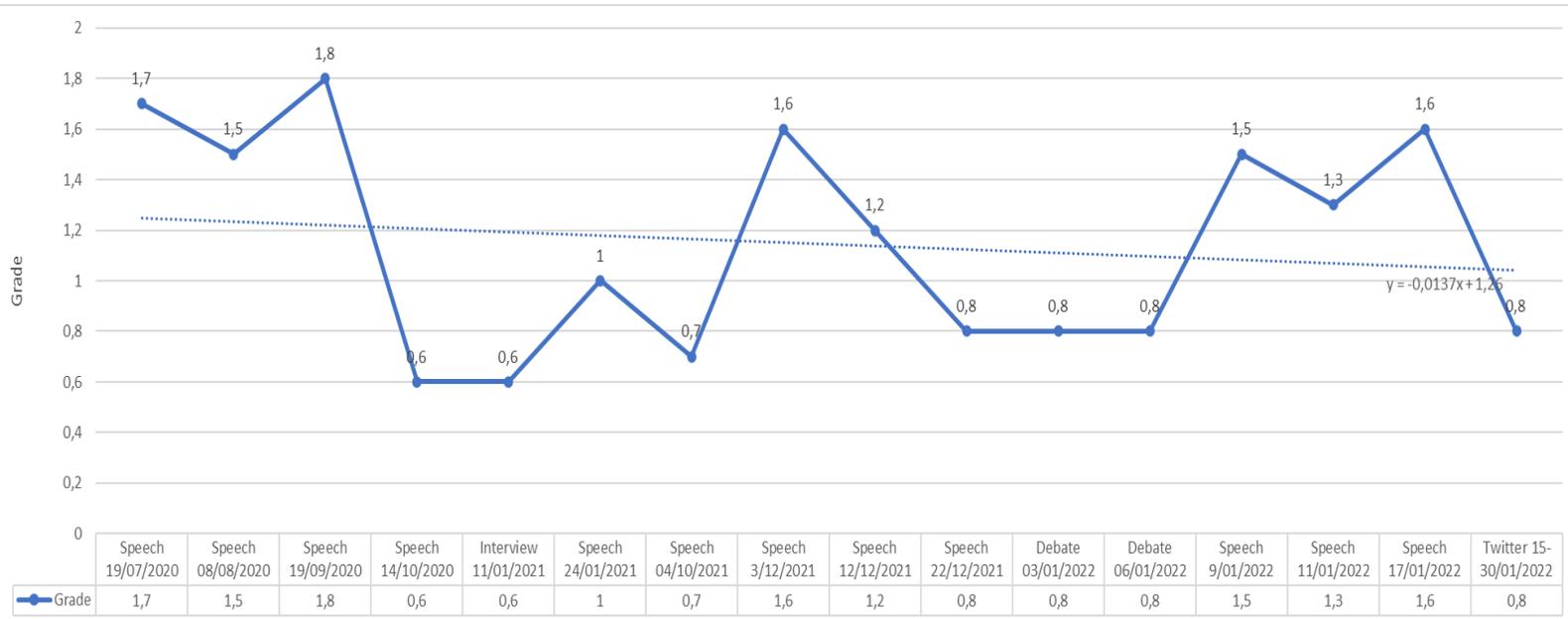


FIGURE 1 – Collection of speeches (including tweets)

The graph above reveals our inability to find any regularity. Indeed, the lack of regularity is visible through a practically null (-0.0137) slope of the tendency line, which means there is no visible trajectory regarding the populist nature of Ventura’s speeches. He does not become more or less populist steadily through time. He simply changes tone, and such changes follow no pattern. In fact, concerning the common pre-electoral strategic adaptation of discourse, there is no rule predicting an increased degree of populism immediately before the nearest election or, by contrast, a constant decline of that degree once elections get closer. Both things happen on some occasions and do not happen on other occasions. For instance, there is a populist rhetoric decline before the January 24, 2021 presidential election but an increase in the same rhetoric before the January 30, 2022 parliamentary elections.

As a result, rather than saying no regularity can be found, a more acute observation could suggest that Ventura's irregularity in applying populist rhetoric is, in fact, the trend. Hence, a very plausible conclusion is that Chega's leader constantly adapts his populist strategy according to a number of factors such as the place, the audience and, most likely, the political moment of the country and the intended consequences of the speech itself. Thus, eschewing commonplace classifications, if we were to classify a leader with stable medium to high average scores of populism, low standard-deviations and similar thematic references across time, space and target as a *regular populist*, Ventura is an *irregular populist*.

Qualitative Analysis

As noted above, this qualitative analysis draws from sixteen speeches and a collection of tweets delivered by the Chega leader spanning from July 2020 to January 2022, both during and beyond campaign periods.

The Dualistic Framework

Ventura's discourse is anchored in a dramatic division between good and evil forces at work in Portuguese politics and society. First of all, this Manichean set-up manifests as a vertical opposition between the elites who have usurped popular sovereignty – those up above – and the people – those down below – whose will has been subverted and silenced. The evil elite is the reason for the country's ills. "Our problem was never the people but the elites that governed us," (Parliamentary elections campaign, January 9, 2022), Ventura said in a campaign speech. This anti-elitism is often expressed

aggressively, as is evident in statements such as “this country suffered a lot with forty years of scoundrels and bandits,” (Parliamentary elections campaign, December 22, 2021) and especially so against the political class, when he said, “I guess Portuguese politicians are the worst in Europe. I never saw such a bad, petty and opportunistic group of people.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, January 11, 2022). Standing opposed to the elite are the people – invariably good and pure – of whom Chega is the embodiment. In Ventura’s discourse, Chega is construed as the voice of the common people. The Chega leader makes this connection repeatedly: “We were born from the people’s anger” because “[o]ur party was born as a party of common people, of simple people (...) we have got all sorts of people and that is the strength of a party that represents ‘Portugueseness’, the common people.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, December 12, 2021 and January 9, 2022)

Chega VS The rest

Ventura’s narrative holds Chega as the one and only alternative to what is invariably described as “the system” – a combination of traditional political actors, the media, and cultural elites; “we are the only true opposition” (Parliamentary elections campaign, December 3, 2021) he said in a campaign speech. For him, that is the *raison d’être* of the party: “Chega was born to break with the system.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, December 3, 2021). Unlike all other parties, which are beholden to elite interests, Chega embodies the voice of the people – “[our candidates] are mostly common people (...) People look and realize they are like them, with the same fears, anxieties, tough life paths.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, December 12, 2021). Further, the

Chega leader proclaimed, “[w]e are the party of the ordinary Portuguese, of those who work and pay taxes, of the mothers, fathers, grandparents (...), of the unemployed, of those who no longer believe in the system.” (Presidential elections campaign, September 19, 2020).

Chega is thus the only party that understands the plight of the common people. As proclaimed by Ventura at a campaign rally, “One thing is what some elite ... thinks. Another is what the common people think, those who have to face the problems that we talk about.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, January 17, 2022). As opposed to the country envisioned by the ruling elites, Ventura exalts the “real country” of the common Portuguese, a separated heartland and virtuous society. Moreover, he says, “[i]t is to the real country that we must talk. The others will never be with us.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, January 17, 2022).

A Moral Battle

Ventura’s discourse is situated within a moralistic framework where the evils that afflict the country – chief among them corruption and social parasitism – are presented as proof of the moral decay of the entire system. Hence, Chega’s fight against both ills is translated into a battle of good against evil, or of the just against the ignoble. In this narrative, Portugal is divided into two halves: the Portugal of the “good Portuguese” (of whom Chega is the voice) and the Portugal of the crooks. There are two major groups in the bad half of the country. One group comprises the self-serving elites whose wide corruption is a testament to their immorality. As stated by Ventura, “We are tired of seeing the system more rotten and more corrupt, where the privileged are illegitimate

owners of everything.” (Presidential campaign, August 8, 2020). Moreover, he says, “We resist like a virus (...) that wants to destroy corruption (...) to destroy political clientelism (...) those who stole us over the last 46 years (...) jail for them!” (Presidential elections campaign, September 19, 2020). Part and parcel of the battle between the pure people and the corrupt elite is stripping the ruling political elites from their privileges, starting with their numbers and pay: “We should cut by half the political class in Portugal (...) We have got too many politicians (...) we don’t need them and could save millions there.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, January 6, 2022). After all, “There is always money to pay high pensions to politicians, millionaire salaries to judges (...) but there is not enough money to pay the pensions of common citizens.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, December 22, 2021). This situation is made much worse in the end, owing to the fact that most are useless and expendable: “Most of them have never done anything else other than being professional politicians.” (Presidential elections campaign, July 19, 2020).

The other group that is part of the “bad Portuguese” are some minorities – especially the Roma community – viewed as abusive and unethical, leeching on the work and labor of the so-called good and honest Portuguese taxpayers. In a society “where one half works and the other half does nothing,” (Presidential elections campaign, September 19, 2020), Ventura vows to “provide for those who work and have worked and cut on those who lived their whole lives off our taxes.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, January 17, 2022). Viewed as self-segregated and lawless, gypsies are accused of having a sense of entitlement “that the state has the duty to give them everything and they don’t need to give [anything] back.” (Presidential campaign, January 11, 2021). In his

discourse, for different reasons, Ventura unites both professional politicians and the Roma community as outsiders from the “real” Portugal and drainers of public resources rather than contributors of value to the community and, therefore, as agents who create an unjust and immoral state of affairs.

Politics as a tool of salvation

Ventura frequently promotes a self-image as a leader wholly devoted to the cause of transforming Portugal, while Chega is acclaimed as nothing short of a holy enterprise. “Chega is like a religion” (Presidential elections campaign, September 19, 2020) the leader declared to the militants, “it is this unwavering belief we have, this feeling of a supra-historical mission.” (Presidential elections campaign, September 19, 2020). Ventura is a missionary leader as he stated in a speech during his presidential bid,

I am very religious and I believe that what happened to me, and also to Chega, considering the history of Portugal ... was a miracle ... it was against all odds that someone without political, financial and operational means would rise from zero ... to earn a spot in parliament ... it was a sign from God. (Presidential campaign, January 11, 2021).

As he said on other occasions, “I must fulfil the mission I am fated to” (Presidential elections campaign, July 19, 2020) and “I thank God for making me the voice of this country” (Presidential campaign, January 24, 2021). Images of self-sacrifice and martyrdom abound: “Until my last drop of blood, I will be your voice,” (Presidential campaign, August 8, 2020) he vows, while declaring that “I can promise you that while I’m the president of this party, I shall die, if needed, fighting to transform this country

once and for all.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, December 3, 2021).

Ventura’s discourse is not against pluralist democracy *per se* – he vows to work through the political system under respect for the rule of law. Yet, Ventura sets his sights not on incremental changes to the political system, but on a more totalizing work of purification against the defilement caused by decades of evil practices and politics. As Ventura proclaimed at a rally with militants, “[t]here is in Chega this dimension that is similar to Christianity. People convert themselves and change. It’s possible to change. Fighting corruption allows us to change, fighting clientelism allows us to change.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, January 17, 2022). He further said the following: “People get converted, they end up here and they see the light that guides Portugal.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, January 17, 2022). These politics of redemption imply the “salvation” of Portugal: “Saving Portugal is what we must do right now. Saving Portugal for our children, grandchildren ... and even for our parents and grandparents” (Parliamentary elections campaign, December 3, 2021) because “History placed us here and now ... and we must accept this challenge.” (Parliamentary elections campaign, December 3, 2021). Within this mindset – and the appeal to politics as a tool of radical, epoch-making, transformation (for example, “This is a life mission, this is a political project to transform the country” [Parliamentary elections campaign, January 9, 2022]) - it is unsurprising that it is claimed that the “final destination” of Chega’s political project is one of completion: Portugal redeemed in the form of a “new republic” that will be spoken about for the ages. As Ventura envisioned, in the future “They [our progeny] will say that this great national revolution has already left the Age of Discovery or the 25th of April behind, because the true revolution in Portugal was called ‘Chega’,

and it was this force that allowed us to become great again!” (Presidential elections campaign, September 19, 2020).

Conclusion

This paper aimed to thoroughly measure, for the first time, the level of populism of the Chega party leader’s discourses, in an exercise meant to bring clarity to a panorama often brimming with politically charged opinions and a lack of scientific rigor. We did so through quantitative and qualitative discourse analysis, following the method of holistic grading.

The main conclusion of this paper is the confirmation of Ventura as a mild and irregular populist political leader, despite his refusal to publicly admit it as a possible strategic move to distance himself from populism’s widespread negative connotation.

Despite the fact that a final definition of populism is still a very debated question, the results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of Ventura’s rhetoric clearly place the Chega leader as a populist in the sense that it is observed, in a fluctuating way, as a detachment and even a rejection of pluralism (Müller, 2016).

In qualitative terms, we managed to detect indisputable elements of populist rhetoric, such as a Manichean framework of politics, a division between Chega and the rest of the “system,” and an attempt to rekindle political conflict seen as a moral battle where Chega would present itself as a tool of salvation to most of Portugal’s long-lasting problems.

When it comes to the quantitative dimension of our work, Ventura’s 1.14 average scoring, using the holistic grading method, suggests a mild populist political leader. However, the most important conclusion to be taken from the speeches analyzed and

discussed in this paper is the irregularity of his populism. In such a heterogenic sample of speeches and tweets, it became unmistakable that Ventura's populism doesn't follow a regular pattern. He uses an "adaptative" kind of populism according to the context where he performs and the political objectives he aims to attain.

Although Ventura is not the first populist leader in Portugal's vast political history (Zúquete, 2022), this paper allows for an additional lateral conclusion regarding the fact that he is the first Portuguese populist leader with significant electoral support that inhabits the big and currently trendy "European house" of radical right-wing populists.

Summing up, this research follows Ventura's transformation from his initial steps as the leader of a small party to a major political personality that now rules the third party with more seats in the Portuguese parliament. This first-time measurement of his discourse should be viewed as a core step to explore and problematize the ever-changing phenomenon of Ventura's *irregular* populism.

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Blank Code Rubric

2 A speech in this category is extremely populist and comes very close to the ideal populist discourse. Specifically, the speech expresses all or nearly all of the elements of ideal populist discourse, and has few elements that would be considered non-populist.

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

0 A speech in this category uses few if any populist elements. Note that even if a manifesto expresses a Manichaeian worldview, it is not considered populist if it lacks some notion of a popular will.

Populist	Pluralist
It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.	The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues . The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.
The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.	The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.
Although Manichaeian, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50	Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.

<p>percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

Speech 1

Country: Portugal

Name of speaker: André Ventura

Date of speech: August 8, 2020

Type of speech: Presidential campaign

Place of speech: Lisbon, Portugal

Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmzbN6D9CBY>

Main Grader: Coder A

Date of grading: January 27, 2022

Coder A’s Grade: 1.5

Coder B’s Grade: 1.5

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 1.5

2 A speech in this category is extremely populist and comes very close to the ideal populist discourse. Specifically, the speech expresses all or nearly all of the elements of ideal populist discourse, and has few elements that would be considered non-populist.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We are tired of seeing the system more rotten and more corrupt, where the privileged are illegitimate owners of everything.” - “We are not for sale, we are here because we love this country.” - “There is only one opposition party in Portugal, and that is us.” - “Until my last drop of blood, I will be your voice, I will be your struggle and I will be your strength.” 	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any</p>

<p>in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “They say we are like a religion and we are because we have an enormous strength that is born inside of us.” - “We established an alliance with the Portuguese people, we will never disappoint them and shame on us if we do.” 	<p>reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p>
<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Portugal is also ours and we do not accept that Portugal will be sold to thieves.” 	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Citizens of all social classes, of everywhere (...) came here to say that enough is enough.”
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “The streets are not owned by left-wing and radical left-wing anymore (...) The streets will be dominated by this sea of people that says enough!” - “In the next elections we will send the power owner elite straight back home, where they shouldn’t have left in the first place.” 	
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “If we want to castrate rapers and paedophiles they say it is not constitutional, if we want to reduce deputies they say it is not constitutional.” - “I don’t accept that while the people are going through an enormous crisis, the gigantic system continues to be sustained.” 	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

André Ventura’s speech is performed in a street demonstration against the political system, during the presidential campaign.

André Ventura's speech includes strong, clearly populist elements, namely a Manichaeian vision of the world, where the political establishment (the so-called "system") and left-wing political forces are associated with the "wrong side", linked with corruption and abuse of power. In contrast, Ventura's party is presented as the only opposition, fueled not by obscure motifs but by the love of the country and defense of the people (antagonism between "us"/"we" (Portuguese people) and the "system").

Also, other elements are identified: the crisis situation is heightened; a religious parallel with the party is made; a reification notion is presented in the sense that it was built an alliance between the party and people; a somewhat systemic change is mentioned (in order to alter constitutional laws); and, finally, Ventura uses bellicosity tone and language with words like "castration", "thieves", "fear", "crisis", etc.

Nevertheless, the general discourse is tempered with non-populist elements. It is generally democratic (the takeover of power will happen through elections) and the notion of citizenship is plural – the people are comprised of individuals from every social class and region in the country.

Overall, the grade of 1.5 refers to the lower grades of strong populist speech with few pluralist elements.

Speech 2

Country: Portugal

Name of speaker: André Ventura

Date of speech: October 14, 2020

Type of speech: Presidential campaign

Place of speech: Lisbon, Portugal

Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PXblCx03mm8>

Main Grader: Coder A

Date of grading: January 31, 2022

Coder A’s Grade: 0.6

Coder B’s Grade: 0.5

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 0.6

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p> <p>- “Relaxing the rules of public contracting (...) the reduction of Court of Auditors visas for the public construction that will begin (...) the replacement of judiciary police directors by members of the Justice Ministry (...) the dismiss of the Court of Auditors President.”</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard,</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p>

<p>frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Considering the history of the country, effective transparency is needed more than ever.” 	
<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “This will be the rule, until the parliament, as the only chamber with capability, defeats the authoritarian initiative of António Costa.”
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Those who mess with the Socialist Party, take a beating.” - The people (...) feel that each step is a step towards the catastrophic corruption (...) while the left-wing doesn’t care and some right-wing is too ashamed for acting.” 	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>

<p>technically it comes about through elections.</p>	
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <p>- “The President of the Republic doesn’t care (...) and some opposition doesn’t comment. One word – ‘venezuelization’.”</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

André Ventura’s speech is performed in the Portuguese parliament, during the time frame of the presidential campaign.

André Ventura’s speech includes some populist elements, namely an appeal against the “system” – personified by António Costa and the Socialist party, with the connivance of the left-wing parties and, the absence of opposition of some right-wing forces and the President of the Portuguese Republic. Also, is identified the usage of some strong language (e.g. “venezuelization”).

Although Ventura’s speech includes references to the “people”, it lacks a clear notion of a popular will and an “anything goes” attitude. Moreover, the discourse presents obvious pluralist elements: focus on particular issues (e.g. public contracting, Court of Auditors matters); and the respect for democracy. In this sense, the grade is 0.6 as the lower value of a populist speech.

Speech 3

Country: Portugal
Name of speaker: André Ventura
Date of speech: January 11, 2021
Type of speech: Presidential campaign
Place of speech: Lisbon, Portugal
Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1z-h1wuQnTc>
Main Grader: Coder A
Date of grading: February 1, 2022

Coder A’s Grade: 0.7
 Coder B’s Grade: 0.5

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 0.6

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

Populist	Pluralist
It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.	The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues . The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.
The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.	The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.

<p>- “I am very religious and I believe that what happened to me, and also to Chega, considering the history of Portugal (...) was a miracle (...) it was against all odds that someone without political, financial and operational means would rise from zero (...) to earn a spot in parliament (...) it was a sign from God.”</p>	
<p>Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <p>- “The majority of gypsies, refuses to follow the rule of law, there is almost a cultural pattern for not following the rule of law, considering the disrespect of women rights, underage weddings, and the sense that the state has the duty to give them everything and they don’t need to give it back.”</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>

<p>“revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “I want to build an anti-system party, while maintaining respect to human dignity.” - “I want a so-called IV Republic (...) a presidential regime.” 	
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Internal opposition (...) criticizes me because I am a supporter of internal democracy, but I think that there should be limits regarding what the party can be (...) those who accuse us of being a far-right party and a danger to democracy accuse me of not being democrat when I clean the party of radical members, and what I did was precisely reject them (the non-democratic members) (...) when I leave Chega leadership, I don’t want that the party becomes dominated by people who defend violence, or defend that the state should be changed by force, or that women and coloured people shouldn’t have any rights...” - “I made an agreement with Rui Rio (...) I will not demand PSD to give away its position in all matters.”

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

André Ventura's speech is performed during a television interview, considering the presidential campaign.

This speech includes a variety of populist elements, that are observed when he: declares the anti-system nature of the party and the will to change the system of government (from semi-presidential to presidential); uses mystical references, linking his political success to the will of God; argues against the gypsies, presented predominantly as an outlaw ethnic group.

However, Ventura's speech is not a strong populist one. The discourse misses a Manichean vision of the world or strong bellicose language, the common man is not romanticized, and there is no conspirational tone. Also, regarding the gypsies critiques, Ventura doesn't include every single member of that ethnic community, avoiding generalization.

Additionally, Ventura's speech presents clear pluralist elements, namely: the respect for institutions and the rule of law; the opposition being treated as a legitimate political actor; and the claims against anti-democratic, illegal and violent actions.

Overall, the grade is 0.6 as the lower value of a populist speech.

Speech 4

Country: Portugal
Name of speaker: André Ventura
Date of speech: January 24, 2021
Type of speech: Presidential campaign
Place of speech: Lisbon, Portugal
Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PYU1uQk1eU8>
Main Grader: Coder A
Date of grading: January 28, 2022

Coder A’s Grade:1
 Coder B’s Grade: 0.9

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 1

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

Populist	Pluralist
It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.	The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues . The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.
The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered. - “I thank God for making me the voice	The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.

<p style="text-align: center;">of this country.”</p> <p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I congratulate Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa for his second term (...) and I wish him a good second term, giving respect to (...) the ‘good’ Portuguese.” 	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We missed the 15% voting goal (...) and according to the projections (...) we are close to the candidate that represents the worst that Portugal has – the more mediocre left-wing linked with the minorities that have explored Portugal and those who have destroyed Portugal” - “A word regarding electoral polls (...) the polling companies have to understand that politics is not done by fooling the voters and manipulating results.” 	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a</p>

<p>the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This a historical night because an anti-system party beat the traditional right-wing (...) and created an overwhelming anti-system wave.” - “We are in the struggle against the system in Portugal.” - “We are the force that will overcome every single barrier in the next elections (...) the fourth republic is near!” - “I thank the great Portuguese people for allowing us to strongly slap the system.” 	<p>politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We smashed the radical left (...) we are the only alternative in Portugal.” 	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “I congratulate Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa for his second term.”

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

André Ventura’s speech occurs in the aftermath of the presidential elections.

This speech includes strong, clearly populist elements, namely an appeal against the “system” – the ruling political and economic establishment, ranging from traditional right-wing parties, radical left parties, minorities and polling companies (with a conspirational tone, in this particular case).

Also, other elements are identified: the mixing of politics with religion, by assuming that Ventura's political power is a choice of God; a Manichaeian vision and the common man embodiment of the national ideal, by assuming that are "good" Portuguese (opposing "bad" Portuguese); and the usage of some strong language ("slap the system", or "smashed the radical left"), regarding the dethrone of the "system".

Nevertheless, the general discourse is tempered with non-populist elements. It is generally democratic (the takeover of power will happen through elections), while he accepts the legitimacy of the other candidate that won the elections. Therefore, the grade of 1 refers to a clear populist speech but not an extreme one.

Speech 5

Country: Portugal

Name of speaker: André Ventura

Date of speech: January 11, 2022

Type of speech: Parliamentary elections campaign

Place of speech: Tomar, Portugal

Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2owAvxtv00w>

Main Grader: Coder A

Date of grading: February 1, 2022

Coder A’s Grade: 1.2

Coder B’s Grade: 1.4

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 1.3

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p> <p>- “We will present tomorrow one hundred specific proposals focused on the transformation of this country – regarding justice, education, rural sector support (...)”</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “(...) With the country on the brink of destruction.” 	
<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “This is the country of the Carnation Revolution, characterized by a privileged class which is fed by the taxes that people have to pay.” 	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We want to reform the political system (...) we want to reduce the number of politicians.” - “They call us fascists but I don’t see that in the whole country (...) I see 	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>

<p>people that want to disrupt this socialist system.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We are the new revolution that Portugal needs.” 	
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We will attack the government with no mercy (...) until Portugal is brought back to the Portuguese people, to the ‘good’ Portuguese.” - “While there is a Salgado joking with us, and Sócrates joking with us (...) we will not stop.” - “It is so depressing to hear PAN asking for coalitions (...) Chicão without a tie, looking like a kid from a private school.” - I guess Portuguese politicians are the worst in Europe. I never saw such a bad, petty and opportunistic group of people.” - “The politicians of Lisbon don’t care. What they really care about is stealing and getting richer (...) they are a bunch of crooks that we continue to feed.” 	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

André Ventura’s speech is performed in a party rally, during the parliamentary elections campaign.

This speech includes strong populist elements, namely a Manichaeian vision of the world, where the political establishment (the so-called “system”), led by socialist political forces, is associated with the “wrong side”, linked with corruption and abuse of power.

While Chega is presented as the only opposition, Ventura uses very strong language towards the opposition: particularly incendiary with the socialists and leading political elite (usage of expressions like “petty and opportunistic group of people”) and condescending with the left-wing and right-wing opposition parties.

Also, Ventura claims for a revolution against the alleged ruling socialist system, since the Carnation Revolution.

Nevertheless, the general discourse is tempered with non-populist and democratic elements (the takeover of power will happen through elections), while Ventura focus and discuss a wide range of matters. The notion of citizenship is plural, although there is some ambiguity when referring to the term “good” Portuguese.

Overall, the grade of 1.3 refers to a clear populist speech but not an extreme one.

Speech 6

Country: Portugal
Name of speaker: André Ventura
Date of speech: January 9, 2022
Type of speech: Parliamentary elections campaign
Place of speech: Lisbon, Portugal
Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=04lYJyJP2w8>
Main Grader: Coder A
Date of grading: February 2, 2022

Coder A’s Grade: 1.4
 Coder B’s Grade: 1.5

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 1.5

2 A speech in this category is extremely populist and comes very close to the ideal populist discourse. Specifically, the speech expresses all or nearly all of the elements of ideal populist discourse, and has few elements that would be considered non-populist.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We know that we are on the right side of history.” - “There is only one alternative (...) Chega!” 	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p>

<p>religious leaders that are generally revered.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “The Portuguese tragedy is not lethal. I know that the people here are struggling against it (...) The socialist tragedy that we see today is the historical divisionism.” - “We will raise our head with pride in our great national history.” - “The path until the day of the elections can change the course of Portugal’s history if we can stop the left-wing majority, if we are able to place Chega at the centre of political decision-making.” - “Our destination is to rule the country.” - “Everyone here has a history behind, a history of those who fought for the country (...) we represent the profound history, we represent the history of those who conquered the territory, those who fought Islamic invasions, those who fought French invasions.” - “I believe that I am embedded with the history and strength of millions of Portuguese that, before we exist, transformed Portugal.” 	
<p>Although Manichaeic, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We were born from the people’s anger.” - “War veterans, professors, doctors, policemen, businessmen and businesswomen (...) those are the man and women that we support.” 	
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “During the years we have been fooled (...) we have been persecuted.” - “Our problem was never the people but the elites that governed us.” 	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Chega name has always to be a synonym of opposition to the system.” - “This is a life mission, this is a political project to transform the country.” 	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>

<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority's continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "In the debate with Left Bloc party, their leader, the actrice, said that the far-right candidate never called her by her name (...) Let's be fair, Catarina is not able to seduce anyone (...) only Mariana Mortágua." - I felt like an MMA champion (...) António Costa asked for the debate to end (...) the man was sweating all around (...) each punch in his face was what the Portuguese people wanted (...) We came to destroy him." - António Costa speaking about corruption is like Carlos Cruz speaking about paedophilia." - Liberal Initiative is a party of the people that live in Principe Real." - Rui Rio sold himself to the Socialist Party (...) his only worry is about gaining votes, he doesn't care for anything else." - "PAN party wants to destroy all the people that live according to our traditions and culture." 	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>
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Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

André Ventura's speech is performed in a party rally, during the parliamentary elections campaign, where Spanish populist ally Santiago Abascal is in the audience.

André Ventura's speech is very populist and expresses nearly all of the elements of ideal populist discourse.

Ventura presents a Manichaeian vision of the world linked with a moral tone when addressing different matters. Chega party is claimed as the only political alternative that rests on the "right side of history" against the ruling establishment that governs the country since the Carnation Revolution.

Across the speech, Ventura positions Chega as an anti-system party with a transformational nature.

The discourse is characterized by a dramatic tone of cosmic proportions in some cases; Chega is presented as a historical game-changing party, that is the heir of a reified Portuguese history of great deeds and conquests against foreign invaders. Also, Ventura shows high levels of bellicosity towards the opposition by using aggressive language and mocking the different adversaries from left-wing to right-wing.

Although Manichaeian, the discourse is still democratic and also inclusive (regarding the support of Portuguese from several backgrounds and occupations). There are some non-populist and democratic elements, namely: takeover of power will happen through elections; and some focus on narrow, particular issues.

Overall, the grade of 1.5 refers to the lower grades of strong populist speech with few pluralist elements.

Speech 7

Country: Portugal

Name of speaker: André Ventura

Date of speech: December 22, 2021

Type of speech: Parliamentary elections campaign

Place of speech: Madeira, Portugal

Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZInfwCeFclK>

Main Grader: Coder A

Date of grading: January 28, 2022

Coder A's Grade: 0.8

Coder B's Grade: 0.8

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 0.8

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p> <p>- “When nobody believed it would be</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p> <p>- “The people vote Chega because they want us to solve the practical problems.”</p>

<p>possible, considering that a recently formed party never have entered the Madeira parliament, we made history (...) it was an unparallel historical moment.”</p> <p>- “The people gave us an opportunity to make history.”</p>	
<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <p>- “When I said God, Fatherland, family and work I was not thinking about Salazar, I was thinking about the common people.”</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <p>- “There is always money to pay high pensions to politicians, millionaire salaries to judges (...) but there is not enough money to pay the pensions of common citizens.”</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>

<p>“revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “The end of the present-day political regime also started here, in Madeira.” - “In the future, when Chega political revolution will be studied (...) they will say that a group of men and women from Madeira transformed Portugal.” 	
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “The communist party refused to debate with us (...) clearly with fear of facing the new parliamentary context.” - “This country suffered a lot with forty years of scoundrels and bandits...” 	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Sometimes we don’t agree with our candidates (...) there are different individuals, from different political backgrounds, with different perspectives on fundamental matters like euthanasia and abortion (...) we are a democratic party.”

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

André Ventura’s speech is performed in a party rally, during the parliamentary elections campaign.

In this speech, André Ventura directs his message to Chega party members and not so much to general voters.

The speech includes populist elements with some notion of popular will, namely: a reified notion of “history”, where Chega electoral results in Madeira are present as a historical feature with a game-changing nature; the common man embodies the national ideal; an intention of changing the political regime (Ventura mentions also a “political revolution” and other changes like reducing the number of parliamentarians); and the

usage of some bellicose language against the political and economic establishment, contrasting with “hard-working” people.

Nevertheless, the general discourse is tempered with several non-populist elements: it is generally democratic (the takeover of power will happen through elections); there are no cosmic proportions sentences since the party is focused on solving practical problems of the common people; also, internal party democracy and respect for different opinions is praised.

Overall the grade of 0.8 refers to a populist speech tempered with pragmatic and pluralist elements and some democratic and respectful language.

Speech 8

Country: Portugal

Name of speaker: André Ventura

Date of speech: December 12, 2021

Type of speech: Parliamentary elections campaign

Place of speech: Porto, Portugal

Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ha7dph2haFc>

Main Grader: Grader B

Date of grading: February 5, 2022

Coder A's Grade: 1

Coder B's Grade: 1.3

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 1.2

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <p>- “The Portuguese must make a clear choice on the 30th of January: whether to choose a party that wants to disrupt the system or those who want to keep the system”</p>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p> <p>- “The Portuguese (...) must have the</p>

<p>speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “On the 30th of January, our country will witness a political revolution like never before in its history.” - “Today, Chega must be the voice of the dissatisfied, the voice of those who felt for 40 years they had no voice. That has been our mission since the beginning.” 	<p>chance to have a right-wing party (...) doing opposition or governing.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We [also] want to be a local party.”
<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Our party was born as a party of common people, of simple people (...) we have got all sorts of people and that is the strength of a party that represents ‘Portugueseness’, the common people.” - “[our candidates] are mostly common people (...). People look and realize they are like them, with the same fears, anxieties, tough life paths (...).” 	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “There is a half of Portugal who does not want the Socialist Party. We must talk to them, as well as to the non-voters.”
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “If they do not want to govern with us, move on and govern with the Socialist Party.” - “We must be the new and true

<p>- “[we are] people who will never sell themselves to socialism nor accept to be puppets of the socialist party.”</p>	<p>opposition to the Socialist Party.”</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Our path is long and it is only starting: the transformation of the Republic.” - “We really want to form a project of transformation in Portugal.” - “As soon as our MP’s take office, the disruptive proposals will return.” - [we must spread] the message that real change is possible even for those who don’t believe in it for 40 years.” 	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We have addressed the topics that most interested the Portuguese: economic recovery, employment (...), domestic violence, crime (...), the lack of a reform in justice, a tax system that punishes those who work more.”
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “It is time we show no fear, even when we are stood up against by justice, by the system, by other parties (...).” 	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We want to be in government, but not at all cost.” - “(...) men and women who will represent Chega in the house of democracy.” - “We will either be in government or in opposition according to the strength the Portuguese will give us.” - “Come to the system, vote in the system, even if it is, like we want, to change the system from within.”

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

In this speech, André Ventura is speaking at a private party-members event.

We can clearly identify a set of populist elements such as a Manichean opposition between the establishment parties and Chega; a semi-mythical depiction of change as a revolution against 40 years of a fake democracy where people lack a real voice; the Chega candidates portrayed as the common men that the party wishes to represent; the Socialist Party classified, though lightly, as a harmful enemy; and the call for a “transformation of the Republic” against the resistance of the forces of the system.

Nevertheless, the speech is tempered with several non-populist elements: it mentions clear respect for the results of the elections and for the institutional praxis; the idea of a gradual process of growth of the party; very down-to-earth concrete objectives and more often than not a depiction of the Socialist Party as a political adversary, rather than an enemy.

Overall, the grade of 1.2 refers to a populist speech tempered with institutional and pluralist elements.

Speech 9

Country: Portugal

Name of speaker: André Ventura

Date of speech: January 6, 2022

Type of speech: Parliamentary elections campaign

Place of speech: Lisbon, Portugal

Speech Reference: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zbyOb7S_q-0

Main Grader: Coder B

Date of grading: February 6, 2022

Coder A’s Grade: 0.8

Coder B’s Grade: 0.7

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 0.8

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p> <p>- “The government should have anticipated and prepared this [wave] of the pandemics.”</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p> <p>- “Chega has one great goal right now, which is putting António Costa and the Socialist Party out of the government.”</p>

<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <p>- “Who works the most, (...) invests the most, and creates wealth is the most penalized under the socialist system. (...) the working citizens.”</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <p>- “We should cut by half the political class in Portugal (...). We have got too many politicians (...) we don’t need them and could save millions there.”</p> <p>- “Whereas some fill their pockets and of the clientele around the government, others get a 297 euros pension.”</p> <p>- “Mr. Prime Minister, you should apologise (...) for the innumerable corruption scandals that the Socialist Party has created, for the trial of an ex-PM who took millions from us (...). If we add to the corrupts those who don’t want to work, we have a miserable country.”</p> <p>- “I have voted to lower my own salary.”</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>

<p>Your party voted against lowering the salaries of the politicians. (...) We proposed to double the penalties for corruption, which you voted against.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We are paying thousands of houses to those who don’t want to work.” - “We are here for a reason: to fight corruption and clientelism (...) that the Socialist Party has generated in Portugal.” 	
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Our proposal for the taxes on property and income is gradual.”
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “I will not rest until the Socialist Party is removed from the sphere of power (...) until the corrupts in Portugal are put in jail.” 	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We must look at the electorate, at the strength of each [party] and at the measures they can bring.”

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

In this speech, André Ventura is confronting the Prime Minister and leader of the Socialist Party, António Costa, in a televised debate.

Concerning the populist elements, Ventura focused a lot of his attacks on what he deems the corrupt, clientelist elite fostered by the Socialist Party, alongside the political

class in general and those who live off state subsidies. The tone of his opposition to the Socialists is quite aggressive and often bellicose.

However, his intervention lacks several typical populist themes, such as a Manichean portrayal of reality, a push for accelerated reform or revolution, cosmic proportions and more frequent references to the people and the common men. He also talks of the graduality of reforms and of respect for the vote of the people.

Overall, the grade of 0.8 refers to light populist speech, where there is a great insistence on the enemy, but where other populist elements are lacking.

Speech 10

Country: Portugal
Name of speaker: André Ventura
Date of speech: January 3, 2022
Type of speech: Parliamentary elections campaign
Place of speech: Lisbon, Portugal
Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H8okq1piJuA>
Main Grader: Coder B
Date of grading: February 6, 2022

Coder A’s Grade: 0.7
 Coder B’s Grade: 0.9

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 0.8

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

Populist	Pluralist
It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.	The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues . The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “I wish he could tell us in what Chega is so radical.”
The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.	The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Chega will accept to participate in a government that does not cut retirement pensions.” - “We won’t vote for any budget that is

<p>- “For the first time in 46 years there will be real reforms.”</p>	<p>bad for the country.”</p>
<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <p>- “Ones are working hard to provide for others who do nothing.”</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <p>- “Chega wants anyone who votes for a change. We don’t distinguish electorates.”</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <p>- “60% of the times, PSD and PS voted together.”</p> <p>- “100 MP’s would be enough, there is no need for more.”</p> <p>- “We can’t have in Portugal a wounded firefighter earning a 290 euros pension and jailed politicians earning 3000 euros. It is absolute immorality.”</p> <p>- “I want to reduce the number of MP’s even if that harms me.”</p> <p>- “Most part of the political class is unnecessary.”</p> <p>- “It is in the Portuguese people’s interest</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>

<p>that we monitor who has a <i>Mercedes</i> at their doorbell and is living off subsidies.”</p>	
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We are here to change Portugal.” - “We are a party who has ideas of rupture, because the Portuguese are tired of 46 years working to pay to whom wants to do nothing.” 	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “If we are to have a right-wing government, it must be a government that lowers taxes.”
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “If the results point in that direction, Chega will be (...) available to discuss with (...) the leader of PSD.”

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

In this speech, André Ventura is facing Rui Rio, leader of the Social Democrat Party (centre-right in Portugal), in a televised debate.

Concerning the populist elements, Ventura focused a lot of his attacks on the political class in general and on those who live off state subsidies. Furthermore, he also advocates deep changes in the nature of the regime.

However, his intervention lacks intensity in several typical populist themes, such as a Manichean portrayal of reality, cosmic proportions and more frequent references to the people and the common men. He also talks of the need to negotiate specific measures and a possible coalition agreement.

Overall, the grade of 0.8 refers to light populist speech, where some populist elements are present, but not with great intensity.

Speech 11

Country: Portugal
Name of speaker: André Ventura
Date of speech: January 17, 2022
Type of speech: Parliamentary elections campaign
Place of speech: Coimbra, Portugal
Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILYLgh940ss>
Main Grader: Coder B
Date of grading: February 7, 2022

Coder A’s Grade: 1.5
 Coder B’s Grade: 1.6

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 1.6

2 A speech in this category is extremely populist and comes very close to the ideal populist discourse. Specifically, the speech expresses all or nearly all of the elements of ideal populist discourse, and has few elements that would be considered non-populist.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Who has never been on the wrong side? Because today, there is a right side, which is Chega, it’s us and we are going to change the face of this country in the 21st Century.” - It is to the real country that we must talk. The others will never be with us. Those who say we are worthless, fascists and racists, they will stay behind the dark curtains of History when we become the 3rd political force.” 	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and</p>

<p>claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “There is in Chega this dimension that is similar to Christianity. People convert themselves and change. It’s possible to change. Fighting corruption allows us to change, fighting clientelism allows us to change.” - “People get converted, they end up here and they see the light that guides Portugal.” - “We will recover the dignity that the Parliament lost a long time ago.” - “The far-left was an accident in our History (...). The Revolution, the way it happened in the 80’s and 90’s was a mistake our parents and grandparents paid a great price for. We are here to correct that historical mistake.” - “They will say we are a threat to democracy (...) but they are wrong. We want to restore the dignity the country lost. We want to give back hope to those who ceased to believe in this country.” 	<p>temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “The Socialist Party will never have our support in government.” - “We don’t want a PS government.”
<p>Although Manichaeic, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “(...) common people that want to change Portugal. We need to be that voice. If they call us a federation of malcontents, so be it.” - “One thing is what some elite (...) thinks. Another is what the common people think, those who have to face the problems that we talk about.” - “Nothing will stop the progress of this force throughout the country, because common people have already understood.” 	
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We must get rid of 47 years of dirt (...) with the steadiness no other party has, and say that who steals this way in Portugal has an only path, the path of jail.” - “90% of the local politicians trialled for corruption must be from the Socialist Party.” - “You [António Costa] (...) were a minister of José Sócrates, who is now on trial for corruption.” - “There are public institutes for everyone. That’s why PS and PSD don’t want to touch them (...). Because their children, their children-in-law, their husbands, their lovers, their boyfriends are all there.” - “We want to cut on the state’s clientele and they live off the clientele.” - “We will fight (...) so that no minority lives above the law, mocking with our taxes; so that no politician running away from justice escapes 	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>

<p>jail.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “(...) cut on those who for years have stolen and lived off the state.” - “We shall provide for those who work and have worked and cut on those who lived their whole lives off our taxes.” 	
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “On the 30th of January, we will send António Costa and PS back home and inaugurate a new era of hope for Portugal.” - “It’s high time we say enough of this 47-year-old republic that has disappointed us.” 	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “There are one million Portuguese with no access to a general practitioner.”
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “He [António Costa] started sweating during that final minute and I realised he just wanted to get out of there.” - “They fear our results.” 	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We have to be a credible, solid alternative.”

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

In this speech, André Ventura is speaking at a party rally.

We can clearly identify all the predictable elements of populism, such as a Manichean depiction of Chega as the “right side”; a mythical comparison between the

party and Christianity; the idea of redemption after years of corruption and loss of dignity; constant references to the common people; the identification of the enemy as the PS-PSD pair alongside the state's clientele and the corrupt politicians; and the call for a "new republic".

In addition, the speech is rarely tempered by non-populist elements. However, it could have been more populist if there had been stronger and clearer references to revolution and, most of all, signs of undemocratic disrespect towards adversaries.

Speech 12

Country: Portugal

Name of speaker: André Ventura

Date of speech: December 3, 2021.

Type of speech: Parliamentary elections campaign

Place of speech: Viseu, Portugal

Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9r8OBcJh3JE>

Main Grader: Coder B

Date of grading: February 8, 2022

Coder A's Grade: 1.5

Coder B's Grade: 1.7

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 1.6

2 A speech in this category is extremely populist and comes very close to the ideal populist discourse. Specifically, the speech expresses all or nearly all of the elements of ideal populist discourse, and has few elements that would be considered non-populist.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “That flag is the only thing we pay tribute to. Not to PSD, not to PS, to Portugal!” - “We are the only true opposition.” - “These are our conditions (...) and they only have two options. They either accept them or they don’t.” 	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard,</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p>

<p>frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “It was History or fate’s will that our 4th Congress would take place the same day (...) the socialist executive is dissolved and that the power returns to the people.” - “This regime will break, just like all regimes have in the past.” - “In front of us we have one of the biggest challenges of our lives. What happens on the 30th will shape (...) the future of Portugal for the next decades.” - “Saving Portugal is what we must do right now. Saving Portugal for our children, grandchildren (...) and even for our parents and grandparents.” - “History placed us here and now (...) and we must accept this challenge.” - “Like Francisco Sá Carneiro said (...). Like Padre António Vieira said (...). - “I can promise you that while I’m the president of this party, I shall die, if needed, fighting to transform this country once and for all.” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We must be that alternative to António Costa.” - “I pledge to do my best so that on the 30th we can celebrate the huge victory of achieving 15% in the election.”
<p>Although Manichaeic, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>

<p>romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “A great part of the electorate needs a new voice.” - “They didn’t understand that the strength wasn’t in the Parliament anymore (...). In Portugal, a force was being born outside, on the streets, where thousands, millions of people were tired of the established system in Portugal.” 	
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Chega doesn’t pay tribute to traitors!” - “They didn’t let us legislate. When we had bold proposals, they blocked us.” - “(...) an attitude of contempt of those who don’t debate with commoners, because they belong to an upper sphere of those who have the will and intelligence of the chosen ones.” - “PSD and PS are exactly the same today. There is no difference amongst them.” - “People don’t want us to be PS or PSD’s lapdogs, they don’t want us to be the pets of the system. That’s why they fear us and want to destroy us.” - “Chega was born to break with the system.” 	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “[A country] that pays lifelong pensions to jailed politicians.” - “We keep emptying the public coffers (...) with the political clientele.” - “[We have to face] a system full of traps (...)” 	
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We have in our hands the power and capacity to perform a huge transformation in Portugal.” - “I assure you it’s going to be the greatest transformation that Parliament has ever seen.” - “No one has ever had, in 46 years of democracy, such a possibility to really shake up this political system.” 	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Now, nobody laughs at us. Now they shake when they look at the polls. (...) When we enter the Parliament (...) we won’t be making any friends. We will tear down the system!” 	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Paulo Rangel, if elected tomorrow (...) will be the ‘softest’ leader PSD ever had.” - “I’ve never seen PSD on their knees like this. I pity them.” - “Now they’ll have to discuss with us every week, unless they choose to abandon Parliament, and how lucky we would be if they did that.” 	
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Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

In this speech, André Ventura is delivering the final speech at a Chega congress, before the campaign for 2022’s parliamentary elections.

We can clearly identify all the categorized populist elements such as a Manichean opposition between the establishment parties and Chega; a very dramatic reference to history, fate and, though lightly, even the possibility of Ventura becoming a martyr; a strong attack on the parties of the “system” and their clientele; and the call for unprecedented transformations of the regime, alongside disrespectful references to some parties and leaders.

We must add that there are not many non-populist elements to temper the speech, though one could say Ventura could have increased the populist level if he had been more aggressive in opposing good and evil and more assertive on the ideas of revolution and of union amongst common people.

Speech 13

Country: Portugal

Name of speaker: André Ventura

Date of speech: October 4, 2021

Type of speech: Municipal elections campaign

Place of speech: Aveiro, Portugal

Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fY2idjdBxM8>

Main Grader: Grader B

Date of grading: February 8, 2022

Coder A’s Grade: 0.7

Coder B’s Grade: 0.6

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 0.7

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <p>- “For us, a good corrupt is a jailed corrupt.”</p>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p> <p>- “Every political analyst more or less agreed (...) that Chega’s national implantation wasn’t expected to be so fast. Its effects are still unpredictable.”</p> <p>- “In Parliament I often vote in favour of PCP’s proposals, proposals that are good for the population.”</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p>

<p>notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We will change the history of this country.” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We are the 4th local party in Portugal.” - “PSD will have to formally accept the conditions that are imposed.” - “Any written formal agreement with PS or CDU will be forbidden.” - [We will back] independent candidates (...) according to who they are.”
<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Chega isn’t rural or urban, it is a huge national party.” - “It’s so good to have for the first time common Portuguese, people that come from a lifetime of hard work, that know what real life is, representing us in the power institutions.” - “It will be a face the person knows, not only from TV, but from there, from working by his side.” 	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “For two years, I was humiliated (...) in Parliament. (...) TV stations would broadcast 5 minutes of them and 30 seconds of me.” - “We are threatened, we are persecuted, namely by the Constitutional Court.” 	
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We must come up with a big municipalities document, accessible to all (...) where all the procedures are clearly explained.” - “We must have a hotline connecting our local politicians and the national board.”
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Listen, screw the mayor (...) it could even be the Pope. We don’t give in our values and principles.” - “Every time they throw us a small stone, we’ll pick up a bag of huge ones (...).” - “Those who attack us (...) will expect from us the same answer. Like in the Bible, ‘an eye for an eye’!” - “We are tired of rats in this party (...). The day after [our internal election] 	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We respect the institutions and therefore he we are to ratify all we have to ratify.” - “We won’t simply vote down the local executives just because they come from other parties. We will look at the proposals in detail.”

their place is out of here!”	
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Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

In this speech, André Ventura is speaking to an audience of party members recently elected in the municipal elections of September 2021.

There are several populist elements present, such as a bellicose attitude against the opponents, the valorisation of the common men and the strategy of victimization towards the conspiring system.

However, other elements are lacking or appear only on the surface, like a Manichean division of the world, the cosmic proportions or a more extensive categorisation of the elites. Furthermore, there are plenty of pluralist elements in the speech indicating openness to dialogue with adversaries and respect for democratic institutions.

Overall, this speech can be deemed populist, but in a moderate way, hence the grade of 0.7.

Speech 14

Country: Portugal

Name of speaker: André Ventura

Date of speech: September 19, 2020

Type of speech: Presidential elections campaign

Place of speech: Évora, Portugal

Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vKfz1S3LPQ0>

Main Grader: Grader B

Date of grading: February 9, 2022

Coder A’s Grade: 1.8

Coder B’s Grade: 1.7

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 1.8

2 A speech in this category is extremely populist and comes very close to the ideal populist discourse. Specifically, the speech expresses all or nearly all of the elements of ideal populist discourse, and has few elements that would be considered non-populist.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “I know that reason is on our side.” - “A society where one-half works and the other half does nothing.” 	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We won’t give in on these civilizational battles. They can even arrest me.” - “Chega is like a religion (...) it’s this unwavering belief we got, this feeling of a supra-historical mission.” - “Our party must be so great that we can’t barely walk 100 metres without spotting Chega somewhere.” - “We have the historic mission, the strength, the belief and the capacity to win the general elections in Portugal.” - “The carnations are 46 years old. The Portuguese flag is 8 centuries old. That is our true mission.” - “There will be a day where our children and grandchildren will study the history of this great moment.” - “I won’t give up until I make of this country a great, an enormous country to live in, and I know you will never let me walk alone.” 	
<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Because the people here today are an expression of an entire people tired of living under this regime (...), millions 	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>

<p>of Portuguese who will never bend.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We must have Chega in every street of Portugal (...) we must be in the deep Portugal.” - “We are the party of the ordinary Portuguese, of those who work and pay taxes, of the mothers, fathers, grandparents (...), of the unemployed, of those who no longer believe in the system.” - “If they like to call us a religion, it shall be the religion of the ordinary Portuguese who want to change this country.” - “I am the candidate of every Portuguese who works and pays taxes.” - “The party I dreamt of protects the doctors’ careers, prevents our children (...) from emigrating (...), doesn’t forget our nurses, our policemen, our pensioners, the train drivers, the public servants (...). Believe us because we are here to change your lives.” 	
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We don’t accept that a corrupt politician continues to earn money from our taxes. And this fight against corruption must be valid for everything.” - “There’s no court ruling (...), no decision from the government (...) or from the EU that can stop this political force.” 	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “While I’m the leader of Chega (...) there will be no coalition to be seen with any party in Portugal.” - “Who doesn’t want to work, we don’t need them here.” - “We resist like a virus (...) that wants to destroy corruption (...), to destroy political clientelism (...), those who stole us over the last 46 years (...) jail for them!” - “If they earn 400 or 500 or 600 euros in this miserable country, it’s because someone at the top is keeping everything to himself.” 	
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We continue our mission to rebuild this country.” - “This constitution no longer serves Portugal’s best interests.” - “[They will say in the future] this great national revolution has already left the Discoveries or the 25th of April behind, because the true revolution in Portugal was called Chega and it was this force that allowed us to become great again!” 	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Chega wants quality public services for everyone (...). We want parents to be able to choose their children’s school.”
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

<p>the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “They know that threatening us with jail or illegalization (...) is the worst thing they could do, because they would toss this country into the greatest political war of its history.” 	
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Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

In this speech, André Ventura is speaking in the second congress of the Chega party a few months before the presidential election, where he stood as a candidate.

We can clearly identify all the populist elements, such as a Manichean opposition between the working and the non-working people; the mythical depiction of Chega as serving Portugal in a “supra-historical” mission with a clear religious connotation; references to the common Portuguese citizen, a transversal hardworking taxpayer tired of the “system”; the identification of the corrupt politicians and of the political parties as an elite to be defeated; and the symbolic threat of a sort of civil war.

Overall, the grade of 1.8 refers to an extremely populist speech only lacking an even more morally charged and bellicose tone to turn it into a populism paradigm.

Speech 15

Country: Portugal

Name of speaker: André Ventura

Date of speech: July 19, 2020

Type of speech: Presidential elections campaign

Place of speech: Viseu, Portugal

Speech Reference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a8Fib-B6MAU>

Main Grader: Grader B

Date of grading: February 10, 2022

Coder A’s Grade: 1.7

Coder B’s Grade: 1.7

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 1.7

2 A speech in this category is extremely populist and comes very close to the ideal populist discourse. Specifically, the speech expresses all or nearly all of the elements of ideal populist discourse, and has few elements that would be considered non-populist.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We don’t want one country of miserable people and another that provides for them; one country that works and another that takes advantage; one country that explores and another that works.” - “People are starting to wake up and realise that there is only one alternative in Portugal.” 	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world)</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical</p>

<p>and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “(...) our unwavering belief that we are right, that History is on our side.” - “In the lands of Viriato, this is the first step in order for us to take back our history.” - “This doesn’t belong to me or you: it’s a historical mission we must perform to transform Portugal.” - “I must fulfil the mission I am fated to”. - “(...) they will have to defeat us before they can destroy Portugal, because, with Chega, Portugal will become a great country again, a great nation, a huge European power.” 	<p>connections.</p>
<p>Although Manichaeic, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “(...) this is the merit of a country that woke up to say ‘Chega!’” - “From North to South (...) there is a people who is tired of being deceived day and night.” 	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “They didn’t count with this enormous popular resistance.” - “We have only got one ally: it’s called the Portuguese people.” - “Our strength lies here (...) next to those who feel abandoned.” 	
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We proposed the reduction of the politicians’ salaries (...) and once again the Parliament closed the doors on the people it represents.” - “We can’t have a country where who steals a chocolate goes to jail and who steals some millions stays out of jail for years, making fun of those who work hard.” - “Our heritage is José Sócrates jogging in Ericeira, Ricardo Salgado walking in Cascais and most of the corrupts in this country enjoying the sun.” - “We are tired of a country that works day and night to provide for those who do nothing.” - “Half of the country spends 7 months working to provide for a system that is completely rigged.” - “I am tired of paying taxes for corrupt people and for a system that no longer serves us.” 	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We want a country where if minorities want to have rights, they must also have duties.” - “PSD and PS are holding hands while they try to (...) finish up with democracy.” - “It’s a country that shames us all for being such a corrupt system.” - “The system is too rotten to represent us.” - “(...) thieves have more rights than policemen and politicians are a privileged elite.” - “Most of them have never done anything else other than being professional politicians.” - “While they argue whether Chega is racist or not, another 850 million euros go to <i>Novo Banco</i> and some more to <i>Montepio</i>.” - “[The existing parties] are in this together, they are all part of the same system.” 	
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “I won’t give up until this system is finished once and for all.” - “The moment to fight is now. The moment to perform this transformation is now.” - “They will say that the greatest revolution that has ever happened in Portugal (...) was called Chega and it 	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “There are districts of Portugal where unemployment rose up by 200%. What’s the government’s strategy? There is none.”

<p style="color: red;">completely changed the face of the country.”</p>	
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We only beat those who are worth beating. We ignore the others (...) and we pity them.” - “It will be a relentless fight against this system. They will come up with lies and slanders, they will try to destroy us.” - “Once they dream we can rise to power (...) many of them will leave and never come back and we’re glad for that!” 	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

In this speech, André Ventura is speaking in a public rally of the Chega party a few months before the presidential election, where he stood as a candidate.

We can clearly identify all the populist elements, such as a Manichean opposition between the working and the non-working people; several references to fate and History; the valorisation of the Portuguese people as a homogeneous entity and the party’s “only ally”; the identification of the political class, the traditional parties, allegedly corrupt prominent figures, some minorities and the financial sector as the privileged crooked elite; and the reiterated calls for deep transformations of the system.

Overall, the grade of 1.7 refers to a strongly populist speech, where, nevertheless, the aggressivity towards the enemies and the Manichean depictions of reality could have reached more intense and illiberal levels.

Speech 16

Country: Portugal
Name of speaker: André Ventura
Date of speech: January 15 – January 30, 2022
Type of speech: Parliamentary elections campaign
Place of speech: Portugal
Speech Reference: André Ventura’s Twitter account
Main Grader: Grader A
Date of grading: February 3, 2022

Coder A’s Grade: 0.9
 Coder B’s Grade: 0.7

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 0.8

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

Populist	Pluralist
It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.	The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues . The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.
The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered. - “On my birthday, I thank God for my	The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.

<p>life and for the privilege given of battling for Portugal!”</p>	
<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We are not afraid to say that, in Portugal, there is a problem with a gypsy community.” - “The ones who live from governmental subsidies, the corrupts and the ones who always were fed by politics are very afraid of our results on elections day.” - “(...) the major corrupt bankers will stop mocking the Portuguese people!” 	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “We will make the system tremble on elections day!” - “(...) I’ll do everything in order to give back the dignity to the Portuguese people that has been hostage to the murky interests of this corrupt system!” 	
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “The socialist octopus is a menace for four years more.” - “To vote for António Costa is to ask for the return of the Sócrates groupies!” - “Those who destroy Portugal and despise the Portuguese people will always be our enemy!” - “The history garbage! This is the right place for the radical left-wing that exists in our country!” 	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Every citizen living in Portugal, regardless of its origin, has to respect the rule of law.”

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

The speech examined refers to André Ventura’s tweets, considering a fifteen days time frame, during the parliamentary elections campaign.

André Ventura’s tweets are characterized by several populist elements, namely: strong sentences against minorities (e.g. Roma community and the political/economic establishment); claims for systemic change; and aggressive language towards the

opposition (especially the Socialist Party and radical left-wing). Also, Ventura gives a spiritual/religious dimension to his political mission.

On the other side, Ventura tweets show pluralist elements. The Chega leader writes on a wide range of matters (justice, education, war veterans, security forces, restaurant sector, fiscal policies, pensions and reforms); and includes democratic elements in his communication, specifically the respect for the rule of law and the perspective of power taking over through elections.

Overall, the grade of 0.8 refers to clear populist messages but not extreme ones.

Intertemporal evolution analysis of André Ventura's populism

Date	Grade
Speech 19/07/2020	1,7
Speech 08/08/2020	1,5
Speech 19/09/2020	1,8
Speech 14/10/2020	0,6
Interview 11/01/2021	0,6
Twitter 15-30/01/2022	0,8
Speech 24/01/2021	1
Speech 04/10/2021	0,7
Speech 3/12/2021	1,6
Speech 12/12/2021	1,2
Speech 22/12/2021	0,8
Debate 03/01/2022	0,8
Debate 06/01/2022	0,8
Speech 9/01/2022	1,5
Speech 11/01/2022	1,3
Speech 17/01/2022	1,6



FIGURE 1 – Collection of speeches (including tweets)

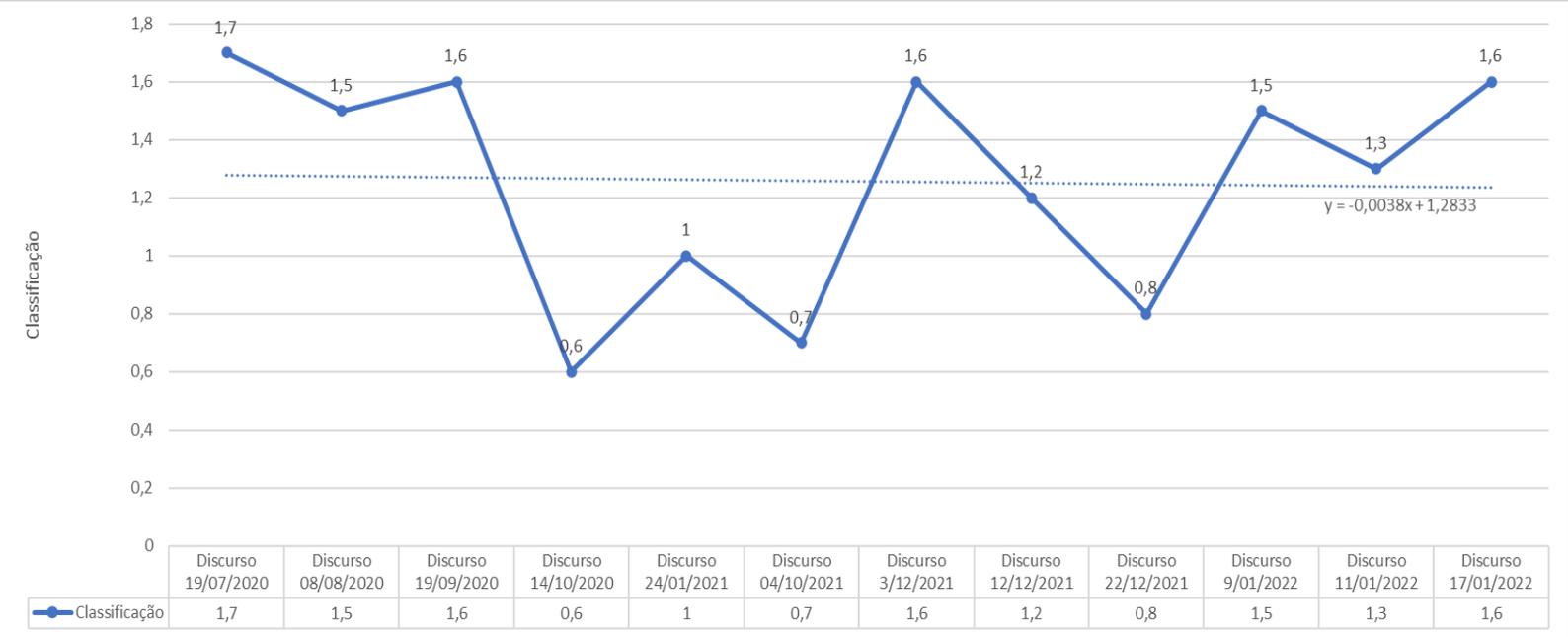


FIGURE 2 – Collection of speeches (excluding tweets)

Overall Comments:

Ventura’s speech analysis includes twelve common speeches, one interview, two debates and several tweets posted in a specific time frame, between 2020 and 2022.

It is observed a maximum grade of 1.8 (an extremely populist speech only lacking an even more morally charged and bellicose tone to turn it into a populism paradigm), a minimum grade of 0.6 (the lower value of a populist speech), and an average grade of 1.1. – meaning the performance of a speech with strong, clearly populist elements, although not consistently observed and tempered with non-populist elements.

The intertemporal evolution of Ventura's populism shows that no regularity can be found, as seen in FIGURE 1. Indeed, that is visible through a practically null (-0,0137) slope of the tendency line, which means there is no visible trajectory when it comes to the populist nature of his speeches. The same tendency is verifiable in FIGURE 2 (which includes the collection of speeches without tweets), where the results had no significant changes.

Ventura does not become more or less populist through time. He simply changes the tone a lot. Therefore, there is no rule predicting an increased degree of populism immediately before the nearest election or, otherwise, a constant decline of that degree once elections get closer. Both things happen sometimes and don't happen in other occasions.

However, precisely because of this, better than saying no regularity can be found, a more acute observation could suggest that there is, in fact, a trend. That of Ventura's irregularity. Hence, a very plausible conclusion is that Chega's leader constantly adapts his populist strategy according to a number of factors such as the place, the audience and, most likely, the political moment of the country and the intended consequences of the speech itself.